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Matthew Robinson,
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V O L. II.

L O N D O N:

Printed for the AUTHOR, in the Year M DCC XXIII.



VOLUME II.

CHAP. I.

Of the Porte's Declaring War against the Czar, the March of the Turkish Army commanded by the Visier Baltagi Mehemet, the Battle at Pruth, the Peace, and the King of Sweden's Expostulation with the Visier thereupon, &c.



PON my enquiring, at my Return to *Constantinople*, into the Transactions of the King of *Sweden's* Ministry with the *Porte*, and other Things happened since my Departure; I heard that the *Tartar Han*, having espous'd his *Swedish* Majesty's Cause and Interest, had prevail'd on the *Grand Seignior* to declare War against the Czar of *Muscovy*: That the Visier *Cupruli*, thinking it contrary to the Law, of which

1711.

he was both a scrupulous Observer and an able Expositor, desired to be dismiss'd, (or as the *Swedes* would have it, was dismiss'd without desiring it) as well as the Muphty, for opposing that War, which the *Grand Seignior* himself and the *Divan* thought necessary: That the Imperial Seal was profer'd to the *Selictar Aga Cumurgi Ali Bashaw*; but that he begg'd to be excus'd accepting it, chusing rather to remain a Favourite, and govern his Master, as he was generally believ'd to do: That upon his Refusal, and by his Counsel, one *Soliman Bashaw* was made *Vice Visier* or *Visier pro interim*; during which, a *Capigi Bashaw* was dispatch'd to the Bashaw of *Aleppo*, one *Baltagi * Mehemet* to bring him to *Constantinople*, to be invested with that Dignity:

* *Baltagi* signifies properly an *Ax-bearer*; those who are thus call'd are generally employ'd (besides other manual Labour) to cleave Wood in the *Seraglio* for the *Grand Seignior*, the hereditary Princes, &c. as had that *Baltagi Mehemet* done for the Prince *Achmet*, now Emperor Reigning.

That a little while after his Arrival, the War was unanimously resolv'd in publick *Divan*, and the new *Muphty* gave his *Fetfa* for it : That the Czar's Ambassador was sent Prisoner, from his *Frank Palace* to the *Seven Towers*, and the circular Command in the *Appendix* dispatch'd to all the *Bashaws* and Commanders of the *Ottoman Forces*, to be in readiness to march in the Spring against the Enemy, under the new *Visier*, &c.

The *Tartar Han*, having left Things in this Posture at *Constantinople*, was gone to *Bender*, where he had frequent Conferences with the King of *Sweden*, upon the Means of pushing on the War with Vigour and Success ; his Troops were already making their Winter Campaign (the most favourable Season for their Incursions) when the Rivers are frozen.

The *Tails* were exposed before the *Seraglio-Gate* ; the New *Visier*, who had never handled any other Arms than a Hatchet, had receiv'd a most rich *Sabre*, adorn'd with Jewels, from the *Grand Seignior*, and was now destin'd to march at the Head of an invincible and always victorious Army of 200,000 Men, to use the *Turkish* Expressions, against an ambitious and troublesome Neighbour.

During these Transactions, a Number of *Swedish* Officers were come to *Constantinople*, where they resorted to the Houses of the *Franks*, and other *Christians*, protected by the Ambassadors ; they distinguish'd themselves by their Politeness, Gallantry, and Assiduity towards the Fair Sex. Some of them had entered into an intimate Acquaintance with a *Dutch* Merchant's Spouse, who had the Complaisance to dress her self in Man's Cloaths, and go with them on Horse-back to the little Village of *Belgrade* ; she even shew'd her self curious to go as far as *Bender* to see the Northern Hero ; but hearing that his Majesty rather avoided the Fair Sex's Company, than desir'd it, she renounced her Curiosity ; on which the *Medisance* or the scandalous History, which is pretty free amongst the Eastern Christians, and even the *Franks*, gave out that the *Swedish* Officers had made Conquests in the *Low Countries*, and the Report reach'd as far as the King's Ears ; who, tho' he did not care (as I have just now hinted) for Women's Company, yet loved to hear of Intrigues, Gallantry, &c.

Most of these Gentlemen return'd for *Bender* in the Beginning of *May*, a Month in which we heard of the Death of the Emperor *Joseph* and the *Dauphin* of *France*, the latter just when the *Turkish* Army was marching towards the *Danube* ; there were then at *Constantinople* (besides the *Swedish* Officers) Mr. *Fabrice* and Mr. *Woniarosky*, the first was a Minister of the Court of *Holstein*, at the King of *Sweden's*. I had the Honour of being admitted into his Acquaintance ; and expressing a great Desire of seeing the Northern Hero, he offer'd to take me along with him to *Bender*, and we set out Post the 28th ; we kept the Road to *Adrianople* as far as *Burgos*, where striking off to the right, leaving that City on the left, we pass'd thro' *Kirkeglefs*, a pretty large Village, (whose Name is half *Turkish*, half *Greek*, and signifies forty Churches) between which and another yet larger and handsomer we join'd the *Turkish* Forces, which had rendezvous'd on the appointed Time and the Place mention'd in their Orders. They were very numerous, and increased every Day by the Accession of new Troops who were ordered to reinforce them, and were to consist, as said before, of 200,000 Men on their Arrival in the Plain of * *Saccia*, within about two Miles from the *Danube*, where the *Visier* was

* *Saccia*, a little Town with a Castle and seven Towers, situated on that Part of the *Danube* where the ancient Geographers placed the Bridge of *Darius*.

to review them. That Army march'd with a Slowness that show'd they were more desirous of some Propositions of Peace, accompanied with the Sacrifice of *Asoph*, than of fighting the Enemy; and some, who pretended to be very well acquainted with the Sentiments of the *Porte*, assured me, that the *Czar* might have avoided this War perhaps for less than the Surrender of that Place.

We pass'd thro' the Middle of their Forces, which made a noble Show, and continued our Road by *Fachi*, *Aidos*, *Pasargi*, *Pasargioglou*, *Carasou*, *Alibeykoi*, *Codgiali*, *Baba*, *Tulcia*, *Ismaely*, *Cauchan*; in a Word, according to the Line in my Map B. to *Bender*, where we arriv'd on the 8th of June. The Country all along is wonderfully fertile and pleasant; but I found no manner of Antiquities on our Road, excepting the Medals in the Prints XII, XIV, XXVIII, viz. η , $\alpha\alpha$, $\alpha\zeta$, in the first at *Aidos*, in the 2d, N. 5 and (g) at *Pasargi*, and in the 3d 31st and 33d at *Baba*. A Greek Goldsmith at this last Place, sold me near an Ounce of Silver Ones by Weight, most Part of the *Roman* Consuls and *Triumvirs*, all very common, except N. 25. and 28. in the Print XXIX. I bought of a Gardiner there the Brass Ones, N. 2, 37, 38. Some will have *Baba*, which is one of the finest Towns in the Road, to have been *Tomi*, the Place of *Ovid's* Exile; but, besides that it is some Miles from the Sea, its having no Ruins contradicts this Opinion. *Cauchan* is a little open Town, not better than a Village, for the Building or Number of its Houses, which are but about 300; however, 'tis the Capital of *Akerman Tartary*, and is dependent on the *Han*. It is principally inhabited by *Moldavians* and *Walachians*, who rather chuse to live Subjects to the *Tartars*, than under the Princes set over them by the *Porte*; the Capitation, or Man's Head-Money, as they call it, which they pay Yearly to the *Han*, not amounting to two Crowns. *Ismaely* is a large Town, with a *Han* rather convenient than handsome; its Houses are better than those at *Cauchan*. It derives its Name from a *Kisler Aga* so call'd, who had it assigned him as a Part of his Revenues, and has founded a pretty Mosque there. Most of its Inhabitants are *Walachians* and *Moldavians*, as at *Cauchan*. *Tulcia* is a little Village, situated on an Eminence, at the Foot whereof is a small Fort with 7 little Towers, standing directly on a Branch of the *Danube*, where it surrounds the first of the Islands, form'd by its Windings on that Side.

Mr. *Fabrice* very obligingly offer'd me a convenient little Room in a Wooden House, built for him on the *Niester* side, N. 10. in the King's second Encampment at A A in my Plan XXX, which made one of the best Figures of the *Little Carlopolis*. He likewise did me the Honour of presenting me to his Majesty, by whom I was graciously receiv'd; and I must do this Prince the Justice to say, that he was easy of Access, and full of Condescension to those whom too much Respect and Modesty hindred from addressing themselves to him, preventing their being out of Countenance, by asking them some Questions after a very obliging manner. He had a Presence of Mind that was extraordinary, and a very good Memory; and tho' he avoided the Company of the *Fair Sex*, he was by no means an Enemy to them, but *Glory* had taken such entire Possession of his Heart, that there was no room left for *Love*: However, he was of a gay Temper, and wou'd hear Talk of them even with Pleasure; especially of the little Pieces of Gallantry and Intrigues of his Officers, and rally them thereupon. Any body had hardly a greater Share in his good Graces than Mr. *Fabrice*, with whom he seem'd to pass most of his agreeable Moments at *Bender*; keeping him sometimes whole

whole Hours, discoursing and asking him Questions, his Majesty usually standing or leaning against the Wall or a Tree, &c. his Hand upon his Sword, as in the Print XXV, and his Hat under his Arm, even if it rain'd or snow'd, (he never putting it on but on Horseback) sometimes stroaking up his Hair, of which he had but very little over his Ears and behind his Head, with his Right Hand. He was standing thus at Mr. *Grothusen's*, when I had the Honour of being presented to him by Mr. *Fabrice*, sometimes taking hold of one of his Buttons, or laying his Hand upon his Shoulder whilst speaking to him, as he used to all whom he allow'd such a Part of his Esteem. Amongst other News, Mr. *Fabrice* told him, after his usual gay lively manner, of the *Dutch Lady's* Journey to *Belgrade*, dress'd like an Officer, calling her an *Amazon*, who would come to his Majesty as another did to *Alexander*: He added, that the *Swedish* Officers cou'd raise a little Army of them (in case of need) for his Majesty's Service. The King laugh'd very heartily, and made this Repartee with his natural ready Wit, "That Village is a strange Place; the *Grand Seignior* had like to have lost his Throne, Mr. *de Ferriol* did his Reason, and without doubt this Lady ran some risque of losing at least her Reputation." Upon which Mr. *Grothusen*, who had heard that a *Jesuit* had like to have been hang'd there, told his Majesty of it, who would know the Circumstances of it, which were thus: That *Jesuit* was one of the most zealous for the Propagation of the *Roman* Catholick Faith, a great Maker of *Armenian* Profelytes, and the most indefatigable Labourer to compleat the pretended Conversion of Prince *Tekely*; in short, One who took it in his Head to bring the whole World over to his own Church; he us'd often to dine at the Ambassadors of *England* and *Holland*, (whose Palaces are always open to Persons of any Merit) where he never fail'd casting disadvantageous Reflections upon the *Reformation*, which he call'd a Subversion of the Catholick Church: Being once at the Village of *Belgrade*, at a time when fine Weather had invited great part of the *Franks* thither, he engag'd in Conversation with some young *English* Gentlemen, who were drinking Wine and *Punch* under the Trees, and whom he knew by having seen them at the *English* Ambassador's Table: He soon began (as usually) to inveigh against their Religion so far, or with such a Contempt and disrespectful manner, as to say in plain Terms, "That it had come out from the Breeches of *Henry* the VIIIth; that God abhorring it, had abandon'd the Nation (which was formerly a Nursery of Saints) ever since it had forsaken the *Roman* Catholick Apostolick Religion; and that a Proof of the Falsity of the New One, was the want of Miracles, which had always given a Sanction to the true Faith." Upon this one of the Company answer'd, "We have had no more Miracles ever since we have been rid of the Gentlemen of your Robe, who work'd them in the Name of the Saints, and have no Fools to believe them." To which the *Jesuit* reply'd, with a great deal of Heat, "You are Impious and Prophane," with other Words to the same purpose. Whereupon another *Englishman*, changing the Language from *Italian*, which they had till then talk'd, into *English*, said, "What Business has this *Jesuit* to intrude here amongst us? Let us treat him as they do his Brethren in *England*, by hanging him upon one of these Trees." His Design was applauded, and he began to untie (or make as if he was untying) his Garters to put it in Execution; of which the Father being inform'd by one of the most moderate, what hazard

hazard he ran in disputing (as he did) of Religion to People who only thought of drinking and diverting themselves; he retir'd with a great deal of Precipitation, and never was after seen in any such Company; he complain'd in vain to the Ambassadors, who advis'd him also to avoid it.

The King laugh'd at the Recital, and at the *English* Humour; and after some other Discourse, one coming to acquaint his Majesty that Dinner was ready, he walk'd into the Hall where the Cloath was laid; and a Priest having said Grace, he sat down with the Generals *Sparre*, *Daldorf Horth*, and some other Officers of the first Rank; spoke not a Word, eat with a very good Appetite, taking sometimes a Bit with his Right Hand out of one Dish, sometimes another with his Left out of another. Then quench'd his Thirst with a large Glas of Water, which was given him by the Chamberlain Mr. *Cliffendorf*, (for his Majesty wou'd never taste any other Liquor, and was with much ado perswaded to drink Small Beer in *Poland* or *Saxony*, never finding fault with, or praising any Dish for being well or ill season'd;) he rose from Table (as usual) in less than half an Hour. They who eat slowly (as did General *Sparre* amongst the rest) having but half din'd, came to Mr. *Grothusen's*, his Majesty's Favourite, (who kept an open and much more splendid Table than the King, whose Will it was he shou'd do so) and began afresh; his Majesty look'd at the Company thro' the Windows, and as soon as he saw that any one perceiv'd him, retir'd. About Three a-Clock he rode out, as he did every Day most commonly twice, attended by a Troop of Officers and others; and Mr. *Fabrice*, who knew his Custom, had order'd two Horses to be saddled for himself and me. The King kept him by his Side, and often took him by the Arm, as in the Print XXX, during the Time he honour'd him with his Conversation. I was a little behind with an Officer, whom I had made an Acquaintance with at *Constantinople*. At one time we Gallop'd, at another went a round Trot, according to the different Motions of our Royal Guide, and we did not return till about Eight in the Evening. His Majesty wou'd sometimes lead his Companions Thirty or Forty Miles, into Places where neither Villages, any thing to eat, and seldom Water cou'd be found; and heard with Pleasure that any one complain'd of Hunger or Thirst, which he cou'd himself bear better than any one in the World.

Being countenanced, and introduced by Mr. *Fabrice* to his Friends, both Civil and Military in the King's Court, I met with a very handsome Reception from all on his Account; and indeed he was generally belov'd; neither during about three Years, most part of which I was with him at *Bender*, did I know of his having any Enemy; but General *Daldorff* who was call'd his Politick Enemy, and that a very strange one, he being in Interests quite contrary to those of the Court for which Mr. *Fabrice* was Minister, and jealous of the Kindness his *Swedish* Majesty shew'd him, declar'd open War against him; but was at last vanquish'd by that Gentleman's Generosity, and extoll'd him to the Skies, as I shall observe afterwards. In short, Mr. *Fabrice's* Temper was agreeable to all, for he never meddled with any one's Affairs, but when requir'd to do them Service; nor made any other use of the Credit he had with the King, but to oblige.

Some Weeks after us, arriv'd a Courier from M. *Stiernock*, his Majesty's Resident at the Court of *Vienna*, with Letters concerning his Royal Protestation, in the *Appendix*, against the Treaty of Neutrality.

This

This Minister happening to mention very impolitickly, in these Dispatches, an Answer made by Prince *Eugene*, upon reading it, when presented to him, almost ruin'd his Highness in the King's good Opinion, who shewed always a true Esteem for his Person, so that his Majesty cou'd hardly hear him named for some while. This Answer, as related by Mr. *Stiernock*, was *Vana sine viribus Ira*; Wrath is vain without Forces. Mr. *Stiernock* was generally blam'd by those who were acquainted with the King and Prince, this being one of the greatest Admirers of his Majesty's Heroick Actions and Courage; insomuch, that he ought not to have put any other Construction upon his Highness's saying *Vana*, &c. but that this Prince meant only the melancholly Situation of that Monarch's Affairs, which put it out of his Power to execute his Designs for their Re establishment; if that Minister had understood Policy, he ought to have taken no Notice of it, but dissembled as the Situation of Affairs required.

In the mean while, the *Vaivod Cantemir*, a Greek both by Nation and Profession, whom the *Porte* had constituted Prince of *Moldavia*, having with 6000 Men, all of that Country, join'd the *Czar*, whose Army consisted of above 70000, when he entred that Principality; he had first deceiv'd himself, and then his *Czarian* Majesty, by inducing him (as was said) to engage in such an Enterprize, as marching into an Enemy's Dominions, having represented the *Moldavians* as ready to rise unanimously in his Favour, as soon as he shou'd appear amongst them, and the Country as a vast and abundant Magazine at his Devotion, and sufficient to subsist a numerous Army: Upon his Defection, *Nicholas Mauro Cordato* was made Prince in his stead.

His *Czarian* Majesty, charm'd with such a Beginning and such promising Hopes, expected no less from the Prince of *Walachia*, and those under his Government; but he reckon'd without his Host, as will be seen by the Sequel: However, (according to the Opinion of those who pretend to be well vers'd in the Art of War) he had a fine Game to play, if he had manag'd his Cards well; but instead of taking *Bender*, which was not in a Condition to hold out long, and then marching directly to the *Danube* with his whole Army, while fresh, and disputing the *Visier's* Passage, (who in all Appearance would never have attempted it) he (or rather the *Felt-Marshal Czeremetoff*, under whom his Majesty acted only as Lieutenant General,) divided and fatigued it by vain Marches; first he sent General *Janus*, with a Detachment of 8000 Men, into *Moldavia*, where he wandered up and down in Hopes of inciting that People to take up Arms; whereas, on the contrary, they did not so much as offer to stir, but to fly his Approaches, and avoid furnishing him with Provisions, tho' he offer'd to pay for it, hiding themselves with their best Effects among the Mountains and Woods; then he made General *Rhennes* march with the same View into *Walachia*, where he acted almost the same Part with 9000 Men, and was amused by the Prince with Compliments, and specious Pretences, excusing himself, by alledging that he was not in a Condition to do as he desired for his *Czarian* Majesty; in a Word, treating him as he had before done the *Imperialists*, tricking both them and the *Turks* by Turns, and being sincere to neither; so that this General having wandered vain up and down (as well as the other) hearing that the *Visier* drew near the *Danube*, quitted the Northern Side of it, having plundered and reduced to Ashes the little Town of *Ibraeli*, with some Villages, and seized what Cattle he could for the Subsistence of his Men.

The

The *Visier* receiving Advice of all this, passed the *Danube* at *Saccia*, on the first of *July*, and marched something more briskly, sending before a great Body of *Turkish* Horse, which, with the *Tartars* and *Poles*,* form'd an Army large enough to make Head against the *Czar*, who was already but in a bad Condition. Parties returned daily laden with Booty, one consisting of 1000 Men seized of 600 Waggon's with Ammunition; *Sultan Galga* the *Cham's* Eldest Son had just surprized and hem'd in 700 Forragers, whom he sent to *Cauchan*, the Town already named, 4 Leagues from *Bender*; and a *Polish* Partisan took 105 Grenadiers Prisoners, with the Convoy they were guarding, which he brought to the King of *Sweden*, who sent them with the News of the melancholy State of the *Muscovite* Army, between the *Nyester* and the *Pruth*, to the *Visier*, who was marching to meet them, and 'twas even said they were come to Blows.

* A great many Poles, distressed to King Augustus, had resorted to *Bender*, since the King of Sweden's Arrival there, and some were still daily resorting.

Having a Curiosity to see the Engagement of the two Powers, I set out from *Bender* on the 7th, and finding which Road the *Turkish* Forces had taken, I join'd them on the 9th in the Evening, on the Eastern Side of the *Pruth*, where the *Visier* was encamp'd, at the Place mark'd N. 1. in my Plan N. XXVI. A, where they were arriv'd but few Hours. The Army consisted (as some Officers assured me) of 200,000 Men; I don't say Soldiers, for one must distinguish and take away from these 50,000, as well Servants (of which the Superior Officers have always a large and numerous Retinue) as Sutlers, and other sort of Hangers on, who are not pay'd for Fighting, and generally follow the Camp.

All the Tents of the *Grand Visier*, *Bashaws* and *Generals* of the *Spahis* and *Janizaries*, were of an extraordinary Magnificence and Bigness, of which we have but faint Imitations in *Christendom*; and the others being also proportionably beautiful, my Eyes were agreeably entertain'd with the vast and noble Prospect; I say vast, for they extended so far that my Sight was almost lost in viewing them, the *Turks* not encamping so near each other as we do, besides their bringing always a greater Number of Men into the Field.

Having renewed Acquaintance with the *Turkish* Officer already mention'd, who was Prisoner at *Venice* when I was there in 1697, and had been delivered by *My Lord Paget* at the Treaty of *Carlowitz*, I enquired for his Quarters, which were shewn me at N. 11, and I found that he was made *Bashaw* of 2 *Tughs* or *Tails*, and commanded a good Body of *Albanians*. He receiv'd me very civilly, and offer'd me one of his Tents with his Table, which I accepted.

General *Janus* appeared the Day after my Arrival on the other Side, with 8000 Men, in the Plain called in the *Moldavian* Tongue, *Itusse*, and in *Turkish*, *Falksin*, (lying between the River *Pruth* and a Ridge of little Mountains) whither without doubt he was come to *Reconnoitre*; the *Tartars* perceiving him, hastened (according to Custom) to swim over the River at N. 9. without waiting either for Orders or Bridges; which having done, and being joined by some little Parties, who had passed over some Days before, and been in Pursuit of Convoys, they skirmished with him, and took 200 Prisoners; and he had fared worse if *Felt-Marshal Czeremetoff*, who joined him with a larger Detachment, had not dispersed them; or rather if they had not retired themselves on his coming; for not finding themselves strong enough to sustain his Forces when united with the others, they went to invite their Brethren, whom the *Tartar Han* had ordered to pass over with all Speed at N. 10. The two Generals made as if they would encamp,

and designed to dispute the *Turks* Passage over the *Pruth*, havin given caused some Tents to be pitched; but Night coming on depriv'd us of the Sight of them, as well as of themselves; however, if they had this Intention, without doubt they chang'd their Minds upon seeing the great Quantity of Cannons which the *Turks* had upon the River Side, where they were employed all Night in laying over Bridges at N. 2. for the next Morning they appeared no more, and the Reason was, that the *Han*, having passed the first Bridge that could be got ready, was at their Heels with above 25000 *Tartars* which he had gathered together. Three Bridges being finished about 8 in the Morning, 4 *Bashaws* immediately cross'd the River with 26000 Men, and the rest followed and were preparing to fall upon the Generals, from whom the *Tartar Han* had taken and kill'd above 600 Men, and the *Poles* brought off 38 Pontons, with 400 Men who guarded them; when they had recovered the main Body of the *Russian* Army, it hardly seemed to make 40000 Men out of above 70000 which it consisted of at its entring into *Moldavia*. That Army, instead of endeavouring to give or receive Battle, covered themselves with *Chevaux de Frise*, which were carried by Foot-Soldiers, and throwing themselves into the quadrangular Form, marked N. 3. in the Plan hereunto annexed, directed their March towards a Wood, tho' but very slowly, being obliged to stop every Minute to withstand and repel the Attacks and Skirmishes of the *Turkish* and *Tartarian* Horse, who kill'd them from 11 in the Morning till 1 in the Afternoon, above 500 Men, among which were 2 Colonels and other Officers; when, being ready to sink under their Fatigues, and despairing to gain it, they threw themselves into a sort of Bottom of a Sack, which the *Pruth* forms in winding, at N. 7, where they entrenched themselves as well and as quickly as possible, by casting up Earth on their *Chevaux de Frise*, and ranging their Waggon before to cover them, thro' which they fired upon the *Spahis*, *Tartars* and *Poles*, encamped then with the *Han* at 8, who were continually skirmishing with and annoying them. Their Misery was inexpressible, most Part of the Officers (as Deserters affirmed) had not eaten any Bread in 2 Days, one may judge what was the Condition of the common Soldiers; the Horses were as ill provided, for not having had any Forrage as long, and being reduced to browse upon some Branches of Trees that grew on the River side, they dy'd in Heaps; and those that survived were so famished and so weak, that they were in Suspence whether they should mount them, or put them to when there was Occasion.

In the mean while the whole main Body of the *Ottoman* Army having passed the *Pruth* at N. 2. found themselves about 6 in the Evening within a little more than Cannon Shot of the *Russians*. The *Visier*, with part of the Army, encamped at N. 4. and false Intrenchments were thrown up about them, the rest forming a Crescent round the *Czar's* Forces, the *Fanizaries* and *Spahis* even according to that the *Muscovites* themselves gave out, and as is represented upon their own Plan, N. 25 B, which differs from mine only in Bigness; for the *Fanizaries* and *Spahis*, considering that the Enemies were but weakly entrenched, marched directly to them, and attacked them Sabre in Hand, at N. 7. whilst the *Poles* and *Tartars* coming upon them from N. 8. and the Wood, harra's'd them by their Skirmishes, and poured down a continual Shower of Arrows upon them.

The first Attack was very vigorous, but the Resistance was not less

so, since they were repulsed 3 times, and almost as ill used as the *Muscovites* had been before; which so daunted them, that the abating of their Courage, more than Night's drawing on, induced them to wait the coming up of their Artillery, in order (as they said) to renew the next Morning their Attack more effectually; and they threw up before themselves a Parapet, N. 6. at a prudent Distance from the *Muscovite* Camp. The next Day being the 11th, about 200 of the least weighty Pieces of their Artillery, consisting in all of 600 Brass Cannons (some of which were so large that 36 strong *Buffalos* being fastened to each of them could hardly draw them) arrived early in the Morning, and good Part of them were pointed and ready to play, after which they began to fire with more Noise than Effect, for about three Quarters of an Hour; and the *Muscovites* answered briskly with their's, which did not exceed 100 Pieces, but being better pointed did more Execution; and there were hardly 200 kill'd on both Sides, when the Latter ceasing their firing, display'd some white Colours, and immediately an Officer was seen to come out of their Camp, and go directly without being stop'd to that of the *Visier*, who not being used to such rough Musick as the great Guns, and alarmed at the falling of some Shot within a small Distance of his Quarters, removed to N. 5. leaving some *Bashaws* to command the Forces at N. 4.

The Tent of my Landlord being then at N. 12. we easily guessed that the Design of his *Czarian* Majesty was to capitulate, and were informed afterwards by *Swedish* Prisoners, (who had list'd in the *Muscovite* Army after the Battle of *Pultowa*, and deserted as soon as they saw themselves in a Manner at Liberty, by the first Cessation of Hostilities,) that the *Czar* having viewed the *Ottoman* Army, and consider'd its being as fresh and well furnished with all Things, as his own on the contrary was fatigued and destitute, seemed all at once to be struck with Confusion, and said "Here am I in as bad a Condition as my Brother Charles was at *Pultowa*;" whereupon he entered into his Tent, which was in the Center of the Baggage at A, in the Plan N. XXV B, commanding that none should approach or speak to him, either having or feigning to have a convulsive Fit, with which (they say) this Prince is too often troubled. They added, that in the mean while his Generals held a Council of War, and said that the *Janizaries* not returning to the Attack Sword in Hand as the Evening before, Fear had taken Place of their Courage; whereupon it was resolved to march out from their Entrenchments, and charge them with the utmost Vigour, rather than suffer themselves to be reduced and perish by want of Action and by Famine, at their Discretion; alledging, that if they did not obtain the Victory, they might put them into Confusion, and take the Advantage of it to manage a Retreat; they farther said, that the Chancellor *Shaffirof* objected that this wou'd be a desperate Attempt, which they might have recourse to as their last Refuge, and that his Sentiments were to demand a Suspension of Hostilities from the *Visier* in order to Capitulate; that his Advice was approv'd of, and the *Czarina* being the only Person excepted out of the Prohibition, was desired to take upon her to propose it, which she did with Success; and that the *Felt-Marshal Czeremetoff* had Orders from his *Czarian* Majesty to write to the Prime *Visier*, and according to all Appearances 'twas after a very persuasive Manner.

Some *Muscovite* Officers, who pretended to have been then very near the *Czar's* Person, and followed the Hostages to *Constantinople*, contradicted

ed all these Circumstances as suppositious, and affirm'd that his Majesty had shewn a Resolution worthy of a Hero; and that this Prince, who never before would act but as a Lieutenant General in his Army, seeing the bad State of his Affairs, assum'd the Character belonging to his Dignity, had his Generals summoned, held a Council of War, at which he presided, and wherein 'twas resolv'd that the *Felt Marshal Czeremetoff* shou'd write to the *Visier*, and offer him reasonable Conditions of Peace, and that a Trumpeter of General *Janus's* was the Bearer of the Letter. However it was, the *Visier* had hardly receiv'd it when he commanded his Men to cease Firing, and sent to proclaim this Order throughout the Army by 20 or 30 *Chiaouz*; and his Answer to it was pretty favourable, tho' something haughty and short, to wit, *That the Czar might send his first Minister, and he should be heard*. Immediately the Chancellor *Shaffirof* came to the *Visier's*, where he manag'd his Cards so well that before Night the Peace was concluded and Sign'd, in spite of all the Steps that were taken to obstruct it by Mr. *Poniatowsky*, who had always been invited to the Councils of War, but excluded from that wherein the Peace was to be treated on, as may be seen by the Letter in the *Appendix*, which he wrote thereupon to King *Stanislaus*. Whilst these Things were in Agitation the *Janizaires*, instead of shewing the least Discontent at losing so favourable an Opportunity of gaining an easy and assured Conquest, went for the most Part without Permission, and without waiting for the Conclusion of the Treaty, or the proclaiming of the Peace, to carry the Over-plus of their Provision into the *Russian* Camp, where they sold it to the *Muscovites*, whom they already call'd by the Name of *Cardash* or Brothers. It was during this that the *Swedes* deserted, and came over to join their King. My Landlord the *Bashaw* perceiving this, with Indignation, said to me in *Italian*, which he had learnt in his Captivity at *Venice*, to the end that he might not be understood by any other, "Are not
 " you asham'd for us, to see an Army so numerous, so well provided
 " with all Necessaries, show so little Courage and Resolution against
 " another so inferior in Number, and destitute of every Thing? I'll
 " tell you the Reason (added he without giving me time to answer)
 " and the Consequence: Our Emperor, since his Accession to the
 " Throne, has put to Death, different Ways, above 30000 of those
 " Men (who had indeed a Hand in Dethroning of his Brother *Sultan*
 " *Mustapha*) but who were the best and most experienced Officers and
 " Soldiers in the *Ottoman* Army, for fear they should one Day take
 " it in their Heads to depose himself; thus he has weakened the Em-
 " pire, to strengthen and assure himself upon the Throne, having put
 " in their Room only * *Poustes*," a Term which the *Turks* use (be-
 " sides its obscene Signification) to describe young raw Fellows without
 " Experience, and fit for little or nothing, which are but too common in
 " the *Turkish* Armies. " We are happy (continued he) in having only
 " *Muscovites* to deal with, but if we had to do with *Germans*, we
 " shou'd be undone; and God preserve us from coming to Blows with
 " them." The last War which they had together, and which was so
 " unfortunate for the *Turks*, seem'd (as it were) the Accomplishment of
 " this Prophecy, which was only dictated by his Knowledge of the Dis-

* *Poustes*, The ancient Romans, who did not carry Women with them into the Field, as the Christians do at present, tolerated such young Men and call'd them Pellices, and the French by a softer Term call them Ganymedes; and it is so unusual among the *Turks* to carry Women in their Army, that the *Visier* (being an Enemy (as 'twas said) to the horrid Vice of Sodomy) had two of his own Concubines in Mens Apparel, under the Guard of Black Eunuchs.

cipline of the one, and the want of it in the others; tho' the *Muscovites* having learnt the Art of War from their being beaten by the *Swedes*, cannot now be said to want Discipline.

The Peace being concluded upon the Terms in the *Appendix*, and Sign'd by each Party, was publish'd next Morning by break of Day, by some *Chiaous* throughout the *Ottoman* Army, and in that of the *Muscovites* at the Sound of Trumpets by two Secretaries of his *Czarian* Majesty's Chancery, who perform'd the Office of Heralds at Arms; and the Chancellor *Shaffirof*, with the Son of General *Czeremetoff*, were given as Hostages for the Performance of the Articles. The *Grand Visier* had two fine Tents set up for them, and sent to the *Czar* 2000 Quintals of Biskets, some of new Bread, 8000 of Rice, 1000 Okes of Coffee, that is to say 2500 of our Weight; and *Osman Aga*, his *Kiaia*, was dispatch'd in the Evening to the *Grand Seignior* with the Treaty, and a Letter to his Highness. Three *Bashaws*, with each of them 1000 Horse, march'd the same Day to the *Czar's* Camp, to bear him Company, or rather secure him from the Insults of the *Tartars*, who did not cease moving round him in spite of the *Chiaous*, and the Orders which the *Visier* obliged the *Han* (not otherwise satisfy'd with this Peace) to give them contrary to his Inclination.

This done, the *Muscovite* Army began its March, Drums beating, Colours flying, and Hautboys playing at the Head of each Regiment from the Centre of the Right Flank; four Batallions form'd the Front, the Soldiers carrying the *Chevaux de Frise* as before when they gain'd the Bottom of the Sack before-mention'd, and forming a Square tho' not so large, having left in their Camp a great Number of Waggon, and their heaviest Baggage, (with which the *Tartars* made bold) for want of Horses to draw them. The Men kill'd on both Sides, according to the justest and most disinterested Calculations, did not amount to above 6000, from the Time the *Turks* pass'd the Bridge till the Peace was publish'd; but the *Muscovite* Army was diminish'd almost the half from the time of its Entrance into *Moldavia* to its Marching out, being more destroy'd by its self than its Enemies.

The King of *Sweden* (to whom Mr. *Poniatowsky* had sent Word that the *Czar* was so hemm'd in, and in such a Condition that in all Probability he had no other Measures to take but to surrender his Person Prisoner of War, with all his Forces, and give himself up to the Mercy of the *Turks*) had immediately mounted on Horseback, and arriv'd at the Camp the same Day, whence he cou'd even then see the Rear of the *Czar's* Army on its March in Peace. His Majesty alighted at Mr. *Poniatowsky's* Tent, and heard the Explication of the Scene's being thus chang'd, with all the Surprize that may be well imagin'd. The *Visier*, being inform'd of his Arrival at the Camp, sent to compliment him, and invite him to his Tent; which his Majesty promised, and went thither, not so much in answer to his Invitation, as to reproach him, as he thought he deserv'd for his Treaty. Amongst other Things, he ask'd him, if he could justify what he had done? To which the *Visier* answer'd, that he had the Power of making either Peace or War, and had obtain'd more of the *Czar* than ever the *Grand Seignior* had expected or demanded. The King, without endeavouring to refute his Vanity in claiming such an Authority, added, "You had your Enemies at your Discretion if you would, and might have reap'd much more considerable Advantages, how great soever those may be you pretend to have gain'd; and if I had yet this Minute 20,000 of your
" best

" best Troops, I could make you recover the Opportunity which you
 " have neglected, and are upon the point of losing, and will never have
 " so favourable again; and I should not at all doubt delivering the
 " *Czar* a Prisoner to the *Grand Seignor*, who might do as he pleas'd
 " with him, and at least keep him till the Treaty were executed. "
 To this the *Visier* answer'd, " God (who commands us to pardon an
 " Enemy who asks it, and humbles himself before us, as the *Czar*
 " has) preserve us from breaking a Treaty of Peace without any Rea-
 " son; I have Hostages as a Security for the Performance of it. "
 Whereupon Mr. *Poniatowsky*, who was present (seeing that his Maje-
 sty kept silence, with a disdainful Smile) answer'd, " The King has
 " at this Time in his Capital City an Embassador of the *Czar's* Pri-
 " soner, whom he sent to make all manner of Protestations of an in-
 " violable Friendship, and of maintaining a good Intelligence with
 " his Majesty, at the very Time that he was himself upon his March
 " with 80,000 Men to surprize one of his Castles. But (added he)
 " there is still a Remedy, which is that which has been propos'd; and
 " even without breaking the Treaty, the *Czar* may be stop't with
 " 20 or 30,000 of your best Troops; at the Head of which the King
 " will put himself, to oblige him to an honourable Peace with his Ma-
 " jesty, before he proceeds farther. " The *Visier* reply'd, " However
 " this seems to me at least an indirect Violation of our Treaty. "
 Hereupon the King said, " When I offer'd to stop the *Czar*, it was not
 " to sue to him for Peace; for when I do that, he must be victori-
 " ous even to the Gates of *Stockholm*; " on which the *Visier* re-as-
 sum'd the Discourse, and said, " There is an Article in the Treaty I
 " have made, according to which his Majesty may return into his Do-
 " minions, and pass even thro' the *Czar's* Territories with a strong Con-
 " voy which he shall have of the *Sublime Porte*; after which, if he plea-
 " ses, he may make Peace with him. " The King look'd full at the
Visier, and laugh'd in his Face, after a scornful Manner, without
 making him any Answer. Mr. *Poniatowsky* had entred upon another
 Argument about some *Swedish* Prisoners who had escap'd from the
Czar's Army to that of the *Turks*, when the Time of Prayer (which a
 Battle wherein a *Mahometan* is engag'd at that very Time, or some
 other very pressing Action, may make him suspend but not omit)
 being come, the *Visier* retired without saying any Thing, to offer up
 his Devotions in a Place separate from where they were. In the mean
 Time the King, without waiting his Return, got on Horseback a Mi-
 nute after, and went to eat a Mouthful in Mr. *Poniatowsky's* Tent; af-
 ter which he set out for *Bender*, leaving behind him that Gentleman,
 who was detained by the Affair of the *Swedish* Deserters, and some
 other Business.

I stay'd till the 16th with my courteous *Bashaw*, who gave me many
 Proofs of Friendship, even so far as to persuade me to embrace his Ré-
 ligion, (which among the *Turks* is a great Compliment, and such as
 they offer to none of a different Religion but those they most love,
 and whom they look on to be honest and faithful in their Dealing, and
 consequently, as they term it, worthy to be admitted into the Number
 of the true Believers;) and to his Exhortation he join'd a Promise to
 make good whatever temporal Advantage I might thereby loose among
 the Christians; and upon my Refusal, desir'd I wou'd not take what he
 had said amiss, as his Conscience, and the good Opinion he had of me,
 oblig'd him to it.

Having

Having already a Design to visit *Tartary*, and fearing I should perhaps never meet with so good an Opportunity to obtain a Passport from the *Han*, I desired the *Bashaw*, who was his particular Friend, to procure me one; which he promised, and took me with him to that Prince's Camp N. 8, who received us very graciously, and we sat under his Tent as in the Print, the *Tartar Han* at A, the *Bashaw* at B, my self at C, and two *Tartarian* Attendants at D. After some general Discourse about the War, and the Peace newly made, which seem'd not to please him; the *Bashaw* acquainted him with the Favour I desired of him; he answered, *it shall be done*, and asked me when I intended to go? I told him I was not yet fully determin'd as to the Time of my Departure; but thought it might be about the Beginning of *November*, that I might have the Winter before me, and especially the Opportunity of the Frost to go into *Noghian Tartary*, after I had seen *Crim* and traversed the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, as some *Tartars* of that Country had advised me; he said 'twas very well, and immediately ordered the Passport to be written and dated the End of *October* following. As he was more inquisitive about the Affairs of *Christendom*, than the *Turks*, he asked me several Questions about them, and said he wonder'd that so small a Kingdom as *England* shou'd be so rich and powerful (as the great Fleet, the numerous Armies, so many Victories gain'd, and strong Places taken, shou'd it to be) and not think of aggrandizing itself by keeping Possession of its Conquests: I answer'd that the Extent of a Country was not so much the Cause of its Riches and Power, as of the contrary, (which *Genoa* and *Venice* had experienced to their Cost) but it was the Trade; and that *England*, fully convinced of this, caused its own to flourish all the World over, and by that means render'd the Subjects rich and prosperous; that its floating Castles large and deep Ditch always full between it and its Enemies, secured it from Surprise, in case they endeavour'd to disturb its Tranquility and Peace; which if they attempted, or quarrell'd with one another, that by its Native Forces and Foreign Troops always ready to enter in its Service, and encouraged to it by being well paid, hindred the Stronger from oppressing the Weaker, and set *Europe*, of which it held the Ballance, upon a just and peaceable Equality: He also wondred that *France*, which (he heard) was so powerful a Country, had been always victorious even alone, against all, was now, tho' in Conjunction with *Spain*, &c. beaten every where; to which I said, that the Alliance of *Spain* had rather proved a Charge than Assistance to *France*, as it did to its former Friends; that however the Emperor *Joseph* being dead, and his Brother *Charles*, who was design'd King of *Spain*, succeeding him, the Scene might soon change (according to some fresh Advices which the *Swedes* had from their Minister in *England*;) he ask'd me what they were? I answer'd, that the *English* Ministry was chang'd, and the new one was as favourable to *France* as the former contrary, and for giving it a Peace so long wish'd for, by which the Crown of *Spain* should remain on King *Philip*'s Head, thinking it against the right Balance of *Europe*, that both the Imperial and *Spanish* ones should be on the same Head, &c. He kept me above an Hour in asking me Questions; and when I wanted *Turkish* Terms to express my self, the old *Bashaw*, who understood me better, had the Complaisance to ask me my Meaning in *Italian*, and to explain it to him; after which the Coffee, &c. (the Signal of Parting) being brought and drank, we withdrew. The next Day General *Poniatowsky*, displeased with the

Visiter

Visier, who refused him the *Swedes* above-mentioned, and ordered him not to take so much Liberty in talking against the Peace, told me he was resolved to set out for *Bender*, and asked me if I would go with him, to which I consented, telling him I should be proud of his Company; and he fix'd next Morning the 16th, for our Departure; so having return'd Thanks to the courteous *Bashaw* for his Civilities, and promised to wait on him as often I had Opportunity, I went to the General, and we left the *Turkish* Army. On the Road I ask'd a Peasant if he knew any one who had some old Pieces of Coin, and he brought me a Neighbour of whom I bought the two Medals mark'd N. 2 and 4 on the Plan, N. XXV B. where on one are also the two Busts of the *Czar*, and the *Baltagi Mehemet*, very like them. We arrived at *Bender* the 18th before Noon. The *Visier*, without knowing whether the King would depart or no, or if he would, it would be thro' *Germany*, had no sooner concluded the Peace at *Pruth* in the Manner mentioned, than he dispatch'd Mr. *Fleishman*, the Imperial Secretary, who was in his Camp, to demand of the Regency at *Vienna* a free Passage for his *Swedish* Majesty, giving him a Letter Sign'd by himself for that Purpose. The King had not been long come back from the *Visier*, before the *Nyester* overflowed its Banks in an extraordinary Manner, and drowned the little *Carlopolis*; and this Prince, who was alarm'd at nothing, and was always the last to retire from the greatest Danger, or, to speak more properly, always forced from it, as it were against his Will, had Water in his Palace half Leg high before he mounted his Horse. His Majesty went to encamp upon an Eminency on the same Side of the River, as represented in my Plan XXXI, a Quarter of a League or nearer a little Village, call'd *Warnitza*, inhabited by *Moldavians* and *Walachians*, with whom most of his People lodged; and having sent an ample Memorial to the *Grand Seignior* concerning the *Visier's* Conduct at *Pruth*, expecting the Effects of it, when he heard that Mr. *Fleishman*, who had scarce been three Weeks on his Journey, was returned to the Army, and brought for Answer, that the late Emperor *Joseph* thought he had made an agreeable Compliment to the King in offering him, soon after his Arrival in *Turky*, as honourable a Passage thro' his Dominions, as his Imperial Majesty could hope for from his Subjects, were he to pass in Person; nevertheless that Prince refused it in a Manner, that shew'd it was contrary to his Humour and Design; however, if his Majesty had altered his Opinion, he should find the Regency as well disposed in his Favour as his late Imperial Majesty, and the Way should be open for him, accompanied with all the Respect and Honours due to his Royal Dignity. The *Visier*, who knew the King's Constancy, did not think proper, at first, to propose his going thro' *Germany* for fear of irritating him; but sent the *Bashaw* of *Salonica* to propose his returning thro' *Poland* with 8000 *Saphis*, unless his Majesty would be pleas'd to pass thro' *Germany*, from whence he had Assurances that he should be receiv'd with all possible Respect and Honour; and as tho' he was not sure of the King's Consent, he ordered the *Saphis* to march to *Bender* with as many Waggon's as he thought necessary. To this Proposal the King answered, that he would have no other Convoy than was promised him at first in the *Grand Seignior's* Name, which was all he had to say to the *Visier*; who being nettled at the Refusal, resolv'd to use his Authority to make him depart whatever might be the Consequence, and sent immediately one of his *Aga's* to the *Serasquier* of
Bender,

Bender, ordering him to go in Person to the King, and make the same Offer once more ; adding further, that if his Majesty persisted in his Intention not to go thro' *Poland*, but with the numerous Escorte which he indeed at first demanded, but to his Knowledge was never positively granted by the *Grand Seignior* ; and if he staid in *Turkey* with such Hopes, his Highness would not only be disoblged thereby, but might take such Measures as would not be in the least favourable to his Majesty's Resolution. The King receiv'd the *Serasquier*, who brought this Compliment, and the *Aga* who was with him, standing, and made the same Answer as to the first ; whereupon the *Serasquier* having intimated the *Visier's* Threats in the best and handsomest Terms he could, the King, who presently apprehended his Meaning, and could never endure to be controlled, reply'd, *What does the Visier pretend to terrify and force me, I am resolved to oppose to the utmost any Violence, go and tell him so!* and at the same Time gave Orders to some Officers who were present to arm his People, and in an Instant 226 of them were ready. The *Serasquier*, surprized at this new Scene, said aloud, as he went away, *God preserve us from fighting with our Friends.* The *Visier* no sooner heard this, than he ordered the *Thaim* to be cut off from him and his People, as thinking by that Means to reduce his Majesty to a Compliance, but did not know him well enough. The King, upon this, instead of retrenching his Expences, considering how little Money there was in his Treasury, directed the Marshal *Dubens* to keep two Tables more for the Officers. By this Time, the *Visier* having Notice of the Memorial against him, had forbid any Body passing the *Danube* who was going from the *Swedish* Court to *Constantinople*, and they stopped even Mr. *Jeffrey's* *Valet de Chambre*, and two *Frenchmen* that came from thence, besides three *Swedish* Officers. The Marshal *Dubens* was soon at a Loss for Money, tho' Mr. *Grothusen*, the King's Favourite and great Treasurer, borrowed of *Jews*, *Turks*, *Greeks*, &c. all that he could, even at 20 *per Cent. per Month*, and knowing what Sums Mr. *Fabrice* had already supply'd the Court with, represented to him the Difficulties he found to furnish two extraordinary Tables without a Recruit, since what Mr. *Grothusen* procured on those exorbitant Terms was not sufficient. Mr. *Fabrice* gave him some Thousand Dollars, and said he was sorry that the Passage of the *Danube* was stop'd, otherwise he would endeavour to get more from *Constantinople*. Hearing of this, one Day that we Supp'd at the Chancellor *Mullern's*, I said, I was well enough acquainted with *Turky* to undertake to get over : His Excellency asked me if I would attempt it, and if he might propose it to the King ? I said yes : He left us after Supper to go to his Majesty, who gave Orders for and signed my Dispatches, which took up most part of the Night ; Mr. *Fabrice* also wrote some Letters. As soon as the Court Dispatches were ready, we took the Past-board off from some Books I had, and put them in their Room, sticking Paper thereon to hide them from the *Turks* if I should be searched. I set out the 8th of *September*, at 3 in the Morning, for *Kilia*, proposing to go thence by Water to *Constantinople* if the Wind was favourable, sooner than any other Way, Vessels being never wanting there ; or, if it was contrary, to pass the *Danube* at *Ismael*, the small Town six Leagues higher, already mention'd, and go by Land. I arriv'd at *Kilia* in the Evening, which is 28 Leagues from *Bender* ; it is a pretty large Town at the Mouth of the *Danube*, seven or eight Leagues above the Place where it falls into the *Black-Sea*, is well peopled with *Turks*, *Jews*, *Greeks*, and a few *Armenians*, and has a

large old Castle, without any Garrison, or any thing remarkable. I immediately enquired if the Wind was fair, and any Vessel on Departure for *Constantinople*, which is above 200 Miles by Water; and was told there were 2 or 3 which would fall down the next Morning, tho' the Wind was not very favourable. Upon this I went to the *Aga* who commanded there, and told him that having finish'd my Affairs at *Bender*, I was going to *Constantinople*, desiring to know if I could do him any Service there; he presently answered I must not go, the *Visier* having positively forbid the letting any one pass from the King of *Sweden*. I replied I was not a *Swede*, and had nothing to do with the Differences between the *Visier* and that Prince; and that my Affairs, which required my speedy Return, ought not to suffer thereby; that the *Visier* had not forbidden the Observation of our Capitulations with the *Porte*, by which I was permitted to go and come all over the *Ottoman* Empire without Molestation or Hindrance, and at the same Time, shewed him my *Ferman* or *Turkish* Passport, which he said was of too old a Date: I answered, the Capitulations were my sufficient Passport, and they were never out of Date. He reply'd, he was oblig'd to follow the *Visier's* Orders, which were not only to arrest any of the King of *Sweden's* People, but to search their Trunks for Letters; I told him again that I was not one of them, and that he might nevertheless send any one to look over my Things; upon which he ordered his *Kiaia* to go with me, which he did to a *Greek's* where I lodged, and shew'd him my Baggage; and knowing that a Present had great Influence upon a *Turk*, I gave him a small Spying-Glass for himself, and a larger for the *Aga*, which were among my Things; he searched as if he did not intend to find, and did not so much as touch the Books where the Dispatches were, then returned to the *Aga*, whom he inclined to favour me, as he promised, and to which the Telescopes contributed not a little, and brought me a Permission to go, and an Invitation to drink a Dish of Coffee with him before my Departure; which I did, and then embark'd; and the same Day we fell down to the End of the *Danube's* Mouth, and there cast Anchor. On the Morrow, the Wind being very fair, we put to Sea; but hastening even to a Storm, the Sailors, who were all *Turks* as well as the Master, were alarmed, and acquainted me of their Apprehension; I said I did not pretend to understand Navigation well, tho' I had been some Months together at Sea, but I thought the Wind being fair for entring into the Channel at *Constantinople*, they need only furl their Sails, and keep from the Land, as the Master had already ordered, and I did not doubt but we should arrive early next Day in Sight of it; however their Fear made them vow a *Corban* or Sacrifice, which consists of some Sheep to be killed for the Poor, in Case they arrived safe. Next Day, before Noon, we came near *Pompey's* pretended Pillar, which I have already mention'd in my coming from *Sinope*; and the Wind being abated in the Morning, became so calm, that we could scarce get into the Channel before Night, tho' it is not much above a Musquet-Shot from thence. Here I paid my Captain, and took a Boat for *Constantinople*, because the Vessel being becalmed, it was the most expeditious Way. Hereupon the Sailors asked me to contribute to their *Corban*, for which they were making a Collection: I told them that I neither made any Vow nor was afraid, and therefore was not concern'd in theirs; however I gave them something to drink Coffee, and proceeded on my Voyage, and I arrived

at

at *Constantinople* that Night, and went directly to Colonel *Funck's*, then *Swedish* Envoy, but found only Mr. *Perman*, the King's Secretary there, who told me a *Capigi Bashaw*, with some *Chiaoux* of the *Porte*, had been there some Days before, and told the Envoy, in a Manner something abrupt and uncivil, that he must go to the *Visier*, and oblig'd him to it that Instant. Upon it I delivered the King's Dispatches to Mr. *Perman*, with full Power from his Majesty, for the Bearer to borrow of the *Franks* any Sum whatever without Limitation, and on what Conditions he could: But notwithstanding Mr. *Perman's* using his utmost Efforts, whatever Offers he could make, he could induce but 2 *English* Merchants, Messieurs *Thomas Cook* and *Hornby*, (for the first of which I had a Letter from Mr. *Fabrice*,) to advance any Money; however these did lend his Majesty 30,000 Dollars in Gold, for which the first took Mr. *Perman's* Receipt, and gave his own Note to the second to be accountable to him for his Share in the Whole, which I undertook to carry safe to *Bender*. To this Intent I got a Pass from the *Porte*, as an Express from Sir *Robert Sutton*, the *English* Ambassador at *Constantinople*, to Mr. *Jefferys*, Minister of the same Crown to the King of *Sweden*; and dividing the Gold into two Leather Bags, and loading it upon a Horse, I receiv'd Mr. *Perman's* Letters, and set out on the 18th of *September*, with a *Janizary* and one Servant. Coming near the *Danube*, I was forced to pass thro' the *Turkish* Army, greatest Part of which had repass'd the River. The *Aga* of the *Janizaries* no sooner perceiv'd us, than he ordered us to be stop'd, and demanded who I was, and whither going? I answered, I was of *Britain*, and had Business with the *English* Minister at *Bender*; and the *Janizary* (who belonged to Mr. *Stafford*, a Merchant of that Nation, and my good Friend, whom I could depend upon,) being question'd, confirm'd what I said, and added that I had nothing to do with the *Swedes*; and, to speak the Truth, I did not think fit to acquaint him otherwise. As I was presently permitted to pursue my Journey, and as we came to *Cauchan*, a small Town already mention'd, three or four Leagues from *Bender*, where I stopt to dine and change Horses, which not being soon ready, I sent the Servant before with a Letter to Mr. *Fabrice*, to acquaint him with my being there, and my Success. His Majesty having notice of it, pleasantly call'd me an Envoy very Extraordinary, and graciously ordered them to receive me at *Bender* almost as such, Messieurs *Grothusen*, *Dubens*, and *Fief* coming out to meet me, giving me a noble Supper that Night, and placing me at the Upper End of the Table, at which the King, who came to look at us thro' the Windows, was not displeas'd; and we took care not to take any notice of his Majesty. They assured me, there were not 100 Ducats in the Treasury at my Arrival; wherefore I might be sure I was not unwelcome with my 30,000 Dollars; and now they began to build another *Carlopolis* near *Warnitza*, as tho' they thought no more of departing. During my Journey, the Differences between the King and the *Visier* were encreased; and the latter being inform'd that the Memorial sent to the *Grand Seignior* against him, was wrote by *Alexander Aminira*, the King's Interpreter, a *Greek*; and a Subject of the *Porte's*, he had him carried, with his Legs fetter'd, from *Bender* in a Cart to *Ozakow*, and thrown into Prison: He likewise endeavour'd all this while to compel Mr. *Funck*, whom he kept in his Camp, to an Agreement with Mr. *Shaffiroff*, forcing him to go to him about the King's Passage thro' *Muscovy*. Mr. *Funck* declared he could say nothing without his

Master's Order, and was therefore sent to *Bender* to get it; but the King bid him tell the *Visier* that he would not so much as hear of treating with Mr. *Shaffiroff*, but insisted on the Convoy of 5000 Men which the *Porte* had given him Hopes of. Things remained much in the same Posture till the 12th of *October*, when the *Visier* drawing near to *Adrianople*, and moved by his Majesty's Constancy, began to change his Measures; and seeing his Threats were ineffectual, made use of Caresses, released his Interpreter, and wrote him a Letter full of Offers of Service, and ordered the *Thaim* to be again allowed; which his Majesty refused, saying, he would take it from no Body but the *Grand Seignior* himself. The *Visier* being arrived at *Adrianople* about the End of *October*, the *Grand Seignior* sent him a Sabre set with precious Stones, and an Order, which seemed a kind Invitation to come to *Constantinople*; but the *Visier* having promised his Highness in the Letter his *Kiaia Osman Aga* carried with the Treaty, that he himself would bring the Keys of *Asoph* in 6 Weeks, (as indeed the *Czar* promised he should have them) was willing to keep his Word, if not in Point of Time, at least as to the Thing it self; and he daily demanded those Keys of the Hostages, who as impatiently expected them hourly. This kept him at *Adrianople*, and the *Grand Seignior* imagining the *Czar* had put a Trick upon the *Sublime Port*, caused the Imperial Seal to be taken from him by the *Bostangi Bashaw* of that City, and given to the *Janizar Aga Jusuff Bashaw*, * who disbanded the Army, and went to *Constantinople*, and the deposed *Visier* was banished to *Lemnos* without being fleeced, because he was thought not to be rich. *Osman Aga*, his *Kiaia*, did not escape so, but was put to Death, and stript of all he had; among which were some extraordinary fine Sables, a Diamond of great Value, and about 15000 Ducats in Foreign Gold, thought to be Presents from the *Czar*. 'Twas given out that the chief Reason of his meeting with this Treatment was, his corresponding with the famous *Ali Bashaw* in Exile at *Meteline*, and in Concert with him writing to *Baltagi Mehemet*, that the Keys of *Asoph* not being come, no more than the News of the Demolition of *Taganrok*, he ought to gain the Army, and depose the *Grand Seignior*, whose Custom was always to put his most faithful Servants to Death on the least Suspicion, without Regard to their Services; of which he had authentick Examples, among many others, in *Assan Bashaw Ferally*, to whom he owed his Advancement to the Throne, whom he strangled; as in *Ali Bashaw* himself, who maintain'd him upon it, and whom he banished to *Meteline*. 'Twas farther said, that these Letters, true or forged, being intercepted and shewn to the *Grand Seignior*, he sent to strangle *Ali Bashaw*, caused *Osman Aga's* Head to be struck off immediately, and *Baltagi Mehemet* to be deposed; at least 'twas certain all this was done at the same Time, and the two Heads were thrown in the middle of the *Divan*, for the *Grand Seignior* to see them from behind his Lattice, and afterwards laid at the *Seraglio* Gate as usual. The New *Visier* offered the King the *Thaim*, which he accepted; but nothing more was done for or against him at the *Porte*, neither did they desire him to stay or go, and every one built for himself at *Warnitza*. His Majesty being under a Tent very cold, was desired to lodge in one of the Houses already finished, which he refused; but consented to have one made of Stone, which is very scarce there. The Foundation of it was laid the 14th of *November*, when I set out for *Tartary*.

* Jusuff Bashaw, a Cossack by Extraction, having been sold Slave in his Youth at Killia. The Muscovite Hostages protested to him that Asoph would be delivered to the Bashaw who was sent there by his Predecessor Balta Mehemet, but were threatened with being sent to the Seven Towers if the contrary should happen.

C H A P. II.

A Journey into Akerman-Ozakovian-Crim- and Noghaian-Tartaries, Circassia, &c.

HAVING obtain'd, besides the Passport from the *Han*, another from the *Serasquier* of *Bender*, I left that City on the 14th of November, accompanied with a *Lipka*, * whom Count *Tarlo*, a Polish Nobleman, on whom King *Stanislaus* had conferr'd the Title of Great Marshal of the Crown, was sending into *Crim Tartary* to buy Horses. We pass'd thro' several Villages inhabited by *Walachians* and *Moldavians*, of those who rather chose to live under the *Han*, than under the Princes given them by the *Porte*. We stop'd at none of them, but to drink a little boil'd Milk very bitter, as it is generally about *Bender* and *Akerman*, on Account of the great Quantity of Worm-wood eaten by the Cattle, the Fields, Meadows and Commons being every where full of it; and arriv'd on the 15th at a sort of a Town call'd *Palanka*, having an old Castle without any *Garrison*, situated on a little Eminence near the *Nyfter*. Here we took fresh Horses, and what Provisions were necessary to cross a Desert of between thirty and forty Leagues, that lies between this River and *Ozakow*; and keeping along the side of it, pass'd in a Ferry Boat five Leagues lower, whence we could see it disembody itself into the *Black-Sea*. We continued our Journey thro' the Desert, known formerly by the Name of *Solitudo Getarum*, or the Deserts of the *Getes*, now a Part of † *Akerman Tartary*, without making any stay, but only to rest and refresh ourselves and Horses, lay on the Ground for a few Hours; we met there no Inhabitants, but some Drove of Horses kept by *Tartars*; these live still after the same Manner as those ancient Vagabonds, collected from the *Dacians*, *Getes*, and *Scythians*, stil'd by the *Greeks* * *Νομάδες* or Shepherds, from *wandering*, who over-run this lesser *Scythia*, *Taurica*, *Chersonesus*, and the Borders of *Palus Mæolis*, and extended themselves towards the N. W. of the *Caspian Sea*; being a People without either House or settled Place of Residence, who form, like their Ancestors, a travelling or portable Village, with their Waggon and some Tents, which serve as a Refuge for their Wives and Children, some of them making frequent Incursions into the Territories of their Neighbours with fresh Horses, whilst others stay behind, and feed those who are wearied and want Rest and new Vigour: To this intent, they chose the richest Countries and Meadows, where they fix their moveable Villages, as long as there is any Grass, feeding themselves on the Flesh of their Oxen and Horses, with Cheese and Milk, especially that of Mares.

On the 20th, about 8 in the Morning, we arriv'd at a little Gulph form'd by the *Black-Sea*, which we pass'd in a large Boat, and reach'd *Ozakow* by 9; which we no sooner enter'd, but two *Fanizaries* conducted us before the *Bashaw*, who having read my Passport, told me I was very welcome, and ask'd several Questions which show'd his ex-

* *Νομάδες* καλεῖσθαι ζῶντες ἀπο δρεμμάτων γαλακτῶ καὶ τυρῶ καὶ μάλιστα ἵππων. Strabo. Γαλακτοφάγων εἰς γαλακτὴν ἀπὸ γαλακτῶν οἰκὶ ἐχόντων. Hesiod. Pro domibus currus sunt, vivere lacte fuerunt.

Купуежов.

cessive Ignorance; as, who govern'd *Sweden* in the King's Absence, or *Germany* since the Emperor's Death? Not to mention many others of the same Stamp not worth repeating; he concluded very agreeably, after treating me with a Dish of Coffee, by telling me I might depart when I would. I thank'd him, and retired; and whilst my Fellow Traveller was busy in preparing a Dinner for us in the Suburbs, took a Walk in the City, which is not very spacious, but surrounded in with thick Walls, and situated on the Side of a Hill, on the Top whereof is a Castle, where the Ancients formerly placed their *Olbia* and *Propugnaculum Alectoris*. Having din'd, we cross'd the *Boristhenes*, now the *Dineper*; and landed at a little Town call'd *Calbournout Palanca*, only defended by a double Palisade, with 15 Cannons upon the *Littus Achæorum* of the Ancients, where we took up our Lodging. The next Day, having hired Horses and bought Provision, in order to cross another Desert, call'd formerly *Scythia Parva*, of above fifty Leagues over, neither more commodious nor better frequented than the first, we set forward on our Journey, and arriv'd the 24th before Noon at the *Isthmus* of *Taurica Chersonesus*, now *Crim Tartary*, at the Town call'd by us *Precop*, by the Inhabitants *Hor* or *Horcapi*, where *Strabo* places *Cimmeria*, * from which by Corruption might easily have been form'd *Crimea* or *Crim*, the modern Name of the whole *Peninsula*. In the Middle of the *Isthmus*, which is cut in two by a sort of an Intrenchment or Line cast up from one Extremity to the other, is a square Tower, thro' which there is an opening, which serves as a Passage in and out of the Town, and is secured by a great Gate. This Town consists of some miserable Houses, made of Stakes and Branches of Trees cover'd over with Mud or Cow-dung, (as are likewise all those in *Akerman*) and a Castle whose Walls are but weak, and kept in ill Repair, having but 18 Pieces of Cannon, most of them Iron, and a Company of *Janizaries* for Garrison; the Line before-mentioned serves for a Ditch to it on the N. W. and is defended by several little Forts or Towers built upon it at equal Distances. This Castle, with these little Forts, make but a sorry Figure, and don't seem able to hold out against regular Troops, supported by some Pieces of Ordnance, with *Hungarians* and *Cossacks* to make Head against the *Tartars*, their irregular Antagonists. Nevertheless, the latter have shown their Military Prowess, and boast not a little of themselves as being better Soldiers than the *Cossacks*, having put them to flight when Prince *Galliczin* attack'd this Place with an Army of above 60,000 Men, and 40 Cannon, manag'd and sustain'd by regular Troops; and these *Tartars*, by their unusual Way of Fighting, so well knew how to put these Disciplin'd Forces into Confusion, as they have since done better Troops at *Pruth*, that they took Numbers of Prisoners, and made themselves Masters of all the *Muscovite* Artillery.

The *Han's* second Son is Lord of *Precop*, and the *Tartars* call him *Horbey*, Lord of *Hor*; his Revenues arise out of some Salt-Pits not far from the Town, towards *Biceps Palus*, and some Duties paid him by all the Taverns that sell *Boza*, a thick white Liquor made of a certain quantity of Millet Flower and Water, which ferments together, and will fuddle any one who drinks too much of it. His Orders don't pass in the Castle, which, as well as all the fortify'd Towns that surround *Crim Tartary*, is garrison'd by *Turks*; and neither the *Han* nor his Sons have any Authority over them, nor ever lodge in any of the Castles. The *Horbey* has a very ordinary Wooden House at *Precop*, but was absent

sent at that time; so that I did not see him till my Return. I could not find any Bread there, even for Money, the *Tartars* very seldom eating it, but living upon Cheese, Milk and *Shorba*; a Composition of Meat boil'd with Wheat, Barley or Cummin, to which the Richer sort add Spice and Butter, and it is the best, most esteem'd, and most general Dish among the *Tartars*; as for Milk, one may meet a Kettle-full of it over the Fire in every House. A *Fanizary*, with whom I entred into Conversation, and invited to drink some Coffee, gave me a share of what Bread he had bought for his own Provision, till the first Market Day; and inform'd me that some Colonies of *Cossacks*, dispers'd up and down in the Neighbouring Villages, made and brought it to Market twice a Week, when every one provided as much as was necessary for his own Use. A *Greek* sold me here the Medal (e) and (g) in the Print XXVII. which he said was among several other Silver ones which he had sold to a Goldsmith of *Kuslowe*, and which were found in the Ruins of an old Town not far from *Precop*, towards the *Biceps Palus*, which may have been the ancient † *Taphros*. I desir'd him to † *Тафрос* conduct me thither, which he did, and I found it upon the same Line as *Precop*; but cou'd meet with nothing but some old thick Foundations, which any who wanted them demolished, without any other Opposition than that of the Mortar that join'd them.

We set out from *Precop* the 26th in the Morning for *Kuslowe*, where we arriv'd the 29th: 'Tis a pretty large Town, well peopled with both *Turks*, *Tartars*, *Greeks*, *Armenians* and *Jews*, and surrounded with old Walls falling to ruin in several Places. The *Turks* have divers Mosques there, built of a white soft Stone, which is dug from a Quarry near *Bacchiserai*, and is pretty like that at *Malta*. The *Greeks* have but one Church, but 'tis sufficient for the Number of them that live there; as is likewise that of the *Armenians* and the *Jewish* Synagogue. The Harbour, or rather the Road, is not very safe, the Ships therein being expos'd to the Mercy of the Winds, and not shelter'd by any High Land; besides that, they are forced to Anchor at a considerable distance from the Town, near which the Water is shallow, and the Bottom bad; and I saw there the Wrecks of two *Saigues*, which having been driven too near the Shore by a strong Southerly Wind, were dash'd in Pieces three Weeks before our Arrival. These Vessels generally bring hither, and into the other Ports of the *Black Sea*, Rice, Coffee, dry'd Figs, Raisins, Dates, Filberds, Stuffs, Cloth, Matts, &c. and are laden back again with Slaves and Corn; which is still as plentiful in this Peninsula as in the Time of *Mithridates*, to whom it formerly paid annually such a considerable Tribute. It is generally worth but seven or eight *Paras* the *Killow*, which weighs about Fifty Pounds, sometimes more, sometimes less, according to the Nature of the Wheat; and they export besides, Cummin, Barley, Honey, Wax, &c. The *Tartars*, who don't follow Husbandry any more than the *Nomades*, have Slaves who cultivate and till the Ground.

We left this Town the first of *December*, in order to go on to *Bacchiserai*, at present the Capital of *Crim Tartary*, lying on the Right of that Ridge of Mountains, * call'd by the ancient Geographers *Trapezus*, and arrived there on the second in good time. 'Tis an open Town, rather long than broad, between two high Mountains that reach from one End of it to the other, and serve instead of Walls, it having none excepting a little one not above fifteen Paces long, which unites two of these Mountains. It is very well peopled with *Tartars*, * These Mountains seem to be the beginning of the Mons Cimmerius. *Κυμπερι* Vide *Arme-Strabo*.

Armenians, Greeks and Jews; the three last of which only pay the *Han* (as the *Moldavians* and *Walachians* before-mentioned) an annual Poll Tax of a Crown and a Quarter: As for the *Tartars*, they (as well as the *Turks*) are excused from any Tribute, excepting 10 out of every 100 Slaves they take in their Incurfions. The Houses are tolerably good, at least they are the best in the whole Country; and the Mosques are for the most part of the Stone before-mention'd, some of them cover'd with Lead; there are besides very good *Hans* or publick Lodgings for Strangers, with good Magazines to secure their Merchandise, and their Water is excellently good.

The *Han's* Palace is a great Pile of Building very irregular, tho' it has its Accommodations, as Baths, &c. As one enters into the great Court, there are two fine Monuments of the *Chams* who have been intomb'd there, which is a great Rarity; for they are so often depos'd by the *Grand Seignior*, that *Rhodes*, the usual Place of their Exile, almost always happens to be that of their Burial. These Monuments are so handsome, that upon comparing them with the Palace, one may say that the dead *Hans* have better Lodging than the living ones. That Prince has a small Coin call'd *Beschelick* of five Aspres, struck within his Palace. He who then had the Direction and Management of it was a *Jew*, whose Name was *Abraham*. A soft Water runs into the Fountains of this Palace, which, as some *Turks* have assured me, who have had the Curiosity to weigh it, after several other sorts, is lighter by seven or eight Drachms than any in *Tartary* or *Turkey*; all that I can say of the Matter is, that I never drank any better. Their Springs and Rivers are generally good in *Crim Tartary*, but don't lie conveniently for all the Inhabitants, who most of them have only very deep Wells dug here and there in the Country, which are very bad, and only fit to water their Horses and make *Shorba*; for which reason they don't drink it, but content themselves with Milk and *Boza*.

The *Han* has 1200 Guards, call'd *Seymens*, Men chosen from amongst the *Tartars*, and train'd up from their Youth in the Use of Cymeters, Fire-Arms and Bows and Arrows; they are paid by the *Grand Seignior*; and a certain Number, which relieve each other, must always attend him when he removes from Place to Place in Time of Peace; and others guard the Avenues of his Palace, where he keeps his Court. In Time of War they are all obliged to march against the *Grand Seignior's* Enemies, as well as the *Han* and the other *Tartars* in general. Those of *Crim Tartary* must bring to the Number of 30,000 Men into the Field; those of *Akerman*, and the Desarts between *Ozakow* and *Asoph* 20,000, and the *Noghaians* more than all the rest together. These last are not so subject to the *Han*, as to serve him out of pure Obedience; for, to say the Truth, both these and the others do it more out of hopes and eagerness of Plunder, than any Sense of Duty. They march at their own Expence, without any other Provision than some *Talcan*, being Flower made of Cummin, of which they carry Twenty or Thirty Pound Weight in a Leather Sack fastened behind their Saddles; and when they can meet with any Mares Milk in their Road, or for want of Milk, Water, they dilute it in it, and drink it out of a Wooden Porringer; with which also they water their Horses; and this serves them for Nourishment often for a Month together, without they meet with some Village to plunder, where there is Meat or Bread; for altho' they are not accusom'd

to the last, yet Hunger makes them find it good, and they will eat in one Day as much as will serve them a great many.

The *Han* had at that time but four black Eunuchs to guard his Wives and *Odalicks*, of which he had but a small Number; and indeed I observed, that the other *Tartars*, for the generality, content themselves with one Wife, or two at most, tho' the *Mahometan* Law allows them four; and very seldom make use of Slaves for Concubines, tho' it is lawful for them to take as many as they please; but rather chuse to sell them to the *Turks*, who pay well for them, than to keep them for their own Use. They are generally very much prejudiced in favour of their own Race, whose Beauty they think consists in having little Eyes sunk deep in the Head, black thick Brows, a large flat Nose and Face, and a short punch Shape, especially for the Women; which they prefer to the fine large black Eyes, regular Features, and easy Make of the *Circassians* of both Sexes, of whom I shall speak hereafter. As for their Eyes, tho' they are not handsome, according to our Fancy, I must do them the Justice to own, that they are the most piercing and the strongest in the World; 'tis not to be conceiv'd, at what a Distance they can distinguish Objects, they are perfect Natural Telescopes. This Prepossession in favour of their own Race extends sometimes so far, that if they have any Quarrel with each other, and there happens to be one of them who has large Eyes, or regular Features like ours, and is the Son of a Slave, (tho' the *Mahometan* Law deems him as Legitimate, as if his Mother was a *Tartar* and a Free Woman) they won't fail to call him *Yessir Oglou*, Son of a Slave; *Guiaour Kan*, Blood of an Infidel. This Remark however is to be understood only of the common People, and is liable to many Exceptions among those of the first Rank. Most part of the *Myrfa's* have two, three or four Wives, and a Number of *Odalicks*, and don't know what it is to reproach one another with the Air and Regularity of their Features. The *Tartars* give to their Prince the Title of Emperor; and his Children are not confin'd like those of the *Grand Seignior*, but each of them has his Court, and his Military Employment assign'd him. His eldest Son is call'd *Sultan Galga*, which answers to the Word *Dauphin* in *France*; the second *Horbey*, or Lord of *Hor*, as I observ'd before; and the third *Noradin Bey*. The others have the Titles of some Places in *Akermanian Tartary*, according as it pleases their Father to stile them. There are four Families among the *Tartars*, which are counted Noble in a higher degree than the others; the first is that of *Ghereim Myrfa*, the second of *Zidgiut Myrfa*, the third of *Manssir Myrfa*, and the fourth of *Kaiha Myrfa*; the first has the Privilege of intermarrying with that of the *Hans*. The Heads of these four Families are a sort of Dukes call'd *Chirimbeys*, without whose Consent the *Han* ought not to undertake any thing. The other *Myrfa's*, who are very numerous, are, as it were, Counts and Marquisses; and their Children (who learn to ride and shoot with the Bow almost as soon as to speak) have the Title of *Myrfa*, even when reduced to serve, and have a Right to give their Opinion in Council. These *Chirimbeys*, and principal *Myrfa's*, are the Chieftains and Generals of the *Tartars*, who assemble together, and range themselves both readily, willingly and freely under their Command, without receiving either Money, Subsistence, Arms, Horses or Orders; or in one Word, any thing from the *Grand Seignior* or the *Tartar Han*, (as I have already hinted). The Hope of Plunder alone is sufficient to make them

march ; to which they are so much disposed, that upon the least News of any War declared by the first, or Incursions resolv'd by the second, they testify their Joy in entertaining the Bearers of it as well as possibly they can ; then they say a Domestick Prayer, to ask of God a great many Slaves, as fine Youths and handsome Virgins from the Infidels, and in short, all sorts of good Booty ; to every Article of which their Wives, or Children, Fathers, Mothers, Brothers or Sisters, who stay at home to keep the Cattle, answer *Amen* ; then run and fetch their fresh Horses out of the Meadows, or their Desarts, gird on their Sabres, and fasten on their Quivers, and the Sack with the *Talcan* before-mentioned.

The *Han*, on his joining the *Turkish* Army with his Troops, goes directly to the Audience of the *Grand Seignior*, if he marches in Person ; and to the *Vizier*, by whom he is magnificently entertain'd after the *Turkish* Fashion ; and according to an old Custom, some hundred Oxen and thousands Muttons, all entire and ready roasted, are impal'd (if I am allowed this Term) to long Pieces of Wood fitted for this purpose, and obliquely planted in the Ground at equal Distances, regularly intermixt with Pyramids of thin large and round Loafs, and dispos'd in right Lines forming divers kinds of Allies, between which the *Tartars* run at a certain Signal, and take away in less than half an Hour all the Flesh and Bread, as a Proof and Spectacle to the *Grand Seignior* and *Vizier*, of their Dexterity in plundering : This is their welcome ; after which they receive no more Provisions, but must live on Booty. They carry besides in their Incursions, especially the *Noghaians*, some Cheese made of Mares Milk, and Horse Flesh, each of them dry'd in the Sun. They all wear about their Necks a sort of short Cloak like that of a *Harlequin*, made of hard Felt, which rises above their Necks in manner represented by the Fig. (9) upon my Map B. They call this little Cloak *Cirkas's Yapungi*, a Name derived from the *Circassians*, who first invented it : It is also used among the *Poles*, who without doubt have taken it from the *Tartars* ; it turns easily about the Neck, in-somuch that they oppose the Part which is close to the Wind, Rain and Snow ; 'tis as firm as a Hat, and is shaped pretty much like an Ecclesiastical Cope, excepting the Length of it. Having thus put on all their Military Accoutrements, they take up their Spears and mount their Steeds, being as little encumbred with Money or Baggage, as the Knights Errant in Romances, and leading with them two or three spare Horses to transport their Plunder, or remount themselves in case that he they ride should die ; which, if it shou'd happen, they endeavour to comfort themselves for its Loss, by eating him in common. Thus they resign to the Care of Providence themselves and their Beasts, who must live upon Grass when they can get it, and are no less used to Fasting and Hardships than their Masters, Nature having taught them to scratch up the Snow with their Feet, when the Earth is cover'd with it, that they may find out the Grass ; or else if they are near to any Trees, to feed upon the Bark or the Ends of the Branches. This is their Manner of Living when they are upon their Inroads, or out of their Country in the Desarts ; for as long as they can meet with any *Tartarian* Villages, Hospitality is so generally practis'd among them, that all is in common ; and there is no House wherein they may not enter as freely, and are not as well received and served as if they were at their own : How great Strangers soever they be, as soon as they appear at the Gate, the Master, if he is at home, or one of his
Sons

Sons or Slaves if he is not, come and take their Horses, and give them Hay, (wherewith every one is sufficiently provided for the Winter) and entertain the *Conacks* * or *New Comers* with *Shorba* and boild Milk, and serve them without its costing them one Farthing. This Hospitality is reciprocally practis'd by all; they associate themselves by Tens or Twenties, and divide equally the Booty that each of them get; and if whilst they are in the Field any of them meets with any Tobacco, or any thing to eat, he shares it with his Companions, however little it be; and their Justice and Fidelity in the Partition of their Plunder with each other, is not less admirable. They are likewise (as I before hinted) obliged to give 10 Slaves out of every 100 they take to the *Cham*, which is an Article not quite so faithfully observ'd as their dividing of the Spoil amongst each other. The Slaves that are taken by the Sons or Servants of a *Myrsa* belong to him, and he may dispose of them as he pleases. When the *Tartars* in general meet with any considerable Booty, their next Care is to carry it to some secure Place; to which intent they disband themselves, and leave their Leaders as freely as before they follow'd them; and as soon as they have secured their Prey, they return again to them in search of new Adventures.

* *Conack* in Turkish signifies a Lodging, but the *Tartars* use it to signify indifferently both the Lodger and Landlord.

Having a Recommendation from *Monf. Fabrice* to *M. Wranghel*, a *Swedish* Captain, now a Major in the Guards at *Stockholm*, who was at *Bacchiserai* in Quality of Resident at the *Han's* Court, I went to visit him, and he shew'd by the Reception he gave me, what a Value he put upon that Gentleman's Recommendation, inviting me to lodge at his House, offering me his Table and his Horses; and favouring my Curiosity so far, as to conduct me to several Places near *Bacchiserai*, which he thought best worth seeing. Amongst the rest, he carried me to a little Town, whose Walls are still standing about a League off, which the Inhabitants, who have lost so much as the Name of it, call in their Language *Kale*, that is to say a *Castle*. We went thro' the Gate that is made in the Wall before-mentioned, by which the two Mountains are join'd; the Passage is something narrow at the N. E. End of *Bacchiserai*, but grows broader on the Way to *Kale*. In our Road thither he made me observe a large Chappel, dedicated to the *Panagia*, by the Devotion of the *Greeks*. It is hollow'd in one of the Mountains, and has nothing in it but what is Modern (as some Pictures of He and She Saints, and Lamps, some of which are Silver;) wherein the *Greeks* pretend, without giving any Proof or Reason for it, that the *Christians*, formerly in Times of Persecution, perform'd their Religious Exercises in secret; but which may have been some Catacomb, since I saw many other Caves in the Heart of the Neighbouring Mountains, which, tho' not so large, had very much the Air of such Places. From hence we continued our Journey to *Kale*, which is situated upon a steep Eminence that looks like a *Peninsula*, but without Water, the *Isthmus* whereof is cover'd by this little Town. The Gate of it is made thro' a square Tower half demolished; we passed thro' the Town, whose Inhabitants are all *Jews*, and I found no Inscription, nor any other Sign of its Antiquity, but its Walls, which were falling in several Places for want of repairing. It seem'd to me by its Situation, to be the *Neapolis* of *Scylurus*, mention'd by *Ptolemy*. We went on to the *Peninsula*, the adjacent Parts of which are naturally so steep and inaccessible, that there is no coming at it by them but with long Ladders. It is always Green, and in the middle is a Cistern supply'd

supply'd with a Natural Spring, which is never dry'd up; it is artificially pav'd with fine Stones, and seem antique. The *Han* keeps some young Colts there at Grass, which are design'd for some great Feasts, as when he has any of his Sons Circumcis'd, or Daughters Marry'd; there are besides some Deer, to which a little Thicket, that is at the southernmost End of it, serves both for a Refuge and Shade. Having satisfy'd my Curiosity in this agreeable Place, Mr. *Wranghel* carry'd me from thence to a Pleasure-House of the *Cham*, a small Quarter of a League from *Kale*; it is only proper to take the Air in during the Day-time in Summer, being pleasantly situated, but too little to lodge a Court in, wherefore the *Han* never lies there; it is call'd *Almagick Serai*. Having taken a View of the Neighbourhood of *Bacchiserai*, and also of *Mancop*, which is above two Leagues from it, and may be seen from *Kale*, it standing upon a Mountain, and having, as well as that, only *Jews* for Inhabitants, with also a large antient Cistern, like those the *Romans* have left in several other Places; I would have taken my Leave of Mr. *Wranghel* two Days after my Arrival, but he detained me yet two or three more, and introduced me to the *Han's* *Visier* or first Minister, who receiv'd me very civilly, and ask'd me several Questions concerning the King of *Sweden*, which I answered to the best of my Knowledge. He brought me also acquainted with a *French* Jesuit, called Father *Dubban*, from whom I hoped for some Assistance in my Search after Antiquities, he being a Man of Learning and Merit, and having liv'd long in that Country; but when I made any Enquiry upon this Subject, he gave me to understand, like the *Portuguese* Monks at *Tripoli*, that his Study and Application was confined only to Spiritual Affairs. He had agreed with some *Armenian* Priests for the Liberty of saying Mass in their Churches, after the *Latin* Manner, during their leisure Hours, and of Preaching in them, in the *Turkish* Language, (which he understood very well) to some *Roman* Catholick Slaves, or *Armenian* Protestants, as also of hearing their Confessions, giving them the Communion, and other Spiritual Functions belonging to his Office. At last I took Leave of Monsieur *Wranghel*, returning him Thanks for all his Civilities, and set out the 5th of *December*, with my *Turk*, who had waited for me, in order to visit a *Myrsa*, called *Cypherza*, to whom Count *Tarlo* had recommended me in a Letter I was to carry him, together with an *English* Watch. We lay at *Ackmedgick*, a little Town between four and five Leagues from *Bacchiserai*; it is the ordinary Residence of the *Sultan Galgas*; he who was then such seemed about 28, of a middling Stature, but strong, and innured to all manner of Fatigues, as fasting, and lying upon the Ground like the meanest *Tartar*; his Complexion was a little swarthy, rather the Effect of his Hardships, than the Heat of the Climate. The Palace is rather convenient than handsome; we went to pay our Respects to his Highness, and were graciously receiv'd; he ask'd me a few familiar Questions, which shewed him to be a worthy Son of his Father, viz. a very sensible Man. By the Side of that Palace Wall runs a clear Stream, which is not considerable enough to be term'd a River, but uniting its Waters with others, forms the little Rivulet *Catchik*, and being enlarged by other Brooks that run into it, takes the Name of *Belbeck*, on whose Banks there grows an excellent Wine called *Catchik* or *Belbeck* Wine, which sparkles in the Glass like *Burgundy* and *Champagne*, and it is not less agreeable to the Taste, tho' it costs but a *Beschelick*,

Beschelick, or a Penny and two Thirds the Bottle. Continuing our Journey thro' several inconsiderable Villages, we arriv'd the 7th, about 9 in the Morning, at *Cepherza Chiflick*, the Seat of *Cepherza Myrfa*, to whom I presented the Letter and Watch; he told me I was very welcome, and invited me to spend several Days with him; I consented to stay three, and he entertained me both after the Manner of the *Turks*, *Tartars* and *Christians*, as will appear by the Sequel. He was in a Chamber, where there was a good Fire, before which he made me sit, as believing by the Sharpness of the Season that he could not give me a better Place, and ordered Pipes, Tobacco and Coffee to be brought; whilst we were warming our selves and smoaking, a Dinner was prepared for us in his *Harem*,* which was serv'd up about Noon, and consisted of three good Dishes, viz. one of *Pillaw*, another a broiled Pike, and the third a *Ragout*, which I took for Veal, but which was in reality Part of a Colt, as I heard afterwards. Altho' the *Myrfa* himself did not drink any Wine, he had sent for some for me, and notwithstanding my Fellow Traveller's being a *Mussulman*, he did abstain from it only in publick, that he might not give any Offence. I eat of the *Ragout* with so good an Appetite, that any one might easily judge I lik'd it, nevertheless he did not recommend it to me but by his own Example, in feeding heartily upon it himself; for, besides that, it is not usual for the *Mahometans* to praise any Dish, or press their Guests to taste of this or that Plate, leaving the Choice of what they like to their own Palate; the Repugnance he knew we have to any Food we are not us'd to, made him afraid of spoiling my Stomach if he told me what it was. I own I took it for Veal, it not being at all different in Colour from that which they eat in *Turky*, where they don't feed them with Milk as we do, nor kill them till they are half Oxen, that is to say, as old again as with us; and I was so thoroughly convinc'd of it in my own Mind, that I said twice or thrice, *This is excellent Veal*. After Dinner was over, the *Myrfa* turn'd the Discourse upon the several Sorts of Diet in use amongst us, as Butchers Meat, Wild-Fowl, &c. and ask'd divers Questions about the Preference we gave to one more than another; after which he told me that tho' they had as many different Kinds of Meat of all Sorts in *Crim Tartary* as at *Constantinople*, or elsewhere, yet the *Tartars* esteem'd Horse-Flesh more than any other, how delicate soever, especially if 'twas young; and, as a Proof of it, they never sent Presents of Fowls or Game to Persons of the first Rank, but Part of a Colt; and that no great Festivals, as Marriages or Circumcisions, were without it. I answered, that I could not believe but their Flesh was as good as that of any other Animal, considering the Quality of what they feed upon was as wholesome, and that some *Franks* and my self had, contrary to our Custom and Education, eaten Part of a young Ass which an *English* Merchant had kill'd near *Constantinople*, and that I did not think I had ever tasted any Thing more delicate. "Well then, reply'd he, laughing, I'm very glad to find by this Story that you have no Aversion to the Flesh of a Horse, much good may it do you, you have just din'd upon a *Ragout* of a Colt, with a very good Appetite; one of my Friends has sent me half a Quarter, and you shall have some of it roasted to Night, if you don't find in your self any Distaste to it now you know what it is." I told him I did not perceive that I had, and in Effect I eat that Night as much of it as could be expected after a hearty Dinner. My Fellow Traveller

* The *skē* Slaves generally dress Victuals in the Womens Apartments, and put the Dishes in a turning Box, like those in Nunneries, to be taken up by the Men Servants.

Traveller was not present at this Conversation, and the *Myrfa* desired me not to tell him of it, for fear he should not take it as I had done, the *Turks* having as great an Aversion to it, as either the *Christians* or *Jews*. Supper being over, Water was brought for us to wash, by One of the *Myrfa's* Sons, tho' he had several Servants and Slaves; after which we smoaked each of us our Pipe, and he went into his *Harem*, saying that he believ'd me tired, and wish'd me a good Night. I observ'd that the same Son put by my Bed-side a Pitcher of Wine, with a Pot full of Water, and a Pipe and Tobacco, upon a *Turkish* Table, and in a Corner a Couple of Candles, one of which he lighted; I would have opposed all these Precautions, telling him that I had no Need of a Candle to sleep by, and that I neither drank nor smoak'd in the Night-time; but he reply'd that might happen once which had never fallen out before, and that I might have a Mind to smoak if I could not sleep, upon which he retired. Next Morning, upon my declaring my Surprize to his Father, that he having so many Servants and Slaves, should command his Son the same Things as them, which did not seem suitable to his Birth; he answered, that young Men, of whatsoever Quality, should accustom themselves to all manner of mean and laborious Work, as if they were one Day to be Servants or Slaves, which might be their Fortune, either thro' Poverty or the miscarrying in their Incursions; that *Sultan Galga* himself was inured to them, and did not live better in the Field than the meanest *Tartar*; and that he himself was the Son of a *Myrfa*, and yet his Father had neither left him nor his Brothers sufficient for the Honourable Subsistence of one of them; that he had got what he had with his Sabre and Arrows in their Inroads, as had likewise his other Brothers, and that he had two Sons who must do the same: He added, that his Eldest Son was to set out in a little Time for *Circassia*, with whom they were at War, since the annual Tribute of Slaves and Horses, which was formerly paid by the *Circassians* to the *Han*, in order to maintain a Peace with the *Tartars*, and be preserv'd from their Ravages, had been refused; and that the *Tartar Han*, now reigning, had been deposed some Years before, for having the Misfortune to lose above 40000 Men, who had been defeated by a Stratagem of the Enemies. He said moreover, that the Slaves and Horses of that Country had been dear ever since, and that he was going to send one of his Slaves, who was a *Circassian*, and to whom he had given his Liberty, to buy some there: I asked him if it could be done without Danger, both from the Enemy and the *Circassians*, who might remain in their own Country with the Money; he answered, yes, and gave me to understand that the Commerce of the Slaves and Horses was carried on there as safely as in the Times of the profoundest Peace, that that Nation had a singular Respect for Merchants, and his *Circassian* pass'd for such; that being an honest Man, and at his Ease, and having a House, Wife and Children, in *Crim Tartary*, it was not reasonable to believe he would abandon them. He informed me farther, that this Traffick was wholly managed by *Circassians*, who were established in *Crim Tartary*, and at *Taman Temrok*, and the Parts adjacent, and by some Greek or rather *Armenian* Merchants; and that the *Turks* durst go no farther than the Sea-port Towns of the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, where they waited for the others who went into the Country to buy them, and the other Merchandize that was the Product of *Circassia*, as Honey, Hides, Lambskins, Furs, Sabres, Knives, &c.

This

This Relation created in me an Inclination to proceed from *Noghaian Tartary*, whither I was going, to that Country; I communicated it to him, and he did not oppose it, only he advised me to pass for a Merchant of *Caffa*, if they shou'd demand who I was, without mentioning the *Han* or his Passport, especially among the Mountainer *Circassians*, if I should happen to travel thither. As for the rest, he said I might keep his Man Company as far as those who liv'd in the Plains, or if I would not go strait on, but design'd to run over the Country of the *Noghaians*, he should procure me a Guide at *Jegnikale* or *Taman*; besides this he offered me a recommendatory Letter to the *Bashaw* of *Jegnikale*, who would take Care I should have one that would answer for me. I accepted of his Civilities, and fix'd my Resolution accordingly; whereupon he call'd the *Circassian*, to whom he declared my Intent in my Presence, charging him to do me all the Service he was capable of, which he promis'd, and kept his Word as long as I was with him.

We appointed the 12th for our Departure, which was two Days afterwards, when I return'd the *Myrfa* Thanks for all his Favours, and he gave me a Letter for the *Bashaw*, sending one of his Horses to carry me as far as *Karason*, and a Servant to bring him back again. We took the Road to *Caffa*, where the *Circassian* was, as he said, to make some Purchases, to exchange there for other Merchandise, and he advised me to do the same; as being a thing absolutely necessary, especially if I design'd to travel into the Mountainous Part of *Circassia*, where for the most part they know not what is Money. I answer'd, that I would avoid incumbring myself as much as possible, and only take what was lightest, and would lie in the least Compass, not desiring to buy or sell any thing, either amongst the *Noghaians* or *Circassians*; but only to see the Countries or the People, and make them some little Presents for any Services which I cou'd not pay for, or they did not care to accept Money; wherefore I desired that he would chuse at *Caffa* what was properest for that purpose.

We took up our Lodging (as had been agreed on) that Night at *Karason*, a great Town about two Leagues from the Seat of *Cepherza Myrfa*. Its Houses are low and of Wood, but it has several great *Hans*, with publick Magazines, the largest of which is of Stone, at least its Warchouses; there are besides four Mosques, one pretty handsome, and the three others very ordinary. The Inhabitants are mostly *Greeks*, *Armenians* and *Jews*; the first have but one Church, with nine Priests to officiate in it; the second, another larger with eleven; and the *Jews* a little Synagogue; but none of these deserve to be called so, but on account of Religious Exercises being perform'd in them: In short, this Town is only considerable, for having the greatest Horse-Market in *Crim Tartary*. I hired one here for *Caffa*, and my Fellow Traveller had his own, so we pursued our Journey, and pass'd the next Day thro' *Crim*, or rather the Ruins of that antient City, which has now only the Name, with some Houses that wou'd hardly make a tolerable Hamlet, where we lay that Night. Some will have it, that it formerly gave Name to *Crim Tartary*; I can't positively gainsay this Opinion, but I could neither find Inscriptions, Chapters, Columns, nor *Basso Relievo's*, to support, or any ways attest its former Magnificence and Greatness. We arriv'd at *Caffa* on the 15th before Noon, which is the largest City, and has the greatest Commerce of any in *Crim Tartary*; it is cover'd on the N.W. by high Moun-

Mountains, at the Foot of which it is both very agreeably and advantageously situated, extending itself to the S. E. along the Sea Shore. It has retain'd a great deal of its pristine Beauty, having still the Walls which were built, or at least repaired by the *Genoese*; and one may yet read *Latin* Inscriptions upon some Parts of them, which confirm the Truth of it; as, amongst the rest, this without the Town to the North, *Hancce labentem muri partem restituit Magnif. D. Petrus Branco* (the rest is defaced) *Consul. An. 1486*; and the other upon the Gate that leads from the City to the Sea-side, under an Image of St. Peter * yet visible, *Tempore Magnifici Dom. Baptistæ Justiniani Consul. An. 1474*. I saw at the Top of some Remnants of an old Castle, about a Stone's Throw to the N. E. of this City, an Inscription so mutilated, that I could discern nothing more of it, but that it was *Gothick*. I must have had a Ladder to have copied it exactly, (not being used to these Characters) that Part of the Wall whereon they were was so high; but I did not think it proper to distinguish my self so much amongst the Inhabitants of this Place, whom their Ignorance make sometimes jealous of a Shadow.

* The *Genoese* called the Gate by the Name of St. Peter, la Porta di San Pietro.

Whilst I'm upon this Topick, it may not be amiss to observe, that *Busbequius* says, the Natives of *Crim Tartary* retain many *Gothick* Expressions in their Language; whereupon I enquired as carefully as possible into it; but all the Discoveries I cou'd make were, that the *German* Wars having occasion'd the Captivity of a great many of that Nation, and the *Tartars* not being generous enough to give their Slaves their Liberty as the *Turks* do, but taking care to marry them to others of their own Country, they perpetuate their Bondage for many Generations, selling the Girls if handsome, and bringing up the Boys to till the Ground and keep their Flocks; and these Children retain a great deal of their Fathers and Mothers Language, which they mix with that of the Country; but I wou'd not conclude that this was a Remnant of *Gothism*, which had been preserv'd for many Ages, as several do upon the Word of *Busbequius*. I have heard some call a little Island, lying in the Bay that washes the *Isthmus* of *Precep, Guthe*; I don't know whether 'tis the same, to which some of the Northern Authors pretend their Ancestors the *Goths*, when they extended their Dominions as far as the *Tanais*, gave the Name of *Gothia*, which is the same, and mark'd in my Map B. But the Natives of the Country who call'd it *Guthe*, cou'd not give me any Insight thereinto. Leaving therefore the discussing of these Difficulties to those who are better versed in Etymology, I shall speak a Word or two more of *Caffa*. Its handsomest *Christian* Churches have been either converted into Mosques, or destroy'd to build them with their Materials; and the others have been either given or sold by the *Turks* to the *Greeks* and *Armenians*, the first having seven, and the others twenty; but not above half of them have Divine Service perform'd in them, some falling to ruin as being useless, and wanting Repairs. Most part of these have been built by the *Genoese*; and one may still see their Arms up and down upon them, as well as the Paintings of such He and She Saints as are acknowledged for such by these latter Possessors of them; for, as for their Statues and Imboss'd Images, they have been suppress'd by them, as well as the Multiplicity of Altars that were in each of them, according to the Custom of the Roman Catholick Church; and this for the Explication already mentioned, given by the Eastern Christians to the *non facies tibi Sculptilia*, You shan't carve or make Imboss'd Figures.

I bought here of a *Greek* Goldsmith the Golden Medal B in the Print XIII. of *Theodosius*, whose Name the City formerly bore,* and several Silver ones, too common to be inserted in my Prints; They were all condemn'd to be melted down, as are all those of such Metals which fall into the Hands of that sort of ignorant People. A *Greek* Priest hearing me speak his Language to this Goldsmith, invited me to Dinner, and regal'd me with excellent Wine, which was not very different in Colour from *Burgundy*, and not at all inferior to it in Goodness. Upon my asking him where it grew, he told me it was † *Sudac* Wine; and there is a River of that Name in my Map, near which, as far as I cou'd understand by him, it grows.

* *Caffa*, formerly call'd *Theodosia*.

† *Sudac* cum, an old Town and Mountain of this Name towards the S. E. of the *Taurica Chersonesus*.

In the mean while I had given my Fellow-Traveller some Money to buy me Handkerchiefs of Painted Linnen, Muslin; and several Toys, as Necklaces of Chrystal, Amber, or Counterfeit Pearl, Ribbons, Scissars, and even Needles and Thread, which he said were very proper for the Uses I design'd them. I had besides some little *English* Telescopes, which I was inform'd wou'd be very acceptable and useful to the *Tartarian Myrsas*, with *Turkish Thesbys*, shap'd like the Beads made of Amber, fine Woods, &c. which they like as well as the *Turks*; the *Han* himself had always one, as represented in the Print XXVI. A; but as with all these I should have look'd but like a poor pedling Merchant, I resolv'd to prefer the Title of Physician to it, according to the Advice of an *Armenian* of *Caffa*, who had been 15 Times in *Circassia*, and told me that I should be as much esteemed under that Character, as that of a Merchant, and more, since I did not intend to Traffick. Hereupon I bought some *Rhubarb*, *Senna*, *Manna*, and other innocent Drugs, and had already some Balm of *Mecca*, without which I never travell'd in *Turky*, it being as it were the universal Medicine of the Country; and the Ignorance of the People I was going amongst was so great in that Respect, that I hop'd, with the little above nothing I knew of Physick, to pass for an able Doctor; neither was I in the End deceiv'd in my Expectation afterwards: The same *Armenian* (with whom I made an Acquaintance on hearing him speak of his Travels into *Circassia*, with Design to ask him some Questions about what Road I should take, and the Humour of the People,) told me, that he was in that Country, when the *Tartars* were routed there, and gave me an Account of the Manner of their Defeat, which I shall relate here, as I had it from him and others in *Circassia*, with little Difference of Circumstances, which made it seem to me the more likely to be true, as coming from several Persons who did not know each other, and in Places so far distant. Their Accounts were thus in Substance. The *Circassians* formerly pay'd an annual Tribute of 6000 Slaves, and as many Horses, to the *Han*, and *Sultan Noradin*, Prince of the *Noghaians*, to be preserved from the Inroads both of the *Tartars* of *Akerman*, *Crim*, and the *Noghaian Tartaries*; but *Sultan Noradin* not keeping his *Noghaians* in such good Order, but that they, in Conjunction with Numbers of both the others, us'd to flock together, and penetrate into the Heart of *Circassia*, plundering and carrying away from Time to Time whatever they could lay Hands on, the *Circassians* not only consulted how to prevent these Robberies, but refused their Tribute as soon as they thought themselves in a Capacity to maintain their Refusal by Arms, repel Force by Force, and oppose Incursions to Incursions. They were at least as skillful in drawing the Bow as the *Tartars*, and more dexterous at weilding a Cymeter or a

Javelin; nor were their Artisans less ingenious in making them; and as for Fire Arms (of which all the *Tartars*, excepting some *Seymen* or Guards of the *Han's*, are at least as fearful as the *Jews* in *Spain* of the Inquisition) they have learnt perfectly how to imitate (if not surpass) those; the Merchants formerly brought them from *Constantinople*, as well as how to make Gun-powder, and to use it with all the Success imaginable in Hunting, and on all Occasions.

The *Tartar Han* perceiving the *Circassians* to be thus dispos'd, represented the Consequences of such a Conduct to the *Porte*, and proposed what Means he thought proper to reduce them upon the same Foot as formerly, and even to impose harder Conditions upon them than before; the *Porte* approv'd of his Project, and the *Grand Seignior* made him a Present of 800 Purfes, with a Turbant, a Tuft of Feathers, and a Sabre embellished with Diamonds, as is usual when he undertakes any Expedition of Consequence. Hereupon the *Han*, having drawn together an Army of above 100,000 *Tartars* out of the different Provinces before-mention'd, march'd towards the Borders of *Circassia*: This was a Warning for the Enemy to keep themselves in Readiness, which they did, joining their natural Address and Policy to the Force of their Arms.

The *Tartars* having penetrated into the Frontiers, form'd their Camp at the Foot of a high Mountain, in a pretty large Plain; and that Part of it that was most expos'd to the Assaults of the Enemy, was defended by 6 Field-Pieces. The *Han*, *Sultan Noradin*, and some other *Sultans*, had their Tents pitch'd directly against the Mountain, and thought only of holding a Counsel with the *Cherimbeys*, or principal *Myrsas*, and refreshing themselves, sending out from Time to Time Parties up and down, who carry'd off the Cattle and whatever they could catch, which they brought to the Camp as a general Magazine. In short, they had only made War by Skirmishes, when the *Circassians* gave out every where that they desired Peace; and having convinced some *Noghaians* (whom they had taken Prisoners on several Occasions, and employed in the most laborious Slavery, such as Tilling the Ground, carrying heavy Burthens, digging Wells, cleansing of Stables, &c.) of the Sincerity of their Intentions, that they might not leave them the least Room to doubt, they freed them from this State, (which was the more deplorable in that they had been no ways used to such servile and painful Offices) and presenting them with their Liberties, dispatch'd them to the *Tartar Han*, with Letters full of Submission, signed by the principal *Myrsas*, wherein they protested that they desired no better than to live in a good Intelligence with the *Tartars*, and repair their past Omissions by ample Satisfaction. After these, other Slaves, who were likewise released, and possessed with the same Opinion, were sent with Presents of Horses and Provisions, and contributed no less than the first to deceive the *Han*, and make him believe that they were disposed to buy Peace at any Price; and judging that their Presents and their Offers proceeded from a general Fear, he thought to take the Advantage of it, and made his Demands proportionably to the Condition in which he imagined them; which were accepted, after some slight Objections *pro forma*, and the Number of the Slaves and Horses agreed on. The *Circassians*, to impose the more agreeably on the *Tartar Han*, pretended that they were not less willing to satisfy him in Respect to the Quality, than the Number of the Slaves, offering to give him immediately the young Men who were

were not so difficult to be procured as the young Women, in the Choice of whom they are very delicate, they being to be pick'd out of the Handsomest that can be found, and afterwards the others. In fine, 14 Days was the Time agreed on for the Delivery of the one, and 20 for the others; but the 9th Night being come, when the *Han*, the *Sultans*, the *Myrsas* and others, expected only to reap more advantageous Fruits from the Peace than they could have hoped for from the War, and most Part of the *Tartars* were dispersed up and down to feed their Horses in the Neighbouring Fields, a certain Number of *Circassians*, who the Evening before had convey'd themselves unperceived to the Top of the Mountain, began to roll down great Stones, and pour a Storm of Flint and Fire upon the Tents that were at the Bottom of it; whilst the Slaves, who appeared to be metamorphos'd into Soldiers, well arm'd and mounted, fell in upon them without giving them Time to recover and take up their Arms to defend themselves, or their Horses to fly; and the Moon, which some *Circassians* adore, shining bright enough to show them their Enemies, they cut so many to Pieces, that they only escaped who were the readiest to mount and reach the Borders of *Tartary*, leaving the Field of Battle to the *Circassians*; at the Head and in the Number of the Fugitives was the *Han* himself, who lost there a Brother, with his Field Pieces, Tents, and Baggage, and was deposed at his Return, and sent into Exile at *Rhodes*.

The Harbour of *Caffa* is nothing like what it is represented to have been formerly; the Bottom is bad for want of being cleansed by the *Turks*, and it will in a little Time stand in need of a Mole to shelter the Ships from the S. E. which makes them roll terribly, and often run a Ground. Having exercised my Curiosity there, and bought the trifling Purchases which I was informed were the properest for *Noghaian Tartary* and *Circassia*, I hired a Horse for *Callati*, and set out on the 21st, early in the Morning, with the *Circassian* and the Owner of my Steed, who went upon another to bring it back to *Caffa*. It was one of the severest Winters that I had yet felt, a cold N. E. had blown violently for some Days, and it froze very hard; the Air seem'd to me even more subtil and penetrating than at *Constantinople* or *Adrianople*, and consequently as keen, tho' not so far to the North, as in any Country I had yet seen. I stop'd in my Way at *Thoussa*, about half an Hour, to see the Salt-Pans, consisting of little Basons, made by Art, near the Sea Side, and having nothing remarkable but the Quantity of Salt that is got thence, and is of a pretty good Quality; from thence I went on to *Callati*,* where I took up my Lodging, and where the *Streights*, call'd commonly the *Streights* of *Caffa*, properly begin. *Callati* is a little inconsiderable Town, or rather a miserable Village, having only a Castle almost entirely ruin'd; *Strabo* has placed its Port in the Number of good ones, but it is at present half fill'd up by the Negligence of the *Turks*, and only fit for some little Vessels, at least near the Shore, like some Galliot's that I saw there, which the *Turks* had built at *Constantinople*, for the Expedition at *Asoph*, and which the Peace at *Pruth* had saved both the Trouble of the Voyage and the Danger of the Sea.

* *Callati*,
the ΝΥΜ-
ΦΕΙΩΝ of
the Antients.

I dined the Day following at *Guerche*, another Sea-port Town, with a Castle not so ruined, and a little better Harbour than *Callati*; where lay some Galleys, and a greater Number of Galliot's and Brigantines, which had not been devoured by the *Black Sea*, to use the

Eastern Expression, for the *Turks* and *Greeks* say that it devours yearly above 50 or 60 of their Vessels, tho' they don't send any in the Winter Time, in that imitating the Custom of the Antients; and if these Galliot and Brigantines, that were designed for *Taganrok* and *Asoph*, may be call'd Vessels, they might have said that it had swallow'd that Year above 160; for, besides several of the latter, it was not two Months since 22 *Saiques*, of as great Burthen as our largest Merchant Ships, set sail from *Caffa*, *Kesleve*, *Killia* and other Places, and missing the Mouth of the *Streights* of *Constantinople*, in a dark Night, the Wind freshning, about 9 a-Clock they were all dash'd in Pieces against the Coasts, and not above 150 Persons saved out of above 1000 Slaves, that were Passengers, and about 30 Men, which each of them had on Board, belonging to the Ship; and 'twas but few Years before that 9 of the *Grand Seignior's* best Gallies perished there in the finest Season of the Year, as I've observed elsewhere. The Reason is, that besides its Harbour's being generally foul and choak'd up in several Places with Sand, which divers large Rivers, that disembogue themselves into that Sea with Precipitation, bring down along with them, rendring its Waters almost fresh, Storms and Tempests happen so frequently therein, that 'twas not without Reason the ancient *Greeks* gave it the Name of ΑΞΕΝΟΣ, *Inhospitable*; and the Moderns do it Justice in calling it still *μαυροθαλασσα*, as the *Turks* do *Cara-Deguis*, which signifies the *Black-Sea*, they using the Term *Black* to signify something turbulent, dismal and fatal. Here I chang'd Horses; and continuing our Journey, we arrived the same Day, about half an Hour after two in the Afternoon, at the Gates of *Jegni Kale* or the *New Castle*, under which Denomination they comprehend both the Town and the Castle, which is situated where the Antients placed their *Bosphorium* or *Panticapæum*, the Capital of the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, and once Seat of its Kings, and the *Genoese* their *Pontico*, form'd likely by Corruption from the latter. The *Janizaries* enquired if I had a *Ferman* or *Passport*? I answered that I had two; whereupon one of them conducted me to the *Bashaw*, to whom I presented them, with the Letter of *Cepherza Myrfa*; he had them all read to him, told me that I was welcome, and made me sit down upon his *Sopha*: Another *Bashaw*, or new Governour, designed for *Asoph*, was already set out for that Place, and the *Turkish* Garrison was actually marching thither: That said *Bashaw* of *Jegni Kale* ask'd me some Questions concerning my Journey, and demanded whether the King of *Sweden* did not think of leaving *Bender*; his Abode there being (as he said) more advantageous to his Enemies than himself. I reply'd, that he being his own Counsellor, and making but some few Favourites the Confidants of his Resolutions and Designs, and that but seldom, I had neither the Honour to be of the Number, nor the impertinent Curiosity to ask them about it; but that I believed he only waited for the Convoy. "How, the Convoy! (says he) when 'tis so long that one has waited for him at *Bender*? That is true (rejoin'd I) but it is not so numerous as his Majesty desired it should be, or as has been promised him; "I believe, indeed, " (answered he) that it is not so numerous as that Prince could wish " it, but I can't think he was ever put in Hopes of such a One " as he demanded." I immediately perceiv'd by this Discourse, that the *Bashaw* was a Creature of the deposed *Vizier*, *Baltagi Mehemet*; whereupon I only said that I was as little inform'd of his Majesty's Demand, as of the Offers of the *Porte*, and that it did

did not become me to penetrate into these political Mysteries. " It is possible, continued he, that there was a Design of allowing him " as many Forces to Escorte him, as were requisite during the Time " that the *Muscovites* over-ran all *Poland*, and took the *Swedes* Prisoners upon the Frontiers of our Empire; but things have taken such " a Turn, that what was then absolutely necessary, wou'd be now entirely superfluous, the *Czar* being obliged by the Treaty at *Pruth*, " not to oppose the King of *Sweden's* Passage directly nor indirectly, " whatever Road he pleases to take, even tho' it be thro' *Muscovy*. *Poland*, &c. (which desires the Continuance of the Peace at *Carlowitz*, " which the *Porte* is resolv'd to grant) offers an honourable and secure " Passage to his Majesty, and the *Mussulmans* who are to guard him, " provided they pass as Friends, and without exciting either openly " or underhand, any Commotion contrary to that Treaty; and the " Court of *Vienna* makes the same Offers. Things being in this Posture, added he, one *Capigi Bashaw* wou'd suffice to accompany " him; for I don't see what a Convoy can be fit for in going thro' a " Country in Friendship with any one, especially a numerous one, or " rather an Army, such as the King of *Sweden* desires, but to prolong " and incommode the Journey: But, continued he, 'tis visible enough " why he requires, and will absolutely pass with an Army thro' *Poland*, rather than *Germany*; he imagines perhaps that it wou'd be " Encouragement to the *Polish* Malecontents to attempt a Revolution " in favour of King *Stanislaus*; but, says he, how little does his Majesty know the *Poles*, to depend still upon them, after he has seen " them remain quiet, and neglect so favourable and inviting a Juncture, as that when our victorious Army had reduced the *Czar* to " restore whatever he had taken from us, not to interfere any farther " in the Affairs of the Republick; and, in short, to give us Satisfaction for all our Subjects of Complaints in general? If most part of " the *Poles* had been affected to King *Stanislaus*, or any other whatever than King *Augustus*, who cou'd have hindred their re-advancing him to that Dignity, (to which the Success of the *Swedish* Arms " had raised him, and from whence their Misfortunes had forced " him to descend) or even their electing another? We had rather " have seen a King upon the Throne of *Poland*, who wou'd have demanded our Protection, and offer'd to be our Ally, than one who is " a Friend to the *Muscovites*; this Change might have been made " without our Infringement of the Treaty of *Carlowitz*, or Violation " of the Laws of *Poland*, which authorize them freely to chuse their " Monarchs." I might have added, if Time and Place wou'd have allowed me to speak my Thoughts plainly, that his Majesty had no more Reason to rely on the *Ottoman* Arms than upon the *Poles*; and have confirm'd it by the Answer of the *Visier Baltagi Mehemet*, to his Majesty's Reproaches on account of the Peace at *Pruth*. This was the Substance of my Conversation with the *Bashaw*; and if his Discourse and Reflections shew'd that he was a Partisan of the said *Visier*, and consequently no Friend to the *Swedes*, they discover'd at least a Knowledge, an Understanding, Experience, &c. very uncommon amongst the *Turks*, who affect the highest Contempt of whatever regards the *Christians*; all their Merit consisting ordinarily in a severe and mysterious Gravity, which serves as a Cloak for their Ignorance and Dealings.

In the mean while, my *Circassian*, who had recommended me by Word of Mouth, in his Master's Name, was gone to see some Friends

in the Town; and the *Bashaw* ordered some Coffee to be brought, which is the usual Signal amongst the *Turks* that one may retire, (as I have already said;) but before I did so, he ask'd if I intended to make any Stay at *Jegni Kale*: I told him I was desirous of passing the Streights the next Day at farthest, in order to see the Country of the *Noghaians*, before I went on to *Circassia*; and that as I must on that Account part with *Cepherza Myrfa's* Man, who was going strait on to the latter, I shou'd be oblig'd to his Excellency if he wou'd procure me a Guide that knew the Country. He granted my Request, and gave Orders to an *Italian Renegado*, who serv'd him as an Interpreter, to find out a certain *Noghaian* call'd *Mehemet*, who was in the Town, and bring him thither; he went accordingly, and immediately after the *Tartar* appear'd, and in my Life I had never then seen an uglier Man. The *Bashaw* said to him in my Presence, "Will you accompany this *Frank* into *Noghaian Tartary*, and he will pay you for your Pains?" "Yes, my Lord, answered he, and where-ever he pleases: Well then," says the *Bashaw*, I recommend him to your Care, he has the *Han's* "Passport; and if any Mischance or Trouble befalls him, we shall "know how to find you one Day or other, and to punish you for it." The *Tartar* swore by his Head, his Beard, his Wife and Children, that he wou'd serve me honestly and faithfully: Whereupon I took leave of the *Bashaw*, after having thank'd him for his Goodness; and agreeing with my *Foldack*, or Fellow Traveller, what I shou'd allow him a Week, I gave him something beforehand, and bid him go and wait for me at *Taman* in the first *Han*, and take care to hire two good Horses for our Journey. He said he had his own for himself, which was a very good one, and which he would use as long as he could hold; then I told him to provide me a good one, which he promis'd to do, and went away. In the mean while, the *Italian* Interpreter, with whom I entred into Conversation, invited me to lie at his House; so I had my Things brought thither, which the *Circassian* had put in a *Han* with his own. We supped together, and he let me see that if he had embraced the *Mahometan* Religion, he knew how to expound it in his own Favour, and began to Moralize upon it, saying, as other *Oinopiates*, (if I am allowed the Expression) or *Wine-Drinkers*, whom I heard before, that Nature had made nothing in vain; that the delicious Wines of *Sudac* and *Catchick* were for the Use of Men, and not for Beasts, such as they were who drank to Excess like Swines, or at least too publickly; and that he duly abstained from them when he cou'd not find any. I staid there the next Day, which I spent with him in viewing the Town, which is not large, and we walk'd all over it: I found the Wall very thick, and of hard Stone; but those that are Judges think the Fortifications very irregular, as that *Italian* told me, who pretended to be himself so. He said likewise, that a Countryman of his had drawn the Plan of them; but that he had been opposed in the Execution of it by a *Turkish* Engineer; and in reality one may still see almost every where the *Turkish* manner intermingled, and as it were combating that of the *Christians*. The Castle is situated upon an Eminence to the S. W. of the Town, and terminated by a Platform or Terrass, upon which are several large Brass Cannon. 'Tis a great mishapen Mass, with a Cistern in the middle, not large enough to furnish Water two Months for a Garrison as numerous as wou'd be necessary for its Defence; besides that it is very often wanting in the Town during Summer. All the Advantage of this Castle consists in being situated so, that all

Vessels

Vessels of any Burthen are obliged to pass under its Shot, and exposed to Mortar-pieces that command the Passage, with great Balls of a grey Stone, like those at *Topana*, of which I've spoken elsewhere; and the Waters are so low towards *Taman*, the Vessels would be infallibly dash'd in Pieces if they should attempt to pass that Way; and even at *Fegni Kale* they are so shallow, that this *Italian* told me they were obliged to take the Cannon out of the Men of War, which had failed some Days before to see *Taganrok* demolished, according to the Treaty of *Pruth*. I bought here the Silver Medal of *Panticapæum*, N. 25. in the Print XXVIII, from an *Armenian* Goldsmith, to whom he conducted me, which was coin'd for that City, when it bore this Name, with the other mark'd B, also of Silver, in the Print XIV.

The *Circassian* being come to join me, we pass'd the *Bosphorus Cimmerius*, and landed half a Mile above *Taman*, because 'tis dangerous crossing over strait to that Town, especially if the Wind be any thing stormy, as it was at that Time. We were about an Hour in our Passage, and it was about three before we reach'd the Town, and as it is but little, the rest of the Day was sufficient to view it; we found my new Guide sitting at the Door of a *Han*, smoaking Tobacco, and he told me that he had hired a Horse for *Temrok*, where we might take another.

Taman, tho' little, is well peopled, and may be call'd a Colony of *Armenians*, *Georgians*, *Mingrelians*, and *Circassians*, these making the greatest Part of the Inhabitants, as at *Temrok* and the Villages of *Adass*. Its Castle seems to have been built or repaired by the *Genoese*, at least some Remains of the Arms of their Consuls testify as much. The Castle is but inconsiderable, the Ditches are not deep, and it is Garrison'd only by a Company of *Fanizaries*. The *Tchorbadgi* or Captain had me brought before him, upon the News that my Forerunner had already spread in the Town about my Journey; for which I reprehended him, intending to pass as *Incognito* as possible, having for that Reason dress'd my self almost after the Manner of the Country, with a *Tapungi*, to keep off the Snow, which had fallen that Day in great Quantity, as it had likewise several before. He ask'd me divers Questions about my Travels, to which I return'd suitable Answers, and ordering two young *Swedes*, who had escaped from *Asoph*, and were circumcis'd, to be call'd before him, he desired me to examine them about their Condition and Profession; but as they only understood their Native Language, and a little of the *Muscovite*, to which I was utterly a Stranger, I could not satisfy his Curiosity; so Coffee being brought as usual, I took my Leave. I could not learn what had induced these two young *Swedes* to turn *Mahometans*, the *Turks* not obliging any one to it; all I could hear was, that upon their Arrival they went directly to the *Tchorbadgi*, and pronounced the Words that must precede the embracing of that Religion. Without Dispute they had either met some *Muscovite Renegado*, who had boasted of his Temporal Advancement since his Profession of his new Faith, or else they were encouraged to it by the News of the good Fortune of one of their Countrymen, call'd *Ali Bashaw*, who commanded at that Time one of the *Grand Seignior's* Men of War actually before *Taganrok*, to see it demolish'd.

We took up our Lodging that Night at *Taman*, and set out the 25th early in the Morning; and I observ'd nothing remarkable between this Town and *Temrok*, but some yet considerable Ruins, which were likely

likely to become less so every Day by their continual Diminution, occasioned by the Inhabitants of these two Places carrying off from Time to Time part of them to build Magazines, or lay the Foundations for some Houses. By their Situation they seem'd to me to have been those of the *Phanagoria* of the Antients, if it was not at *Taman*, but I could not find either Inscriptions of *Basso Relievos* to give me any farther Insight into it. Hard by the Highway, near a Well, there is a sort of a long and large Chest of hard Stone, as valuable as Marble, and without a Cover, almost like the Tombs at *Lamp-saco*; it serves for a watering Place for Travellers Horses, being fill'd with Water by the hospitable Care of the *Circassians* and other Inhabitants, who form Colonies in the Villages of the Country call'd *Ada*, which I believe to be the antient *Corocondamia*. The Houses of these Villages are, like those before-mentioned at *Precop*, interwoven, if I may call it so, with Branches of Trees and Stakes, and plaistered over with Cow-Dung and Mud. We met in our Way divers little Eminences, which might be call'd Tombs, with as much Reason as those at *Stevenage* in *England*, or at least that have the same Appearance; but the Country People don't take any Notice of them, only looking on them as the Work of Nature, or rather not thinking at all about them; and when I have ask'd what they thought, they have either answered nothing, or only said 'tis rais'd Earth. We reach'd *Temrok* by two in the Afternoon, being about ten Leagues from *Taman* to the North; 'tis another Colony of the like Inhabitants, and has on the North an old Castle, with a Company of *Janizaries*, and six Pieces of Cannon, to defend it. This Castle is call'd *Ada*, or the Island, a modern Name which it takes from the Island, represented in my Map B. wherein 'tis situated. It stands where the Antients placed their *Patreus*, and two Eminencies that resemble pretty much the two Breasts of a Woman, are named *Adasbournout* or the Point of the Island, and may probably have been their *Achilleum Promontorium*. I could not find at *Temrok* any other curious Traces of Antiquity, than the Silver Medal of *Pertinax* N. 7. in the Print XII, with those of *Gordianus*, *Antoninus*, *Diocletianus*, design'd to be melted down by a Greek Goldsmith, which I redeem'd from the Flames for a small Matter more than the intrinsic Worth of the Silver, as those at *Cassa*, and the Brass ones, N. 8, 20, 21, in the Print XXVIII of a *Bacal*; * N. 8. was coin'd for the King *Roscoporedous*, one of the latter Kings of *Bosphorus*, who is represented on one side of it, and has *Constantine* the youngest on the Reverse; with these Characters, A K-- X, which design the Year 1079 of *Rome*. The two others are *Metalchus*, and the one has on one side the Head of *Augustus Caesar*, with that of this King, and the other the same, accompany'd with that of a Woman, which may be his Queen, tho' not named. *Temrok* is only considerable for its Commerce in Hides, *Caviar*, Honey, and *Circassian* Slaves and Horses, which pay two and a half *per Cent*. Custom, according to their Value to the *Grand Seignior*, and one and a half to the *Tartar Han*; and they reckon'd that the Duty, together with the Tribute which these Colonies pay, viz. two thirds to the first, and one third to the second, amount'd to 25000 Crowns *per Ann.* for the *Grand Seignior*, and eight or nine for the *Ham*. The Province call'd *Ada* extends a good Way, especially to the North and South, beyond the Island before-mention'd, and pretty far into the Plain to the Eastward, where the Nations just spoken of have settled Villages bordering on the moveable Hords of the *Noghaians*.

* *Bacal* is one who sells such Provisions as dry Raisins, Figs, Salt, Olive, Oil, Butter, &c.

As,

As, to see their Country according to my Resolution, I was oblig'd to strike off to the Right, I wish'd *Cepherza-Myrfa's* Man a good Journey, who return'd me the same Compliment, and recommended me earnestly to my new Guide ; according to whose Counfel I made a little Provision of Bread and *Caviar*, because he inform'd me I shou'd not be able to find any amongst the *Tartars* where we were going. These Eastern *Nomades*, or Wanderers, whom I call so, because they have no fix'd Habitations no more than the Ancient *Scythians*, are extended to the Eastward between the *Palus Mæotis* and the *Caspian Sea*, only keeping at the Distance of about Thirty or Forty Hours (to use that Country Term instead of Leagues) from each of them ; tho' sometimes they approach nearer, and from South to North they reach from the River *Trimelys* to *Kara Kuban* ; nevertheless it must be own'd, that they have not much more regard to Limits than to Roads and Leagues. The *Noghaians*, for the generality, don't know what 'tis to sow and make Bread, tho' they eat it very willingly when given them ; they likewise prefer, as well as the *Crim Tartars*, Horse-Flesh to any other Meat, even those who have Oxen, Cows and Sheep, as they who are nearest to the *Palus Mæotis* ; these being properly speaking Colonies, which have retain'd many Customs from the *Crim Tartars*, as sowing of Wheat, Cummin, and other sorts of Grain which their Country produces in Plenty, making *Shorba* of them and of Flesh together. The *Noghaians* in the middle of the Country who don't sow, find it so agreeable to their Palates, that they buy Cummin of those who sow it ; not only for their *Talcan*, but for this *Ragout* or Soop, for it is a Medium between both. These People are all govern'd, either by *Beys* or *Myrsas* of their own Nation, or else by some which the *Han* names, and sends from *Crim*. The *Turks*, when speaking of the *Tartars*, call them impure, nasty, and Infidels, as well as the *Christians* ; because of their Slovenliness and Negligence, with regard to the Ablutions and Prayers of the *Mahometans*. I hired at *Temrok* a Courser excellent for his Swiftness, for the first *Keddi* or *Hord*, the Name of the moveable Villages of the *Tartars*, whither a Servant of the Man that own'd him accompanied us to carry him back again. 'Tis impossible to travel cheaper ; for I don't think that I paid at the Rate of Twenty Five Pence a Day for two Horses during my whole Journey, and that of the Man who goes to fetch them back again costs nothing ; and the Hospitality, even of those *Tartars* and *Circassians* that are reckon'd the most savage, is so great, that one must not offer to pay any thing for what one eats at their Houses, nor even for Forage ; and they receiv'd the Tobacco, and other Trifles which I had with me, only as voluntary and civil Presents from the Person who gave them ; and they sometimes return'd others, tho' but small ones, in lieu of them. It was Ten in the Morning on the 25th, when we left *Temrok*, and we travell'd all the Night and the Day following, and a good part of the next Night, resting but only Five Hours in above Forty Eight ; for it was past Ten by my Watch when we arrived at the first *Keddi*, which was of my Guide's Acquaintance, and almost as it is represented in my Map of the *Black Sea* ; as are generally all the other throughout the Country. It was a sort of large Fold, pretty like those wherein our Shepherds enclose the Sheep in the Night-time, only that it was cover'd with Felt on that side where the Wind blew, with some Stakes raised higher than the rest, to sustain a sort of Awning, like those which the Sailors make with their Sails in a Harbour, to shield themselves

selves from the Sun and Rain upon the Deck. Their most tender Cattle, as Calves, Lambs and Colts, were shelter'd under this from the Injuries of the Weather, which was then cold, the Rivers being already frozen over so as to bear, and the Earth cover'd with Snow. In the middle and round about this Fold were the Tents ranged, as in the Map aforementioned. These Tents were shaped, as are the rest throughout *Tartary*, like little *Cupolas* with a Hole in the Top, to let out the Smoke of the Fire which is made in the middle: As for their Structure, which is of Wood, they are like our Coops for *Turkey* Powts, and cover'd all round with Felt, having a little Hurdle something bent, likewise lin'd with Felt, and fastened to the Bottom of a Stick, upon which it turns and keeps out the Wind, Snow and Rain, which might disturb those within by beating back the Smoak. There are besides in all the *Keddys*, Waggons to transport their Tents and Baggage, with their Wives and Children, from Place to Place, when they decamp. The Waggons are generally drawn by Dromedaries, as represented in the same Map: These Animals, which are distinguished by their natural Saddles from Camels, are very common in this Country, and draw them much more slowly; but at the same time more surely, with their grave and regular Pace, than the *Tartarian* Steeds, which are only train'd up to carry, and are indefatigable, but as ugly for Horses, as their Masters are for Men. As soon as the Cattle of these Eastern *Nomades* have consum'd the Grass in one Place, they remove to another. These Vagabonds by Profession, in whom the Race of the ancient *Scythians* is reviv'd, as to their wandring Life and Food, seem to surpass them in Ugliness; for *Strabo* does not take Notice that they were so monstrous and deform'd in their Faces as these, who are not only flat and square-visaged, but have such little Eyes, so far sunk into their Heads, and such short Noses, that one wou'd think at a certain Distance from them they had none at all; besides which, their Beards are so straggling and so thin, that one may count the Hairs in a little time; and these Hairs are so stiff, so strait, and so large, that one wou'd take them for those of some Horse, or some old Goat, not to mention that most part of them grow in Places where other Men have none, as in the midst of their Cheeks. We found every body a Bed and asleep, excepting in one of the Tents which were without the Fold to keep Guard; for, as they make frequent Inroads upon the *Cassacks* near *Asoph*, and the *Circassians*, taking away often a whole Village at a time; that is to say, young Men, Women, Boys and Girls, with all they can find that is portable; these make Reprisals upon them, surprising them often in the Night-time, and carrying off their Cattle with those that watch them. My Guide being known for a Friend by his Face alone without speaking, I don't know for whom they took me; but he having told what Recommendations I had, they shew'd a great deal of Respect, and made me sit down upon a Piece of Felt in one of the Tents, the Owner whereof made great haste to get something prepar'd for our Supper; insomuch, that he wou'd have awaken'd his Wife for that purpose, (between whom and the Fire there was only a Separation of a Curtain of very thick Stuff;) but I oppos'd it, saying that we had Bread and *Caviar*, which wou'd suffice, and I desired him to take part; he did so, and one of his Sons, a little Monster worthy of him, brought by his Order some Cheese or Mares Milk dry'd, which he diluted in a Wooden Porringer for our Drink; besides a Piece of cold Horse-Flesh that had been slightly broil'd,

broil'd, and to which he gave a second Dressing, whereof it seemed to stand in need enough, by laying it again on the Coals. This done, we smoaked and went to rest, the Felt whereon I lay serving for a Quilt, my Portmanteau for a Pillow, and a Carpet which I had for a Covering. The next Day I ordered my Guide to hire Horses to continue our Journey; I say Horses, because his own was fatigued, and he told me he would leave him among his Friends, and added, that we might have them when we wou'd, but that there was a *Myrsa* incamped in the *Keddi*, whom I ought to pay my Respects to; I did so accordingly, and was very well received; he made me sit down by him upon a Quilt like a *Sopha*, and as he was smoaking, he immediately ordered a Pipe to be brought for me. The only Difference between his Tent and the others was, that it was larger and distinguish'd by a Streamer fasten'd before it, and a Sabre at the Entrance of it. He made me breakfast with him, having immediately given Orders for a *Shorba*, which they dress'd in another Tent, while we were employ'd in * talking and smoaking. As I found his Tobacco very bad, I drew a *Turkish* Tobacco Purse out of my Pocket, wherein was some of the best sort, and presented it to him: After he had tasted it, he said he had never smok'd better Tobacco; whereupon I told him that I had enough of the same in my Portmanteau to spare him a small quantity of it: He said, that I shou'd oblige him in so doing; hereupon I quitted him for a Minute to go and fetch it, and I fill'd a new Purse † which might hold about half a Pound, and brought it to him, and he found the Purse to his Fancy, as well as the Tobacco. After this the *Shorba* was serv'd up, being made of Horse-Flesh and Cummin, enrich'd with Spices, as in *Crim Tartary*, and I thought it very good; and my Guide seem'd to think it yet better by the quantity he eat of it. It ought not to surprize any one, that the *Myrsa* made him sit down at his Table; for the Hospitality, both of the *Turks* and *Tartars*, putting every body upon a Level, nothing is more common than to see the meanest of the People at the Table of those of the highest Rank, both in *Turkey* and *Tartary*; even without any Invitation from the Master of the House before the Repast, or any Thanks being return'd by the Stranger afterwards, as I have already hinted in speaking of the *Turks*.

* The Noghaians, as well as the other Tartars, have enough of Turkish in their Mixture, of the Persian, Circassian, and a little of the Muscovite Tongues, to make themselves understood.
† The Turks and Persians keep their Tobacco in Purses made for that purpose.

As the *Myrsa* was born in this Country, I ask'd him divers Questions about it; and amongst the rest, if there were any Remains of some ancient Cities in it? He answer'd, he had remarked only those of one, before which he had passed twice or thrice in going and coming from *Circassia*; and that he had only stopt to give his Horses some Water, out of an old Fountain that was wall'd in; 'twas thus that he describ'd an ancient Cistern. I enquired how far distant they might be from us; he said, about three Days Journey and a half with fresh Horses. As none of the *Tartars* that were present, or others of whom I enquir'd afterwards, cou'd tell me of any other Antiquities, I express'd a great Desire to see these. I shou'd have wondered, if he had made any Observation upon these Ruins, as knowing the Ignorance and Indifference of the People of this Country about any antique Remains. Upon my saying, that I shou'd be glad to take a View of them, he offer'd me one of his Servants to conduct me thither; but my Guide told me that he cou'd find the Place, having also passed by it; whereupon I took leave of the *Myrsa* about Nine in the Morning, and he had ordered two of his own Horses to be saddled, to carry us

to the first *Keddi*, whither one of his Servants followed to bring them back again ; and they were so swift, that they did not seem to run but to fly. My Guide propos'd to me by the Way, to go by his *Keddi* ; I answer'd I was afraid it might be remov'd, to which he reply'd, he knew where it was to be if it was so ; but that when he came from it there was Pasture enough till the Month of *February* in the Place where it stood, wherefore we shou'd infallibly find it there. As I had no Desire to see any particular Part of the Country, where there was neither Road, Town nor Village, it did not signify much whether I went to the North or the East, so that I did not turn too much out of the Way I had propos'd to my self. This *Keddi* was like the first, at least as to the Tents ; he led me directly to the Door of his *Obba*, where the first Object that presented itself was a young *Tartar* who call'd him Father, and was not a whit less deform'd. He was as it were pack'd up from the Neck to the Ankle, in a furr'd Garment made of Lamb Skins sow'd together, and girt about the middle with a Leather Strap, with a Cap all of Skin, without any other Covering of Cloth, or any Stuff whatever. He kiss'd his Father's Hand, and took our Horses. Immediately after appear'd his Wife, with two Daughters between Thirteen and Fifteen Years old, who express'd a joyful Eagerness to pay their Duty to him in the same manner. Their Furrs, which were no richer, but something larger in the Sleeves and Body, and not so long, let me see their short under Petticoats of coarse Cotton, whereupon were Girdles with Brass Buckles ; under these they had Drawers after the *Turkish* Fashion, over which their Shifts hung down, which were abominably foul, wherein they justify'd the Name of *Nasty* given them by the *Turks*. Their Heads were each of them cover'd with a Handkerchief that had been White in the Days of Yore, which sympathiz'd in Dirtiness with the Drawers and Shifts ; and these were so ty'd upon their Heads, that the two Ends form'd a sort of Tuft. The Hair of all of them hung down in two Tresses over their Shoulders, and their Eyes were not so small as are generally those of the Men ; nor were their Noses so short, but their Faces were flat and square ; and this is for the most part the Figure both of the *Noghaian* and other *Tartarian* Women, which renders them something more supportable to the Sight, than that other Sex.

After this Interview they entred again into the Tent, and the Mistress placed her Daughters behind a sort of Curtain, like that before-mention'd ; from whence they came no more out without being veil'd, because they saw Strangers ; tho' they are not generally very scrupulous upon that Point of the *Mahometan* Law, no more than about their Ablutions, and several other Articles. As for the Mistress, she remain'd all the while unveil'd, and spread out some Pieces of Felt for us to sit down on. We did so, and my *Foldack*, or Fellow Traveller, having taken his Pipe, ask'd for my Purse to fill it with Tobacco ; then gave it to the *Myrfa's* Man, who did the same ; and having told me that his Wife smok'd, I presented her with a small quantity, with which she seem'd very well pleased : Nevertheless, she did not use it till after she had dress'd our Victuals, wherein her Daughters assisted her, and I also took my Pipe to bear them Company. Dinner being ready, one of the Girls serv'd us up upon the Ground, in a Wooden Porringer, about twenty little Pieces of Meat, roasted, or rather burnt superficially, upon an Iron Plate ; so that they seem'd

as many Coals, they were so very black, and sprinkled over with a little Butter, which serv'd them instead of Sauce or Gravey. I made as if I tasted of them, lifting them first up to my Mouth, and then putting them again in the Dish, which neither the *Myrfa's* Servant nor my Landlord perceiv'd, so well they liked it, and so busy they were in feeding on it; nevertheless I appeased my Stomach, which was not great, with a Piece of Bread that was left of what we bought at *Temrok*. They served up afterwards two other Dishes something more tolerable, viz. one of *Shorba* made of Cummin and the Flesh of a wild Goat, which one of my Landlady's Brothers had kill'd, and presented to her; and the other of boil'd Milk, which I eat of with a better Appetite, crumbing some Bread into it. The first Dish was also of the same Goat's Flesh, there being several of them that wander wild up and down the Desarts, the Flesh of which is very good when well dress'd. Whilst we were finishing our Dinner, my Guide's Wife, leaving her Daughters to take away, retired a little aside to try the Tobacco that I had given her; and after we had done eating, she brought us a large Bowl of Mare's Milk.* Hereupon I ask'd if they had no good Water; and being answer'd Yes, I said I had rather at that time have some of that than any thing else; upon which they fetched me some that was tolerably good, but my Landlord and the *Myrfa's* Servant soon drank up the Bowl of Milk, tho' it had been twice fill'd: After which my Landlady and her Daughters made a shift with the rest; and the young *Tartar*, to whom we had given our Horses, and who, with two other Brothers, kept them with the other Cattle, as Oxen and Cows, under the Shelter of Sheds, came for the *Shorba* that was designed for them. We smoak'd again every one our Pipe, whilst the Daughters extended a large Piece of Felt upon the Ground, that serv'd as the general Bed of the Family, before which was the Curtain: She also spread another for me near the Fire, only large enough for one Person, upon which I put my Carpet and my Portmanteau, and lay down the first; and I rested so well, that the next Day when I awaked, I found every body up, and the Fire well lighted. I made a Present to the *Myrfa's* Man, and told my Guide that I wou'd continue my Journey towards the Ruins beforementioned; whereupon he prepared Horses, and I gave some Toys to his Wife and Children. For tho' (as I've observ'd) one must not offer to pay any thing for ones Victuals or Lodging, which wou'd be violating the Laws of Hospitality; they, as well as the *Turks*, wou'd think it want of Manners in a Stranger not to make them some Present.

* The
Tartars don't
use to drink
no more than
the *Turks*,
but after eat-
ing.

In the mean while, the other *Oba's*, or the Inhabitants of the other Tents, hearing there was a Stranger at that of my Guide's, ran to have a Look of me; but I soon stole away from their little Eyes, and escap'd several Questions which they ask'd me, by mounting on Horseback, as did my Guide also. The 29th in the Morning we met with another more considerable Hord of Families, from which we cou'd not get so soon clear, every body being already up: My Guide being very well known, we were surrounded in a Minute by above Thirty Persons; and two little Monsters taking our Horses, one of his intimate Friends carried us into his Tent, which was made like the others before-mentioned. It was besieged in a moment by a greater Number; for altho' I was cloath'd almost after their own manner, they easily distinguished me by the Difference of my Features. Several of them were on Horseback in a Hunting Dress, with a Hawk upon their Fists.

Tho'

Tho' the *Mahometan* Law prohibits Womens showing their Faces, even to those who are design'd for their Husbands, before they enter into the Nuptial Bed ; yet several were come out of their Tents uncover'd, upon the Report that there was a Stranger arriv'd, and entred in that where I was ; others more scrupulous stood at the Door of it, before which hung a Piece of Felt call'd *Perdey*, the Corners whereof they lifted up to view me without being seen.

My Guide was teaz'd on all sides with Questions on my account, and he made me pass for a great Friend of the *Han's* ; whereupon a young *Myrsa*, who was encamp'd there, sent to invite me to Dinner with him. I went accordingly, and found that he spoke better *Turkish* than any I had met with since I had left *Crim Tartary*, where (as he told me) he was born ; and indeed his Features were less irregular than those of the *Noghaians*. He discoursed me about several Things, which shew'd a great deal of Ignorance, as well as his Answers to what I ask'd him concerning his own Country ; but he entertained me better than ever I had been since I left *Cepherza Myrsa's*. He had lately married the Daughter of another *Myrsa*, who had kill'd a young Colt, of which there was still a good part left, and he order'd to be made into a *Ragout*, and some to be broil'd ; which being done, we din'd of it, and he perswaded me by his Example to drink some *Boza*, but I did not at all like it. I saw not his young Spouse, who was (as I was inform'd) in a neighbouring Tent ; but I enquir'd about their Nuptial Ceremonies, and found they only differ'd from those of the *Turks*, in the manner of their Merry-making before and after. In the mean while, having told my Guide I wou'd continue my Journey, he had provided Horses for that purpose ; so I presented a Telescope to the *Myrsa*, and thank'd him for his Civilities, telling him, I would not fail at my Return to acquaint the *Han* thereof, and even wrote down his Name, and that of his *Hord*, with which he seem'd agreeably flatter'd, and forced me to take two of his Coursers, instead of those that were hired for me. Having ask'd my Guide which Way I was to travel ; and being inform'd, he said to me, *You must pass by my Father-in-Law's, he is going to have one of his Sons circumcis'd, and I am to be at the Ceremony, so you may bear me Company* : I answer'd, I wou'd do as he pleased ; whereupon he order'd his Servants to saddle his best Nag, and get themselves ready, and we began our Journey about Three in the Afternoon, and continued, it as usual, all Night ; during good Part of which, a sort of Buffoon, who was always near him, related several Romantick Adventures in a loud Voice, wherein he seem'd to take a great deal of Pleasure, tho' they were the most foolish Trifles that I ever heard ; and my Guide, with the other *Tartars* of his Retinue, were charm'd with them, and applauded them by laughing every Moment. From these he pass'd on to real Exploits in their Inroads, as the Dangers he had been in from the Pursuits of the *Cossacks* and *Circassians*, which he had escap'd with his Booty ; and he extoll'd the Goodness and Speed of his Horses on such Occasions, and it was what I thought the most tolerable in these Stories.

The next Morning, about six a-Clock, we halted near a pretty considerable River, which they only call'd *Buiuksou*, or the great Water ; for the People of the Country distinguish all their Rivers only by the Names of *Buiuksou* and *Cuciuksou*, or the great and little Rivers, according to their Bigness ; and this might possibly be the *Coppa*. Here we refreshed our selves with some cold Meat, and drank some *Talcan*, which

which I thought very good; and our Horses scratch'd up the Snow and fed on the Grass under it, during two Hours that we spent in eating and smoaking. After this we cross'd the River dry-footed, it being frozen over; and in a few Hours we pass'd by a little *Keddi* of seven or eight Tents, where we did not stop, and arrived in the Evening at the *Myrsa's* Father-in-Law's. He was a good sort of a Man of between 50 or 60, but one of the most monstrous in my Eyes that I had ever yet seen, at least as to the Features of his Face; for as to the other Parts of his Body, they were very regular, as are generally all the Men amongst the *Tartars*, against whose Shape there is seldom any Objection to be made. He was incamp'd and distinguish'd like the other *Myrsas*, in the midst of a large Fold, and had two Wives, the Youngest about 30, and the Oldest between 35 and 40; both of which, with the Son who was to be Circumcis'd, were worthy of him by their Uglinefs. However, I won't determine whether what appear'd to me to be monstrous and deformed may not be Beauty amongst the *Tartars*, as the deepest Black and the flattest Nose is amongst the *Ethiopians*, who think they can't paint the Devil of a more frightful Colour than White, as some *Christians* do Black from a contrary Opinion; and one may believe the same of the *Tartars*, by what I have said of the Reproaches cast by those of *Crim* on those who are born of *Circassian* Slaves and others, who have regular Features. The Boy to be circumcis'd was about eight Years old, and there were about 20 other young *Noghaians*, who came thither to undergo the same Operation; the Ceremony was perform'd the next Day by pronouncing the same Words as in *Turkey*, the only Difference that I observ'd was, that instead of a Razor that the *Turks* make use of, the *Tartars* do it with a *Circassian* Knife, as 9 in the Print XXVI, and cut off less of the Prepuce. All the Children being circumcis'd about 11 in the Morning, all the rest of the Day was spent in Rejoycing, and the old *Myrsa* was at the Expence of the Feast, at which the Parents of the other Children were present, and a young Colt made the most delicious Part of the Entertainment. He had set me on his Left-hand, which is the most honourable Place amongst the *Mahometans*, and his Son-in-Law on his Right; but 'twas by Chance rather than any Design, for these People don't know what 'tis to use Ceremony. The four principal Dishes were four prodigious large ones of Horse Flesh, viz. one *Ragout*, one *Shorba*, the Head and the Intrails, (and these two last are esteemed the most nice Bits;) the rest of the Entertainment consisted of Hares, Goats, and Wild-ducks. They all eat very heartily, nor did they drink less, (for the *Tartars* can both fast and eat more than any other Nation whatever) but their Liquor was not at all agreeable to my Palate; it consisted of *Boza*, Mares-Milk, and dry'd Cheese, such as I've before-mention'd, diluted in Milk or Water. The *Boza* getting into the Heads of the Guests, who drank to Excess, laid them amongst the Number of the Dead for some Hours, and my Guide was one of the first who got his Dose, and went to sleep himself sober, whilst others began to sing after an odd Manner, without either Order or Time. Night coming on, and being already something advanced; the dead Men came to Life again, or rather the Sleepers awaked, and the Singers being tired, gave them their Places, and went to take those they had quitted, and do as they had done. As for me, I lay down and slept very well till seven the next Morning, which was the 1st of *January*; and the *Myrsas* being up by eight,

eight, I took Leave of them, after having return'd many Thanks to the Master and Mistresses of the Feast, to whom I made some little Presents, (which they receiv'd as if they had been considerable) and giving an ordinary *Thesby* to the Youth that was circumcis'd. Upon asking my Guide (to whom I had given Instructions to hire Horses for us) whether they were ready; he told me the *Myrsa* had ordered two of his own to be saddled, to carry us at least as far as the first *Keddi*; so we set out with them about nine a-Clock, and began to enter the Confines of the *Noghaians* that inhabit the Mountains. As we were riding along, I ask'd my Guide how many Miles we might be from the Ruins of the old City; to which he answered, *We Tartars know no other Miles than our Whips and good Horses; but I believe that with these or others as good, we may be there by To-morrow before Night.* About two in the Afternoon, we stop'd at the Bottom of a little Hill to eat some ready dress'd Provision which my Fellow Traveller had brought from the *Myrsa's*, as he always remembred to do where-ever he could find any. He kept it in a Piece of *Russia* Leather, shaped like those Bags wherein Travellers amongst us put the Powder for their Wigs, and which shut with Strings, only that it was larger; it is call'd in *Turkish*, *Sophra*; and they eat upon it in the Country, as they do when at Home, upon their Tables of Wood or Silver, to which they give the same Name. They spread them upon the Ground at the first Place they stop at, which, among the *Turks*, is generally near a River, and sit down, cross-leg'd, after the Eastern Manner, round about it; and after they have done, they gather up what remains and shut it in the Bag, which they fasten behind the Saddle with the Strings, and open again at the next Time they are hungry for another Repast; so that 'tis properly a Cupboard and Table both together. The *Turks* never travel without a *Sophra*, and I got my first Fellow Traveller to buy that which I had, at *Bender*. We mounted again about half an Hour past three, and did not meet with any *Keddi* till a little after Midnight; they were not gone to sleep at the Tent where we alighted, it being one of those appointed for the Guard; and, to say the Truth, the *Tartars* observe no regular Time of eating, drinking or sleeping, but do both one and the other when they have most Inclination to it, and when they can safely; for sometimes, when they are upon their Incursions, they are five or six Days without eating, and will live above a Month only upon *Talcan*, and often can't stop to sleep without being in Danger when they are flying away with their Prey; and they retain very much of this their Irregularity even when at Home, tho' it be voluntary. When they are arrived either amongst any of their Countrymen, or at their own Tents, they eat to fetch up their lost Time; and often when they have made an ample Meal after long fasting and watching, they will sleep above two Days without waking.

The *Conak* or Landlord of the Tent was not so civil, after the Manner of the Country, as those I met with before; he kept within, sitting upon his Breech like an Ape, with three other *Tartars*, whilst another came out, upon the Noise we made in coming, to see who we were; but he did not take our Horses, as they had done elsewhere, to put them in the Fold for Security, or give them some Hay, of which every *Keddi* made a Provision against Night-time, for Passengers who have not Time to stay, and send their Horses to Grass, but left the Man to whom they belong'd to take Care of them, and went in again

gain, without so much as saying we were welcome. My Guide had prepared me already for such a Reception, by telling me before-hand that the *Noghaians*, who inhabited the Mountains, were not so hospitable as they; therefore he play'd the Master himself, bidding me first go in, and then desiring me to sit down by the Fire; after which, he demanded of the Company that were there likewise, which was the Landlord; and being inform'd; told him who I was, and what Recommendations I had from the *Han*: But all this did not gain us so much as one Compliment, but only made the rest of the Company cast their Hawks-Eyes at me, and stare as if they'd look me through. Being sat, I drew out my Pipe and fill'd it, and made my Guide ask him if he smoak'd, for he did not speak *Turkish*; to which he answer'd, in his Language, that he did; whereupon I presented him some of my Tobacco to fill his, and whilst my Guide was praising the Goodness of it, he began to speak to him, and enquire whither we were going; he reply'd, as he thought fit, and ask'd him for some Victuals, (for the *Tartars*, as I have already observ'd, are as free with their Countrymen as if they were at Home) whereupon the Master said something to one of his Companions, who rose up, and brought from behind a large Curtain (which, without doubt, was his *Harem*) a great Wooden Basin, wherein were some cold Pieces of broil'd Horse-Flesh, that look'd but of an indifferent Colour. I tasted them, and found them so tough, and so bad, that I thought the Beast, of which they had been part, had dy'd of Age; the same Man went back again to fetch another with Mare's Milk, and a Wooden Porringer to drink out of, and my Fellow Travellers seem'd to find them both very palatable by the Quantity they eat of the one, and their emptying several Times the other; of which I also drank a little, and then retook my Pipe, which, with my Thoughts, were then my only Company; and I never found it so seasonable any where as in such Desarts, and amongst such ignorant People, where ones Curiosity finds so little to exercise it self upon.

Being thus without Conversation, I began to have a great many different Thoughts about these People; as of their little Attention to my Guide when he told them I had the *Han's* Passport, and their earnest fixing their Eyes on me. Upon revolving all these Things in my Mind, I doubted whether I was in Safety amongst them, and resolv'd to traverse their Designs, if they had any, as soon as possible: Hereupon I ordered my Guide, after he had eaten, to hire Horses, for I would proceed on my Journey immediately; and opening my Portmanteau I gave a little Tobacco to the Master of the Tent, to render him tractable upon that Article; upon which he let us two of his own as far as the first *Keddi*, for the Value of about 16 Pence. We set out about three in the Morning, and about two in the Afternoon we arriv'd at the Ruins before-mention'd. I can't tell the Name of the City whereof these are the Remains, because no Body could inform me of any other it had than *Esky Sehir*, old City, no more than of the Rivers that I had pass'd, and which I cross'd afterwards, the People (as I before hinted) only distinguishing them into great and small; besides that neither the one nor the other seem'd to me to be seated where the Geographers have placed theirs; and I don't love to speak by Guess, in order to say something curious at the Expence of Truth. However it be, these Ruins are upon the Side of a little Hill, cover'd partly with a Thicket, partly with very high Grass, where some Wild

Goats were browsing, which fled as fast as ever they could lay Legs to Ground, as soon as they perceiv'd us. There seem'd to have been upon the Summit of the Hill a Temple, as well as I could judge by some Foundations still remaining at that Time, which were visible enough for me to discover a round Plan like those of the antient ones, or at least I rendred them so by the Means of an Instrument, half Axe half Hammer, shaped as 10 in the Print, N. XXVI, which most of the *Tartars* carry fastened to their Saddles, as the *Turks* do their *Topouz*. This I made use of to dig up the Ground; in doing which I found both the Brass Figures N. 4. and the *Basso Relievos* 6 and 7, with their Greek Inscriptions, 11 and 12 in the same Print.

* This Cistern, in the Whole, was above 20 Spans deep, there being Steps to go down into it as far as the Ice, from whence I measured the Depth 9 full Spans and a half.

† These Letters, represented in the said Print, (as they are on the Stone) seem to be of those which the Antiquaries call Etruscans.

These Remains of Foundations were of fine square Free-stone, having the Colour but not the Lustre of Granite Marble; and are Proofs sufficiently authentick, of the former Magnificence of the Building to which they belong'd, whatever it was. The Ruins of the City are more apparent, and about a Mile and half in Circumference; the Pieces of Marble (if one may call grey Stones that are as hard, but not so well polish'd, so) were prodigiously large, and in great Quantity. I discovered there three great Chests of the same Stone, shaped like the Watering Trough I had seen between *Taman* and *Temrok*. I saw likewise amongst these Ruins the *Myrfa's* Fountain, which I found to be an antique Cistern, and well pay'd, as I judged by the Stones with which the Inside was lined at the Top; for the Water being frozen, hindered me from seeing the rest. I broke the Ice, and touch'd the Bottom with a long Pole, which I cut in a Neighbouring Wood, and I found it above 12 Spans deep; it is about 31 Foot in Circumference, and is at the Foot of the Hill, towards the East, but I could not find out whether some Natural Spring runs into it, or if 'tis fill'd by the Thaw and the Rain, for it did not want much of * 10 Spans of its being full. The arch'd Roof, with which 'twas formerly vaulted, is almost entirely destroy'd, inso-much that the Opening in the Top is very near as large as the Body of the Cistern; as the Ruins of the Vault are certainly fallen into it, that may perhaps be the Reason of the little Depth I found in it. What remains of this Vault, is about three Fingers thick; and of Brick, cemented together, as well as some other Parts of the City Walls, which one meets in great Pieces or Fragments here and there, and which are so strongly joined by the Cement, that above 2 or 300 Bricks make but one and the same Mass, which neither Time nor the Rain had then been capable of dissolving or separating. I did not meet with any entire Columns, but I saw several Pieces, between five and six Foot in Diameter, with some Chapiters of the *Corinthian* Order, pretty well preserv'd, and of white Marble, amongst the Briars that covered almost all these Ruins, as I was scraping up the Earth to try if I could discover any more *Basso Relievos*. The Figures of those mark'd in the said Print are five Spans in Height, and six and three fourths in Breadth, upon two large Pieces of Marble, half buried; there are likewise some Heads, Groups of Children, Garlands, and other Ornaments of Architecture and Sculpture upon other Stones; but they must have fallen from a great Height, being most of them broken into little Pieces; and I was forced to join several of these Fragments together, to distinguish the Figures just mention'd. Amongst all these Ruins, I could only discover the Inscriptions in the Print N. 25. which are mutilated, as may be seen by them. All I could make of that N. 6, was the Letters N. 11 † ⊕ Ε . . . ΑΠΑΤΟΡΟ . . . ΜΑ† . . .

ΑΡΝ

ΑΡΝ . . . ΔΙ of which only the Word ΑΠΑΤΟΡΟ is entire. As for the Figures α and β, they were in all Probability designed for those of *Mars* and *Venus*, who are there immortalized upon the Marble by the Carver, for the Injury they are doing to *Vulcan*; according to the Custom of the Antients, who us'd to celebrate the Debauches of their Gods, as the finest of their Actions. This Piece, which had been mightily impaired by Time, is by a pretty good Hand, and the Characters of the Inscription belonging to it shew, that it is of the most antient; for, according to those who have made the most exact and curious Enquiry into the Origin of Letters, and the Progress and Change of Characters, the Greek Θ, that has been in Use for several Ages, succeeded to that at the Head of the Inscription, with a Cross in it. They say the same of the *Alpha*, and the Π, with the second Foot longer than the first, as 'tis here, and upon my Medals of *Panormus* in the Print XXVIII, as well as of the single ο μσ-χρον for σ and for ω, which are to be seen also upon divers antient Pieces of Money; not to mention the Greek Cross or Rectangle + for *Chi* X, (the P and the M) the Form of which is like Antiquity. The Inscriptions of N. 7, is in more modern Characters, as may be judged by seeing them; but they were so much effaced, that I knew not what to make of them, the most entire Words being Καὶ Διονυσίω: Such as they were all, I have given an Account of them, with the greatest Exactness; and I submit them, as well as the others, to People of nicer Penetration than my self.

The grey Stones, like Granite Marble, in the Foundations of the Temple above-mentioned, are dug out of some of the Neighbouring Mountains; between which and those of *Circassia*, there is a Colony of *Noghaians*, that extends very far from East to West. These *Tartars*, especially they amongst whom we were to pass, are much less hospitable than those which I had seen in the Plains, and don't so much regard the *Han's* Orders, or the Treaties of Peace between the *Czar* and the *Porte*; above all, they who are towards the *Caspian* Sea: for it is not in the Power (if it were in the Will, as it seldom is) of their *Beys*, to keep them in, and restrain them from making Incursions beyond the *Tenais*; and the *Calmucks* and *Cossacks* belonging to the *Czar*, make Reprisals upon them, so that Hostilities hardly ever cease between them: These *Noghaians*, being in this Respect, like the *Maltese* with Regard to the *Turks*; for tho' they don't indeed vow an eternal War with the *Muscovites* and *Circassians*, yet they don't cease waging it continually; and believe that no Treaty of Peace, made by their Superiors with their Enemies, can deprive them of their Right of plundering, which they think is granted them from Heaven for their Maintenance. However, tho' they don't observe Hospitality as much as the other *Tartars*, they don't violate its Laws, either by abusing or pillaging a Stranger that lodges with them, or passes by as a Friend; but they exercise neither Humanity, Pity, nor Equity, when from their own Homes. Nevertheless I must do the Justice to these *Tartars*, as well as to all the others in general, and the *Circassians*, to say, that I never, to my Knowledge, suffered the Value of a Six-pence in travelling thro' their Countries, altho' I can't deny but there are some Examples of Theft, even amongst themselves; their Hospitality, which renders almost all their Substance common to each other, at least their Lodging and Subsistence, inducing a *Tartar* sometimes to take that from another without asking, which he would not give him if he did, as an Horse, a

Creature that a *Tartar* can no more be without, than eating or Cloaths; and the Penalty is so easy, that the Thief, if found out, is discharged upon restoring it. As for Murther, it is punish'd with Death; and the Criminal, when taken, is delivered up into the Hands of the nearest Relations, to be tortured by them at their Discretion, and be themselves the Executioners of whatever Vengeance their Resentments shall dictate to them, which is ordinarily tying him to a Stake, and shooting him to Death with Arrows, or stabbing; but this Crime is very uncommon amongst them, therefore let us return to Theft, which is less so. The Robberies committed by them upon one another, consists generally of Horses; and the guilty Persons are dismounted Knight Errants, who have lost their own in some Incurfions, and have no more, nor any Money to buy one, and are therefore obliged, by extreme Necessity, to supply themselves *gratis* from their Neighbours; but they always spare those who are nearest to them, to preserve a good Reputation, and rob only those who are farthest distant, especially those of *Crim Tartary*, or *Akerman*, when they happen to travel that Way.

Having satisfy'd my Curiosity in viewing these Remains, we mounted our Steeds again, and the next Day met with another *Keddi*, near a little River, which my Guide called, as usual, *Cuciuk-sou*: He went before me to the first Tent, to give Notice of my coming; whereupon one of the Monsters, who was the Master of it, came forth, and bid the Man who took our Horses carry them to the Place where his own were, which he shew'd him with his Finger, it not being far distant; and they scratch'd up the Snow with their Feet, according to their natural Custom, to get at the Grass, which generally grew in great Plenty along the River Sides. It was but six in the Morning when we arrived here; and as in travelling these Desarts, where there are neither beaten Roads, Towns, nor Villages, one can't be regular in one's Account, their Whips and their Horses being the *Tartars* Watches and Miles, I can't fix any certain Distance of Places; but to judge with the Speed with which our Coursers carried us, the little Time we slept, or stop'd at any *Keddi*, we might ride above 30 Leagues in 24 Hours, including the Time allotted for Rest.

We were treated here after the usual Manner of those Mountaineers, that is to say, less courteously than among the other *Tartars*; and our Cheer was but very indifferent, having nothing but wild Goats-Flesh, whose Toughness and Colour, which was between red and black, shewed at least that the Beast was old when it was kill'd. We had but one Dish of *Shorba*, the Meat of which I did not touch; but contented my self with the Millet and Broth, which were the least disagreeable Parts of it. I ask'd several Questions about the Ruins above-mention'd of the Landlord and Landlady, who were both very old, and had only two Sons, then absent; and they returned me such Answers as shewed both a great deal of Indifference and Ignorance: only the Woman said, that one of her Neighbours wore sometimes a Gold Ring upon her Finger, which her Husband had found there whilst they had been incamped in the Neighbourhood of them. I beg'd her to procure me a Sight of it; and she gave me to understand that I might not only see it, but buy it if I would, there being a Figure engrav'd upon it, which was contrary to their Law. She went immediately to acquaint her Neighbour with my Desire, and she brought it me her self; she was a young Woman, and veil'd more out of Custom than Religion,

to

to preserve the Whiteness of her Skin, for which Reason the Young Women seldom appear in the open Air without; but it was not so close nor so thick, but that I could perceive little Eyes, and a square Face, by which I judged that she was not less ugly than the others whom I had seen before. I found this Ring very curious; and valuing the Figure as much as she despis'd it, I offered her some Bracelets of Brass gilt, and a fine White Cotton Handkerchief for it, which she accepted, and left it me, seeming full as well contented as I was myself; the Figure engrav'd upon it is mark'd 5 in the Print, N. XXIV, and I believe the Head to be *Jupiter's*, as well as I can judge by the Resemblance it has to the Medals which I have of that Heathen Deity. The other *Tartars*, hearing of this Bargain, came also, and brought me the Figure N. 12, on a fine *Onyx*, in the same Print, the Brass Medal (c) in the Print XXVI, with the Silver one, which they said they had found in the same Ruins, and I bought them for a Trifle. In the mean while, my Guide, whom I had sent to hire Horses, came back to tell me that we were three or four Days Journey from *Circassia*, and should meet with but few *Keddis*; therefore if I intended to go strait on thither, my best Way would be to buy Horses, and that there were excellent fresh indefatigable ones in the *Keddi*, that had been at Pasture ever since the Beginning of *September*, and that two of them were *Circassians*, and not at all inferior to the others: To encourage me the more to buy them, he gave me to understand that they would carry us full as fast as those we chang'd from *Keddi* to *Keddi* for above six Weeks, having been at Grass and rested four Months, as being designed for Incursions. I bid him agree for one of the *Circassians* for me, and another for himself, provided they were young, and as capable of enduring Fatigues as the others; considering within myself, that it wou'd be easier, and less disadvantageous, for me to exchange them for others in *Circassia*, in case they were not such as he represented them to be, than if they were *Tartarians*. He swore to me, that there was no Difference; whereupon I went to view them, and I liked them incomparably better, they being as handsome and well shap'd as the others were ugly; wherefore judging them to be as good, the Bargain was made for the Value of six Duccats; they were worth above sixty, but he that sold them had them for nothing, as will be seen by the Sequel.

Our Coursers being saddled, we mounted and pursued our Journey, partly over Plains, and partly over Mountains; but the latter began to be thicker and thicker; nevertheless we met one Hord more towards the Evening, where we rested our selves some Hours, and found some Horse-Flesh, not so bad as what we had eaten at the Hord we were come from, which we eat with a pretty good Appetite. As this Country of the *Noghaians* was barren of Curiosities, or remarkable Things, (as may be judged by what I've said of it) having neither Towns nor Villages, Variety of Inhabitants, or Diversity of Manners, or any other Ruins than those before-mentioned, of which I cou'd not so much as learn the Name, in so vast a Tract of Land as I had travers'd: In short, not having any Hopes of meeting any thing new to see, and these last *Tartars* seeming to me less human even than the others, I was violently impatient to get from amongst them; and told my Guide that I was resolv'd to travel, as well by Night as by Day, without stopping at any *Keddis*, even if we shou'd meet with several; therefore he had nothing to do but to furnish our *Sopra* with

with what he cou'd get, and lay in a larger Stock of *Talcan*, in order to make the best of our Way, and enter *Circassia*. He did as I ordered him; whereupon I gave the People of the Hord some little Presents, and we got on Horseback, and travell'd all the Night without stopping till the next Day about Eleven, to refresh our selves, and let our Beasts feed near a large River, which possibly was that of *Kara Kuban*, but which my Guide call'd as usual *Buinklou*. Being mounted again, we continued our Journey without staying till the 3d, at Four in the Afternoon, when we halted at the Foot of a large Oak, near which was a Pond frozen over; of which we broke the Ice with my Axe, which was the principal Use I made of it, and drank some *Talcan*; which, with some Pieces of roasted Horse-Flesh that my *Noghaian* had taken care to provide, was then our only Sustenance. We tied one of our Steeds fore and hind Legs with their Bridles, and so left them at liberty to scratch up the Snow, and feed if they were hungry; then striking a Light, we made a Fire with some Bushes, and dry'd Branches of Trees, which we found here and there, smoak'd our Pipes, and so went to sleep for six or seven Hours, I upon my Carpet, and my Guide upon a Piece of Felt that served him for the same Use; then having rested, we mounted again about Two in the Morning. Our Coursers went so swift, they seem'd to have Wings; upon which I expressed my Satisfaction to my Guide, and he answer'd he was a Judge of them, and knew that these were fresh, and such as he had represented them. As we rode along, he related to me several Exploits against, and Incursions into, the Country of the *Cossacks*, in which he had had a share; the Manner and Substance of which was as follows: That he, with his Countrymen, having fresh Horses that had rested for several Months, (and of which they carried each of them three or four, at least as good as those they rode on) had often surpris'd whole Villages of *Cossacks*, which they plundered, and laid the Booty that was transportable upon the led Horses; then having bound the Inhabitants Hand and Foot, they tied the youngest Boys and Girls to themselves, one before, and the other behind, upon the Buttocks of their Horses, the largest two to two on led Horses, when there were a sufficient Number, driving them before, and leaving the old Folks bound in the Houses; after which they whip'd their Steeds, and were out of Sight, and often at a good Distance, before the *Muscovites* that guarded the Castles and *Palancas* had the News of it, or were mounted to pursue them. He told me moreover, that if they were even within Musket-Shot of these Guards, their Horses surpass'd those of the *Muscovites* so much in Swiftmess, that they did not fear them; and that 'twas enough for them to be mounted when they were discovered. He often entertained me with the Relations of such Adventures, which he wou'd describe with all their Circumstances, with a Pleasure, and an agreeable Remembrance of them, that was visible in his Face, the Tone of his Voice, and all his Motions, whilst he was speaking of them. We saw nothing more on the 4th than we had done on the 3d, but only three Bucks, one Stag, and more Woods and Mountains; halting twice in the Day, and at least four times in the twenty four Hours, as well to refresh and rest our selves, as to let our Beasts feed, we arriv'd the 7th about six in the Evening at the Foot of a long Barrier or Chain of Mountains, which extended out of Sight from East to West, and which my Guide call'd the Mountains of *Circassia*. We pass'd between them, and found here and there some Spots of

of Champion Ground, which must have been very agreeable in the Spring; but they were so full of narrow Passages and Defiles, turning and winding from one side to the other, that I thought them real natural Labyrinths, in which we shou'd be in danger of losing our Way. I inform'd my Guide of my Apprehensions, and he told me that he was perfectly acquainted with them all, and that he had pass'd backwards and forwards thro' them several times; he added, that 'twas amongst these Mountains to the Westward, that the *Han* was encamp'd when the *Circassians* attack'd him unwares; and gave me to understand by the manner of his relating it, that not only the Account which I had from others was true, as to all the most considerable Circumstances of it, but that they had taken such subtle Measures for the entire Defeat of the whole Army of *Tartars*, that they had only left them such Defiles as we had pass'd thro', to escape by; which were more likely to ruin and break the Neck of the Cavalry, when flying in such Numbers and Disorder, than any thing else. He added, that he was himself there, and had been one of the little and fortunate Number which escaped. I ask'd him which Way the *Han* had entred into *Circassia*? and he inform'd me, without naming the Places, that 'twas to the S. W. of the *Palus Mæotis*, after having pass'd thro' the Champion Part of *Circassia*, which he said was inhabited by *Mussulmen* faithful to the *Han*, and are Colonies like those beforemention'd, which live between the S. W. of *Kara Kuban*, and the N. W. of *Trimeli* and *Coppa*. We stopt about Ten at Night for some Hours, as we had done the Nights before, near a little River, and supp'd after the same manner; and on the 9th, about half an Hour past Three in the Afternoon, we discovered a great fixed Village, or Town, as my Guide call'd it, (if one may term a great Heap of Huts so) made of Branches of Trees, twisted between Stakes driven into the Ground and Poles; the first of which served for the Walls, and the other the Timber Work; the Whole plaister'd over with Dung and Mud, and most part of them having no other Chimneys than Holes in the middle, like the moveable *Obbas* of the *Noghaians*, to let the Smoke thro'; insomuch, that one must have had *Don Quixot's* Eyes to have imagined it a Town. This Village however, or Town, which-ever you'll call it, was govern'd by a *Circassian* Nobleman, with the Title of *Myrsa*; his House had a Stone Chimney, and was plaister'd over with a whitish Earth; which, with its Bigness, distinguish'd it from Ten or Twelve others something like it, and all but one Story high, tho' they made all the Palaces of this pretended Town, which might have between 3 and 400 Huts, with a dry Hedge that surrounded it instead of a Wall, and was call'd *Hellehipsä* in the Country Language; which is very sweet in its Pronunciation, and peculiar to the *Circassians*, tho' it has borrow'd many Terms from the *Muscovites*, *Persians* and *Tartars*.

My Guide, who understood it, gave out on my entring *Hellehipsä*, that I was a Physician of *Cassa*; and 'twas very prudently done, the principal Dealers in Slaves, and the other Merchandise of *Circassia*, being of that Place, and known in the Country. Immediately I saw myself encompass'd with a Concourse of People of both Sexes; some of which look'd at me, others push'd one another, and almost fought who should give us Lodging; Hospitality being the Article best observ'd of any of the Religion, or rather Religions of the *Circassians*, for they have many sorts. Those who border upon the *Noghaians* and *Persians* are generally *Mahometans*; they that are upon the Frontiers

tiers of *Muscovy*, *Greeks*; and those in the middle of the Country, *Pagans*; to speak more properly they are all *Pagans*, only those who are upon the Confines of other Nations borrow some of their Ceremonies, but so little of their Faith, that they don't deserve to be call'd of their Religion.

In the mean while, I beheld these Inhabitants with an extraordinary Admiration, for I found them as universally handsome and well made, as I had the *Noghaians* on the contrary; and I don't believe out of above 300 Persons who were round about me, there was one that cou'd be call'd Ugly; or at least I did not see one, tho' there were Degrees of Beauty amongst them. Two of the young Men that disputed which shou'd entertain us, taking hold of the Bridles of our Horses, were leading us each separately to their own Houses; and my *Tartar* cou'd not avoid going whither he was conducted, but by telling them that he was my Guide and Interpreter, and that I cou'd not be without him, unless some body of the Family whither they were carrying me understood *Greek* or *Turkish*, promising that he wou'd perswade me the next Day to come and lodge with him that held the Bridle of his Horse: Nevertheless, we both dismounted at the same House, where the young Man that had led me thither took our Horses. Being entered, the Landlord and Landlady, with two young Daughters, gave me their Hands, and then put their own, the first to his Beard, and the other to their Foreheads. The Garments of the Men and Women were of Furrs, the one of a white Sheep, and the other of black Lambs, the Wooll of which was very fine; these Furrs were made as represented in the Figures (e) (f) (g) of my Map C.

The Head-Dress of the Daughters, when in the House, consisted only of a little Stuff Cap; which (as they said) the Men likewise wear in Summer, instead of one like the Figure (g). Their Hair was divided into two Tresses, and of the same Colour with their Eyes, which are generally black; those of these Maidens were large and shining, like the Stars at that time in the Firmament, (for it Froze hard) as are almost all those of the Fair Sex in this Country. Their Shape was not, as in most Parts of *Europe*, a Slave to Art, but free and easy, like that of the fine Statues which the Antients have left us of *Venus*, or of those celebrated Beauties who have really existed formerly. The youngest of the Daughters was 11 Years old, and was what they call a perfect Beauty. These two Maidens strove which shou'd serve me most; and took, the one my Cymeter, and the other my Quiver and Bow, to hang upon a Hook. Then the Landlord making me sit by the Fire, one of them offer'd to pull off my Boots; which I oppos'd, as being a thing which seem'd to me too much beneath, and unfit for her; but my Guide, who was now become my Interpreter, said it was the Custom, and that the Mistress herself must have done it if she had no Daughters; whereupon I let her. Then the other pouring some warm Water into a wooden Tub, the same Interpreter told me I must let her wash my Feet; which I did not hinder as being willing to conform to the Manner of the Place I was in. In the mean while the Mother, who had some Remains of a good Face, which Fifty Years had not been able to destroy, kill'd a Fowl and pick'd it; whilst one of the Daughters skinn'd a Hare, which her Brother had caught the Day before: This done, they cleans'd them, cut them both in pieces, and put them into a Pot half full of Water, which drew my Eyes by its Singularity: It was of a grey Stone with red Veins, not so hard, but as heavy as Marble; they

they told me that it was found in the Heart of one of the Mountains which we had passed ; and that when 'twas dug it was so soft, that they had no Trouble to cut or hollow it to make a Pot, or any other Vessel ; and indeed I saw several other of the same sort, which would resist the Heat, and harden without splitting or breaking.

After the Meat had been upon the Fire about half an Hour, they added to it some Prunes, dry'd Cherries, and Rock Salt, which is very common in *Circassia* ; and a little before it was enough done, they pour'd in some Milk : Whilst they were boiling, the Landlady had kneaded a sort of Cake of Cummin, which she had flatted like Oat Bread, and set to bake upon the Ashes. Supper being ready (I say Supper, because it was six Hours before all was dress'd) it was served up in a great Bason of the same sort as the Pot, with the Cake ; and how odd soever this Medley of Victuals, and this Sauce, appeared to me, the *Talcan* had left so great a *Vacuum* in my Stomach, that I found it very palatable, or at least eat enough to make them think so ; as for my *Noghaian*, he liked it as well as the best Horse Flesh that could be got. The Landlord was the only one of the Family that supped with us ; and the Landlady and her Daughters brought us some very good Apples, Virgin Honey, and a sort of preserved Rasberries, and serv'd us round with Drink from time to time. Our Liquor was *Boza* and fower Cows Milk, which they keep in Skins, as they do that of Horses in *Tartary*. In a word, we were perfectly well treated after the manner of the Country.

We had scarce finish'd our Repast, and my Landlord was asking me divers Questions about the Motive of my Journey, when a *Circassian* entring with the Youth who had taken our Horses, said, That there was one of them which had been stolen from him about four or five Months before, and accused my *Noghaian* of being the Thief. He swore by his Beard and his Head, that nothing could be more false ; but, as I cou'd only witness for him out of his own Mouth, which was a Testimony not much regarded, we went before the *Myrsa*, who receiv'd me very civilly, but look'd with an evil Eye upon him, as thinking him undoubtedly the Robber : However, he heard his Reasons, and believ'd what we said to him, which was, that I had bought it of a *Tartar* ; and that the *Noghaian*, who was speaking to him, was as innocent of the Robbery as the Child unborn, if the Beast was stolen : But the Man swearing that he knew it to be his Horse, and wou'd have it, I cou'd find no other Expedient, than to have him told that I wou'd pay for it, if he wou'd let me have it for a moderate Price, or else it shou'd be restored to him. The *Myrsa* thought this just, and the Proprietor was satisfied with it, and asked me if I had any thing to exchange for it ; upon which I carried him to my Lodgings, (after having promised the *Myrsa* to return to him,) and he chose some of my Toys ; to which I added a Couple of Crowns in * *Coupiques*, of which I had taken a small Quantity at *Cassa*, which finish'd the Bargain. Their manner of Trading consists (as I believe I've already hinted) in exchanging one Commodity for another ; for the most Part of the *Circassians* not understanding the Value of minted Silver, which they often melt down to adorn the Hilts of their Sabres and Hafts of their Knives, which are excellent ; and the right Owner of the Horse being a Cutler, I bought three Knives of him out of several that he went to fetch me.

* *Coupique*, a little Muscovite Coin about the Value of Two thirds of a Penny.

Having extricated my self from this Trouble, I return'd to the *Myrfa's* to give him Thanks for his Civility, and made him a Present of a little Telescope, with which he seem'd mightily pleas'd, and invited me to dine with him the next Day ; and as it was late, I took my leave of him in order to go to my Lodging, where I found a Bed prepar'd for me, compos'd of divers Sheep Skins sowed together, and laid one upon t'other, some serving for the Mattress, and others for the Covering ; the Pillow was of Cotton stuffed with Wool, and had a square Piece of Linnen fastened to it on that side which I was to lay my Head upon, as there was another on that part of the Covering which was next to my Face. These Skins are hung out to air as soon as one rises, upon Poles like the Cloths of our Dyers. By the Bed-side they put a great Porringer of Milk, which I did not oppose, tho' I had no need of it, as judging it another Custom of the Country. Next Morning, as soon as I was up, I had several Visits from Persons of both Sexes who were indisposed, viz. two with intermitting Fevers, and four others with Colds ; upon which I gave the first gentle Cathartives, with a very little of my Drugs, to the end that if the Quality of them did no good, the Quantity at least might not do any harm ; and I made the second take some Drops of my Balm of *Mecca*, and sent them home, ordering them to keep themselves warm in order to sweat ; for since I had given out that I was a Physician, I was obliged to sustain that Character, that I might not be suspected of being an Impostor. My Landlord wou'd fain have had me also to have been a Merchant, at least he was convinc'd in his own Imagination that I was so, after the Bargain which he had seen me make with the Cutler for the Horse, and he ask'd me, if I wou'd not buy any young Maidens ? I answer'd, no, I not being able to stay long enough upon the Road to carry them with me so far ; my Intention being only to gather some medicinal Plants in the Country, and then return as fast as possible by the favour of the Frost. But, reply'd he, *the Plants are dry, and covered with Snow at this Season.* I said that was very true, but that some were so tall that their Stalks appeared above the Snow ; and that they did not lose their Virtue by being dry, because the only Parts which had any were their Roots ; and (added my Interpreter of his own accord) *he makes use of an Axe to dig them out*, he having without doubt imagined that my Search after Antiquities in the Ruins above-mentioned, where I used this Axe, had been after Plants. He told me afterwards, that the Landlord had only asked the Question, in order to offer one of his Daughters to me ; for it is common there for Fathers and Mothers to traffick with their Children, as being taught either by their own Education, or the Merchants, to think that at least the Girls will be happily provided for, by being advanced into the *Harem* of the *Grand Seignior*, where they may become Empresses ; or else into those of the *Bashaws*, and other rich Persons, where they will have fine Cloaths and rich Jewels, and have every thing that is most delicious in Life. This Prepossession, which is generally received, makes the Daughter, when sold, part with her Mother without Regret ; and the Mother, on the other hand, wish her good Fortune and a prosperous Journey ; and it was not out of Aversion to Slavery, that the *Circassians* refused to pay the annual Tribute before spoken to the *Ham*, but because they had nothing given them in return ; and their *Beys* and *Myrfa's* receive theirs partly in Slaves, partly in Horses, which they bring them without Compulsion ; and much more freely, since they have contributed by their good

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Conduct to the delivering them from the other ; and these *Myrfa's* sell them to the Merchants of *Temrok*, *Taman* and *Caffa*, and to the *Persians*, or any others that will buy them ; and preserve them from being carried off by force by the *Noghaians*, who are very unwelcome Guests amongst them, since the last Expedition so unfortunate to themselves ; and I observ'd immediately, that my Guide was look'd upon with an evil Eye.

I went to dine at the *Myrfa's*, who treated me very handsomely with two Dishes, dress'd according to his Country manner ; the first was roasted, the second and the principal boiled, and the best of the sort that I had ever eaten, being composed of Mutton and Fowls cut in pieces, with Cummin, Prunes, Raisins and Onions, which gave it a good Relish. I ask'd whence they had their Raisins ? they answered from *Astracan*, and several Parts of the Country, where they grow naturally. The roasted Dish was a Quarter of a Buck, which the *Myrfa* said he had himself kill'd with an Arrow ; this was too dry for want of being basted with Butter, as with us. There were ten of us at Dinner round a bare Table without any Cloth, but well washed and very clean, which served us also instead of Plates, every one cutting the Piece which he took out of the Dish into Mouthfuls upon it ; our Seats were little joint Stools, or pieces of the Trunks of Trees clumsily made into this Shape, after a manner that show'd that Sculpture was not much in vogue in this Country. Most part of the Ten at the Table were Strangers, who were come to dine with the *Myrfa* without Invitation, by the Privilege of Hospitality ; and as soon as it was over they retired without saying any thing ; the others were his chief Domesticks. The *Myrfa* having a Pipe brought of Wood, and only one Joint, with a Head after the *Turkish* Fashion, began to smok ; and I drew out one of several Joints with my Bag of Tobacco, and kept him Company. After he had finish'd his first Pipe, I presented him with my Bag to try my Tobacco ; he did, and prais'd it ; whereupon I said, that I had at my Lodging some more of the same, with a Bag entirely new at his Service ; and accordingly I went and fetch'd it him, and he accepted it with a great deal of Satisfaction. He ask'd me divers Questions about the Motive of my Journey, as well as another to the same purpose as that of my Landlord's, with regard to my buying the Slaves, to which I gave a like Answer ; and he shew'd himself very honest, in telling my Guide that he ran a great Risque in that Country, and that he had been already solicited to detain him as a Slave, and make him till the Ground, and do other laborious Work contrary to his natural Profession, as did several of his Country-men, who had been surpris'd in their Incurfions into *Circassia* ; but that he was willing to favour him ; and if he continued to accompany me, he must pass as a Slave bought by me in *Circassia*, and that he wou'd send one of his Servants with us, who was about to return home, as being useless to him, to attest it, as his Master that sold him to me, and who might travel with us through the Country, and see us out of Danger. This Compliment (as may easily be imagin'd,) disturb'd the *Noghaian* very much, but the Expedient the *Myrfa* found comforted him a little ; he explained the Substance of it to me, and I bid him thank the *Myrfa* for his Generosity, and offer'd to buy a Horse for his Man, if he had none of his own ; he answer'd, that he had one at least as good as ours, and that the *Circassians* were all as well furnish'd with them as the *Tartars* ; and which was more, that the Women rode as well as the Men, and went a hunting, and

shot with Arrows as dextrously, which was what the *Tartarians* of the same Sex could not do. This Account seem'd to me very proper to serve as a Foundation for the History (whether true or false) of the *Amazons*, which some have placed in this Country; and, in effect, I saw afterwards divers of them on Horseback, with their Bows and Quivers fastned behind them, and riding like the Men, with Hawks upon their Fist. This *Myrsa* was young, and but newly chosen, and not married; but he had several young Maidens, which he had received in Tribute, who served him, and he expected Merchants to buy the handsomest. The Women dress the Victuals in this Country, and do all other Household Affairs.

Having given him to understand, that I intended to proceed on my Journey the next Day, he ask'd, which Way I design'd to steer my Course? I said, I had a Mind to view *Astracan*, and from thence to go as far as *Asoph*, if it was feasible: He answer'd, He did not see any Impossibility in it; and that the Peace being concluded between the *Turks* and *Muscovites*, I should meet with free Entrance every where. Hereupon I took my Leave of him that Day, and we set forwards the next, as had been agreed on in the Company before, after having made some little Presents to the Family where I lodged. If I would have followed the Advice of my *Tartar*, after the Business of the Horse, I should have turn'd back; for he was afraid of meeting with a Master for the other, who might, as he said, as well accuse me of being the Thief, as himself; and he doubted whether, in that Case, we should find another *Myrsa* so honest to clear us so easily of it. 'Tis true, he knew that the *Circassians* were more severe upon Robbers than the *Noghaians*, and that they don't entirely escape upon restoring what they have stolen: However, his Fear did not stop here; for he was apprehensive, that when we were advanced a good Way into the Country, his pretended first Master should make as if he was the real Owner of both of us, and should sell or truck us as actual Slaves, either belonging to himself or the *Myrsa*, to cultivate the Earth, according to the Custom of their Country; and the evil Glances which the *Circassians*, in some Villages thro' which we passed, darted on him from their fine Eyes, confirmed him the more in his uneasy Apprehensions; however, he took great Care to hide them from the *Myrsa's* Servant, who rode before us at such a Distance, that he could not have heard us, had he understood the Tongue in which we talked. Nevertheless, my Curiosity to go as far as the *Caspian* Sea, and have a View of *Astracan*, got the better of all the Diffidence which he could have infused into me: So I told him, that as for the *Circassian*, I had no manner of Fear of him; but that, to avoid finding another Owner for my Horse, we would only stop in the Villages to furnish our *Sopra* and our ** Hebbey*, and buy Barley and Oats for our Horses †. This pacify'd him a little, or at least made him silent; and the next Day, after taking that Resolution, happening to come to a Village towards the Evening, and the *Circassian* proposing to pass the Night there, he answer'd for me, that I design'd to make as much Haste as I could, and had rather rest two or three Hours near some little Wood, according to our usual Custom.

* *Hebbey* is a sort of Leather Wallet, with two Pouches, which the Tartars fasten behind their Saddles, and wherein they put their Bread and raw Provisions, tho' not so much used by them as by the *Turks*.

† The *Circassians* sow both one and the other for their Horses; and however good and fresh ours were, I observ'd that this Diet gave them more Mettle than the Grass and Hay of the *Noghaians*, by the Swiftness of their Travelling.

Tho' we had a wild Goose ready pick'd and raw in our *Sopbra*, with Bread and Cummin, I made him ask a *Circassian*, at whose Hut we stopp'd, (and who used the utmost Efforts, that the Civility and Hospitality of his Country could dictate, to detain us,) if he had no Meat; he answer'd, that he had a Piece of Venison, but that it was not dress'd; the *Noghaian* answer'd, that was no matter, and enquired whether he smoak'd, and if he chose to have some Tobacco, or *Coupique*, in exchange; he desired the first; whereupon he gave him his Hands twice full out of his own Bag: I thought it too little, and would have given him as much more of mine; but he inform'd me, that the Man was more than satisfy'd. 'Tis hardly credible what vast Plenty there is of Venison, and all sorts of Game, in this Country, in spite of the great Quantities that are killed, all the World being Hunters; and tho' they have Numbers of Sheep and Oxen, they live almost entirely upon Venison and Wild-Fowl, during the Winter. Their Sheep are good and very large; and the Wool is so soft and so long, that I believe it would make excellent Cloath, if they had the Art of weaving it. Nevertheless, they do make a sort of greyish Stuff, being a Mixture of the natural Colours of Camel's and Dromedary's Hair, and Wool, very clumsily and ill wrought together: The *Circassians*, *Calmuks*, *Noghaians*, and some *Cossacks*, cloath themselves with it. As for their Furrs, they are generally of Lamb Skins, stitch'd together, which they sometimes wear with the Skins outward, like the *Laplanders*. Having got the Venison, we continued our March, and halted near a Wood a little before Three in the Morning by my Watch: In speaking of which, it may not be amiss to observe, that both the *Circassians* and *Noghaians*, who had seen me pull it, to look what a Clock it was, imagin'd it to be an animated and supernatural Machine, and surrounded me in Throngs to examine it, without being able to comprehend the Nature of it, there being very few, if any, that knew what it was, except the *Myrsas*; wherefore I would not draw it out any more in publick, to avoid their troublesome and ignorant Admiration. We observ'd pretty constantly this Method of Travelling, to stop and rest our selves under a Tree near some River or Fountain, buying our Provisions of the Inhabitants of Villages through which we pass'd, or else of some Hunters that we met in the Fields. The *Circassian* cut the Goose in Pieces, in order to roast it after his Country Fashion, which was to split it upon a Stick made sharp at both Ends, the first to spit it, and the second to fasten in the Ground, and turn it to the Fire, sometimes one Side, sometimes the other, till it was quite ready; but as the Earth was too hard, by reason of its being frozen, to thrust it in immediately, he held it in his Hand before the Fire, which the *Tartar* had kindled whilst he was preparing the Spit and the Meat, till the Ground was thaw'd enough round about, by the Heat, for him to fix it in. Nature alone seems to have taught these People this Manner of dressing their Victuals, without any Trouble, as well as the *Laplanders*, who are at another End of the World, and who do the same, as I shall observe in the Sequel.

The Country of *Circassia* is very agreeable, on Account of the Variety of Plains, Mountains, Woods, little Lakes, Springs, and Rivers, with which it is every where diversify'd; it is fertile beyond Imagination; every thing grows there almost without sowing, at least whatever they sow, which is commonly Barley, Oats, and Cummin, and
thrives

thrives as well as one cou'd wish, after only once slightly turning up the Earth, which they do but just open as it were to put in the Grain. As we approached the *Caspian Sea*, I observ'd several Salt Pits, some of them entirely Natural, with Rock Salt; and the others of so rich a sort, that there was very little left for Art to perfect. I was informed that there was a Number of the like all over the Country, especially upon the Borders of this Sea. This Salt costs almost nothing, but the Charge of transporting it from one Place to another, and is particularly useful for salting and pickling Fish; and as for the Carriage it costs but a Trifle, being either upon Dromedaries or Camels, which are both very common there, and very little Expence to their Owners, living upon great dry Herbs, which are to be found up and down in great abundance, and which other Animals won't touch. On the 13th in the Morning, we arrived on the Side of the *Caspian Sea*, between the Northern Mouth of the River *Strelli*, and the Southern one of the *Volga*, without any other ill Accident, than some of the above-mention'd Glances darted at my *Noghaian*, which did him no harm; the *Circassian* taking care to answer those who were dangerously curious to know what he did in that Country, that he belonged to him. As for me, I saw nothing offensive in their Looks, not being so much afraid as the *Tartar*, tho' perhaps I might have as much Reason; on the contrary, I thought them very agreeable, as coming from handsome large Eyes for the most part Black, as I've observed before. A strong South Wind had blown for three Days, and had raised the Waves to an extraordinary degree; insomuch that the Sea was in a perfect Storm, and I had the Curiosity to taste its Water, and found them as salt as those of the *Black Sea*, altho' a greater Number of Rivers disembody themselves into it.

The Shore of this Sea is very sandy, and that for a good distance; and tho' it had snow'd and frozen for some Days before, we found no Snow within half a Cannon Shot of the Water, and more in some Places; which might perhaps be the Effect of the Warmth of the Sand, if it did not proceed from the hot Vapours of the Sea, or from both these Causes together. Coasting along the Shore, in order to advance towards *Astracan*, we met with divers Huts belonging to some Fishermen, who were *Muscovites*, or *Cossacks*, or at least Subjects to the *Czar*, where we stopt to eat. We ask'd them for some Fish, but they had none fresh, excepting a sort of Lobsters, very common there as well as in the *Black Sea*, which they call * *Lacussa*. They had not been able to fish since the stormy Weather; but instead of fresh they gave us our Choice of divers sorts of pickled, dry'd and smoak'd Fish, and we pitched upon that which they call in *Turkish* † *Kilishbalouk*, and in *Italian* *Pisce Spada*, or Sword Fish, as common there as in the *Black Sea*. I asked these Fishermen several Questions about the Quality and Variety of the Fish, which they caught both in the *Caspian Sea* and the *Volga*; and they gave me to understand, that there was as much as they could desire or wish for, both in one and the other; and the Overplus, which is smoak'd, pickled, and exported from thence into *Muscovy*, and several other States, together with the excellent

* *Lacussa* differs from what the Turks call *Stackoz*, and we Lobsters, in that it has no great Claws, and has a sort of Prickles upon its Back very sharp; to be prick'd with which, is very dangerous.

† *Kilishbalouk*. This Fish is so call'd, because it has a sharp End like that with which Painters and Statuaries give to an Unicorn; or like a Sword Blade at its Point.

Caviar, that is made at the Mouths of the *Volga*, is a real and authentick Proof of it, and may entitle *Astracan* to the Name of being the most famous Market for Fish in the Universe. They catch (as I was inform'd) in the *Volga* three sorts of Sturgeon, the * *Viellugha*, † *Zittera* and ** *Tziterlet*. Of the Eggs of the first they make the best *Caviar*, and of the second the most exquisite *Potarga*, and another sort of *Caviar* more ordinary than the first.

I did not see them make this *Caviar*, but they told me that they pickled it almost as they do Oysters, and thrust it down hard into a Barrel or Cag; and that when they did not design to export, or keep it any time, they only salted it lightly, and that when it was thus cook'd it was most delicious to the Palate. These Fishermen had some of this sort, which they gave me to taste; and I bought three little Cags for our Use upon the Road. Some mix the Rows of the *Zittera* with those of the *Viellugha*, to make a third sort of *Caviar*, which differs more from the first in Colour than Goodness, being green, and not so shining as that which is as black as Jet. These three sorts of *Caviar* are the delicate *Lenten Fare*, not only of the *Greeks* of *Muscovy*, but of all the East, as well as of the *Armenians*, who eat incomparably more Fish than Flesh. When I say the *Greeks* of *Muscovy*, I suppose it will easily be understood, that I mean those of the *Greek Religion*, which enjoins the Observation of so many *Lents* and Days of Abstinence from Flesh and Fasts, that one wou'd imagine the Professors of it design'd to take Heaven by Famine. The *Sea*, the *White* or *Northern Ocean*, and a good Part of the *Baltick*, which the *Czar* has added to his Conquests, with a number of Lakes and Rivers where-with his Dominions are diversify'd, is very favourable to the Observers of this Religion; I may say the same of the *Palus Mæotis*, the *Black Sea*, the *Propontis*, the *Archipelago*, and part of the *Adriatick Gulph*, in favour of the other *Greeks* and *Armenians*. Besides the Salt Pits before-mentioned, there are several others upon the Islands which the *Volga* forms, before its disemboгуing itself into the Sea, as much within reach as can be desired for the salting of their Fish; and that almost without any other Expence or Trouble, than stooping and taking it up. The *Volga* (according to the Testimony both of these Fishermen and others, of whom I have enquired since) does not only furnish a vast Quantity of the Fish above-mentioned, but abounds with all the other sorts that the Rivers that are the most famous in *Europe* for yielding great Numbers and Variety of Fish can produce, and even more; as two sorts of Salmon, the one white and the other red; the first so call'd, because their Flesh is white and more delicate; and the second, because theirs is red like the generality of Salmon elsewhere. The largest of both these weigh about Forty Pound; and there are Carps not less heavy, besides Tenches, &c. These Salmon and Carps cost but between six and eight *Coupiques* when fresh; they dry them in the Air, and smoak them after having cured them by splitting them in two, and plunging them in very salt boiling Water.

* *Viellugha*, the largest of them are between 13 and 14 Foot long, and 6 or 7 broad, and more towards the Head, in which it differs from Sturgeon, as well as in its Mouth, which is wider; and the Flesh, which is whiter than the common Sturgeon.

† *Zittera* is more like Sturgeon in its Shape, but is smaller.

** *Tziterlet* is the smallest of the three, and does not exceed the Bigness of a large Salmon; the Head of it is sharper than those of the two others, and the Flesh is yellow and white, like that of the young Sturgeons that are caught in the Danube.

The *Caspian Sea* has in proportion of its Bigness as great Plenty, and greater Variety of Fish than the *Black Sea*; for besides the Sword Fish, and two sorts of Mackrel, call'd in Greek * *Palamides*, and † *Scombria*; the one very large, and the other very small, each very common in both Seas; it has a sort of Cod call'd *Tzanda*, something less than ours. The *Palamides* are caught in Summer, the *Scombria* in Winter, and the *Tzanda* all the Year round. The *Viellugha*, the *Zittera*, and *Tziterlet* are most in Season from the middle of *February* to the latter End of *April*; and after them the red and white Salmon, and the Carps and Tenches all the rest of the Year.

Whilst I am preparing this for the Press, the *Czar* by his Expedition to the *Caspian Sea*; and *Miriweis*, a *Hero* before unheard of, rising like a Comet from the East, with an unparallel'd Success dethroning the *Sophy*, subverting the *Persian* Monarchy, and making himself formidable to the *Ottoman* Empire, have render'd these Parts lately so famous, that the curious Reader may perhaps think it an unpardonable Omission in me, being almost upon the very spot of so fruitful of great Events, shou'd I altogether pass them over in Silence.

The Motive that induced his *Czarian* Majesty to the undertaking such an Expedition are variously reported; some ascribing it to his Desire of making himself Master of the River *Daria*, which had been represented to him as abounding with Golden Sand; others to an Invitation from the Prince of *Teflis*, and another Prince in *Georgia*, to take Advantage of the Divisions of the *Persians*, to free them and others of the *Greek* Church, from their Subjection to the *Sophy*; some to a Desire of enlarging his Dominions, and making himself Master of the *Caspian Sea*. However it be, certain it is his Pretence was to revenge himself on some Rebels in *Daguestan Tartary*, who had at several times committed barbarous Ravages upon his Subjects, and massacred divers *Russians*; and if the *Muscovite* Accounts may be relied on, his Majesty has no Reason to repent his Enterprize, having already got Possession of the whole Province of *Daguestan*,** and made himself Master of all the Country as far as *Derbent*, in extent about 500 Miles, as may be seen by my Map of the *Caspian Sea*. What the Issue of this Attempt may be, if the *Czar* shou'd think fit to pursue his Conquests next Campaign, is not easy to determine, especially if he shou'd be opposed by *Miriweis*, who seems as fortunate in all his Enterprizes as his *Czarian* Majesty; and, by his laying Siege to *Derbent*, (far from fearing his Power) appears resolved to put a stop to his Progress, if not return the Invasion by another upon his *Czarian* Majesty's Dominions; and he wou'd meet with more insuperable Difficulties in maintaining his Footing, if the *Ottoman Porte* (as according to some Advices they inclin'd) shou'd interpose in favour of the Prince of *Daguestan*, (whom 'tis reported that the *Grand Seignior* has receiv'd into Protection,) with the other *Mahometan* Princes; tho' possibly the *Turks* may stand Neuter till they see on which Side the Scale will turn, it being a Principle of the *Porte's* Invincibility, as of the Pope's Infalibility in Politicks, always to espouse the strongest Party, and declare for him that proves superior: For as for their intermeddling with the *Sophy's* Deposition, (unless they have lately forsaken their darling Doctrine of Predestination) they look upon it as the Will of Heaven,

* *Palamides*, the *Flesh* of them is browner, and not so good as our *Mackrels*.

† *Scombria* is exquisite, and to be found in both Seas.

** *Daguestan*; the People of this Country are well made, tall, with pretty fine Faces, (as I could judge by some whom we met in coming near the *Caspian Sea*) their Dress is like (h) on the Map (C) except they wear generally Fur Caps instead of Turbants.

and would esteem themselves guilty in opposing it, and consequently highly impious in being concern'd therein. Of the two, 'tis probable they may rather wish *Meriweis* successful than the *Czar*, whom they look upon as a very enterprizing Prince and dangerous Neighbour; but his Majesty, in all likelihood, will not tamely resign what he has been at such an Expence of Blood and Treasure to acquire. Leaving these Conjectures to abler Politicians, it may not be improper to give some Account of the Principalities subdued by his *Czarian* Majesty with much Rapidity, viz. part of *Circassia*, all *Daguestan*, and the Cities of *Taku**, *Derbent* in *Schirvan*, and I hear of *Bachu*; the Whole being (as I before hinted) above 500 Miles in Extent. As to the first, I have already made my Remarks upon it; I shall only add, that according to all Reports, *Terky* or *Terekz*, now fortify'd by the *Czar*, is one of its principal Cities, and lies within few Leagues of the Sea on the River *Temensky*; by which means his Majesty is Master of good Ports, to facilitate his Designs, whether on the Borders of the *Caspian*, or to penetrate thro' *Georgia* into the *Ottoman* Territories, and again gain footing on the *Black Sea*, to open a Communication that Way with the rest of *Europe* and *Asia*, which he lost by the Battle of the *Pruth*, and the Cession of *Azoph*. *Daguestan* is a Principality dependent on *Persia*, extending itself along the Sea-side from the 41st to the 45th Degree of Latitude, inhabited by a Colony of *Tartars* of the *Mahometan* Religion; of whom I met now and then some among the *Circassians*, far less deformed than either those of the *Crim* or *Noghaian Tartary*; or rather, little if at all inferior to the *Circassians* in Beauty. *Bachu* or *Baku*, is a Sea Port at the Mouth of the River *Manas*, in the Province of *Daguestan*; and tho' now inconsiderable, was formerly so famous for its Commerce all over the *Caspian Sea*, that the People of that Country call it the Sea of *Bachu*. It is likewise remarkable for an Oily Spring of a black Liquor, (if what some *Armenians* told me is true) wherewith they make the finest Dye of that Colour in *Persia*. *Derbent*, in *Turkish* *Denir Capi*, both which signify (as I've observed elsewhere) the *Iron-Gate*, is the last and most famous of his *Czarian* Majesty's Conquests in these Parts: It was formerly call'd *Portæ Caucasæ* by the *Latins*, from being the only Pass between Mount *Caucasus* and the *Caspian Sea*, and *Pilæ Iberiæ*, from being situated in the ancient *Iberia* according to some Geographers; and I hear there is a Medal struck by the *Czar*, on his being Master of it (with this grossly flattering Motto, *Struxerat hanc fortis, tenet hanc sed fortior urbem*, it was formerly call'd *Alexandria*, built by *Alexander the Great*; but either these Gentlemen, or *Quintus Curtius*, are mightily out in their Accounts; since according to this Author, *Alexander* founded that City on the Banks of the *Tanais*, which is many hundred Miles distant from *Derbent*; he further makes *Alexander* propose, immediately after the passing that River, to march into *Europe*; whereas *Derbent* is situated almost immediately on the Borders of the *Caspian Sea*, and not on any River, and is One thousand Miles from any Part of *Europe*. To reconcile all these Contradictions, is what I dare not pretend to; however, in all probability they are all mistaken, for if *Derbent* were *Alexandria*, it must stand upon the Banks of a River, which it does not; therefore the Favourers of that Opinion must own their Error, from the *Czar's* own Draught of the *Caspian Sea*:

* *Taku*, according to what a Greek who had been there told me, is famous for Furs and a good Fish Market, pretty much frequented by the Georgians; but an ugly Place for its Houses and Walls, which are very bad.

On the other hand, if *Alexandria* was built on the Banks of the *Tanais*, how then cou'd *Alexander* march his Army immediately thither, after the taking of *Cyropolis*, which incontestably stood on the side of the River *Cyrus*, and might very probably be the present *Schamachia*, and is above 1200 Miles distant from it. Upon the whole, *Quintus Curtius* must have mistaken the Name of the River whereon *Alexandria* was situated; as possibly the others have the Place where it stood, in taking it for *Derbent*. To return to the City itself, whence this Digression has insensibly led me, according to the Accounts of some *Armenians* of *Cassa*, who had been there, and of whom I enquired: It is defended by a strong Castle, with a good Harbour, about 400 Paces from the *Caspian Sea*; and two Walls extending themselves from the Town to the Sea-side, entirely shut up the Passage, whence it is call'd the *Iron-Gate*, from the Difficulty of taking it. Having mention'd the River *Daria*, and its Golden Sands, as one of the Inducements of the *Czar's* Undertaking, it may perhaps be expected I shou'd say something of that likewise; but here again I confess my self at a loss, for, upon the strictest Enquiry, I can't find any *Asiatick* River, except the *Pactolus*, either amongst the Ancient or Modern Geographers or Historians, endued with that Quality; and as for those near *Terky*, *Taku*, *Derbent*, *Schamachia*, &c. the only famous ones are the *Kurr* or *Cyrus*, and the *Araxes*, neither of which have ever been said to have that Property. Such as it is, there is a little River of that Name below *Derbent*, but I believe his *Czarian* Majesty's Engineers were the first who found the Secret of its abounding with Golden Sands. Some will have this *Pactolus*, tho' unknown to *Q. Curtius*, and the ancient Geographers, to have given rise to the Fable of the Golden Fleece. Others pretend, that it was founded upon an ancient Commerce established between *Colchis*, now *Mingrelia*, and *Siberia*, for Sables, black Fox Skins, Ermin, and other valuable Furs, which turning to vast Account to the Merchants who dealt in them, gave Birth to the Story of the *Argonauts*, who were only Traders to those Parts. As to *Mirweis*, all the Account that can be given of him must be extracted either from Letters we receive now and then from Correspondents in *Turky*, or from the News Papers, which are so variable, as to be little to be depended upon. According to these, he is one Day marching at the Head of a considerable Army to besiege *Derbent*, having made himself absolute Master of the *Persian* Monarchy; another, he is demanding the Protection of the *Porte*, and offering her Homage; and a third, the *Persians* are diffident of him, and implore Assistance of the *Grand Seignior*, for which they will pay him a yearly Tribute. However, all agree that he is by Extraction an *Usbeck Tartar*, and of Princely Blood, in which alone he differs from that fortunate Usurper *Oliver Cromwell*, from whom he seems to have copied, having like him cover'd his Rebellion with the Veil of Religion, the Publick Good, and relieving the People from Tyranny and Oppression, till he found himself strong enough to throw off the Mask, and avow his real Designs. And this his bold Attempt, like *Oliver's*, met with its Success; and from a petty Prince of an inconsiderable Province, he now sees himself Sovereign of a potent Monarchy; and if Report be true, has form'd Views upon *Astracan*, and even *Casau*, of which probably the *Turks* wou'd rather see him Master than the *Czar*; who, if the *Manifesto* published in some Papers be genuine, is like to have full Employment to maintain his Conquests both against him and the *Porte*, which seems resolv'd to dispute them with him: But I shall now resume the Thread of my Discourse. Whilst

Whilst I was asking divers Questions of three of these Fishermen, others were dressing for us a Piece of Sword-Fish, some white pickled Salmon, and a couple of *Lacussa's*; and we had hardly begun to eat them, when five black and two white *Calmucks* appeared on Horse-back, more monstrously ugly in their Faces even than the *Noghaians*, being both flat and tawny, except the two last; who, to make amends for the want of Deformity, had scarcely any Nose to be seen. Their Eyes were all of them very small, and sunk in their Heads, and as for their Bodies they were not so well made as the *Noghaians*; their Cloaths were much the same as of those *Tartars*, being of the *Circassian* Stuff before-mentioned, only their Vests and their Furs were shorter. The Horses of four of them were not so misshapen, and less than those of the *Noghaians*; and the three others were very fine ones, they having either bought or stole them in *Circassia*, they not being (as I was inform'd) of the *Calmuck* Breed, as were the four others. These *Calmucks* desired some smoak'd or dry'd Fish, in exchange for a Deer which one of them had kill'd, and carried behind his Saddle. The Fishermen shew'd them several sorts, of which they chose as many and what kind they pleased; for he who had the Deer fill'd a Leathern Wallet, each Pouch of which might hold about Thirty Pound, which he fastened in its Place, without making any Bargain, and almost without speaking, or having any Contest with the Fishermen, who only handled the Venison, to see if it was fat. In the mean while, the other six *Calmucks* cast several Glances upon us, whereon my *Noghaian* put a dismal Construction in his own Mind, as he gave me to understand afterwards; but their Presence did not at all incommodate us, for the Exchange was no sooner made and the Wallet fastened, but they whipp'd their Horses, and disappear'd like Lightning.

After their Departure, I ask'd if all the *Calmucks* were so made, I wou'd not say ugly, not to shock my *Noghaian*; and they answer'd me by his Mouth, that they were, or within a little. I did not perceive any Vessels upon the Sea; and was informed, that they very seldom did venture out in this Season, on account of its frequent Tempests. I won't enter here into an Examination or Discussion, whether its pretended subterraneous Communication with any other Sea, be Fact or not; and I will confess, that I can no more conceive how it shou'd be possible, than how the Sun, by exhaling a sufficient Quantity of its Waters, can hinder it from overflowing by the prodigious Addition and Confluence of so many large Rivers as disembogue themselves into it; wherefore leaving such Disquisitions to nicer Heads, I shall return to the *Calmucks* in general. I found by the Answers of the Fishermen to divers of my Questions concerning them, as well as by the Account of my *Circassian*, and others whom I enquired of afterwards, that they who are call'd the *Black one's* extend from the North of the *Caspian Sea* to the North East of the great Lake *Stralscoe*; and that they all live and camp and decamp almost after the manner of the *Noghaians*; but that they have more sorts of Cattle, and keep them generally in the Winter in the Desert of *Rustaya*, which is between that Lake and the Sea, where the Grass is in such abundance, that (as they say) it is never exhausted; and a sort of wild Oats grow there without sowing, which are very proper to refresh their Horses, and give them so much Vigour, that they can fast several Days like those of the *Noghaians*, and are indefatigable after having

been kept and rested in this Desert two or three Months. These wild Oats (which are very common in several Parts of *Noghaian Tartary*, and in the Mountains of *Circassia*,) serve (as they say) these *Calmucks*, as Millet does the *Noghaian Tartars* for making their *Talcan* and *Tchorba*. They gather the Grain when it is ripe, and shake or beat the Stalks upon large pieces of Felt, which they spread for that purpose; then cleansing it of all the Straw and Beards, they peel and boil it with Horse-Flesh, which they eat as willingly, and seem to esteem as much as the *Tartars*; but they have this Advantage over them, that they have a great many wild ones, as well as Goats and Sheep in the Deserts to the East of *Stralscoe*, besides a Number of Deer. This Lake seems to have been not at all or very little known by the Ancient Geographers, as well as the Form of the *Caspian Sea*, if we may judge by comparing their Maps with that which the *Czar* had made. This Prince, among the vast Views ascribed to him both upon this and the *Black Sea*, which his Fleet at *Azoph*, before the Battle of *Pruth*, seem'd to confirm; sent some Years since some Mathematicians to draw the Map C. which I obtain'd by the favour of Admiral *Norris*, to whom it was communicated by Dr. *Areskine* one of the *Czar's* Favourites, at a time when it was not to be otherwise obtain'd. His *Czarian* Majesty was at that time, (tho' he has since alter'd his Mind) so jealous of this Chart's being too publickly known, that Dr. *Areskine*, on his presenting it to Sir *John*, required it shou'd not be made common, no body but the *Czar* and himself then having it. It is reckoned very exact, no Care having been spared by them who drew it to render it so. However, I can speak more affirmatively of that of the *Black Sea*, having seen incomparably more of it, at least enough to know that the most principal Rivers are in their right Situation. A *German*, who design'd the Sketches which I had reduced into the Form in my Map B, was always suspected at *Constantinople* to have been sent by his *Czarian* Majesty, on purpose to draw the Plans of the *Turkish* Fortresses on the *Black Sea*. The first time that I knew him was at the *Dutch Ambassador's*, by whom he was protected. He had already taken a long Journey round this Sea with his Excellency's Passport, (if I mistake not) and had design'd, measured and made his Observations without being disturb'd, or suspected (as I heard him say at his Return) of any thing but being a Magician or Conjuror, by the Inhabitants of the Eastern Coasts between *Trebizond* and *Tripoli*; which the Singularity of his Mathematical Instruments, which were entirely new to them, as well as the Use of them, might occasion; besides, they that are ignorant or superstitious believe every thing either a Miracle of Heaven, or the Work of the Devil, which they don't comprehend. Having been so lucky this first Journey, and having without doubt some new Observations to make, he took a second; and (as his Protector told me) without his Knowledge, or desiring his Passport; and he was taken with the Pencil in his Hand, drawing the Plan of *Jegnikale*, and sent by the *Bashaw's* Order fetter'd to *Constantinople*, and put in Prison, without its being possible for his Excellency, who reclaim'd him, to deliver him. However, the *Vizier* being willing to preserve at least the Appearance of that Friendship and good Intelligence with this Ambassador, which he was engaged to by the Capitulations between the *Porte* and the *States*, refused him so as to leave him room to hope he wou'd deliver him; but 'twas believ'd, to avoid surrendring him alive, he had him stifled or poison'd,

for

for he sent Word a few Days after to his Excellency, that this Man was dead, and he might take the Body and have it buried, which he did. The Papers and Plans were detained by the *Visier*; and I obtained the Map afterwards of a *Renegado*, who had them from the *Visier*, with a Commission to examine them, being a great Projector, and in favour of the *Porte* for some time, for having communicated to the *Turks* the Scheme for making Cloth of their Wool, and prohibiting the great Exportation of it to *Marseilles*, where 'twas manufactured and brought almost all back in Cloth. This Undertaking fail'd on account of the frequent changing of the *Visiers*, and the Difficulties and Expences that such sort of Enterprizes generally require at the Beginning.

To return again to the * *Calmucks*; according to the Account I had from the Fishermen, the *White Ones*, who are no ways less deform'd than the *Black*, but in Colour, have their Tents or Huts on the North of *Circassia*, and lie between the *Volga* and the *Tanais*. I enquired about the Lake *Stralscoe*, which these Fishermen call'd the little Sea of *Stralscoe*, and ask'd whether there were no Fish in it? They answered, they had never been there, but that the *Calmucks* had often told them there was a prodigious Quantity; but that besides, the Country round about it being Desert, and only inhabited by the black *Calmucks*, it was too much out of the way of Commerce, and dangerous by reason of the Vagabonds call'd *Caracolvachzy*, who lived only upon Rapine; and that the *Caspian Sea* supplied them with as much as they cou'd desire. I asked if the Waters of this Sea, or that of *Karabutask*, were salt; but they knew no more of them than their Names. A good old Man, who was born upon the Spot where we then were, added, that all the People who lived about those Seas were Savages and Vagabonds, who only obey'd Chiefs of their own chusing from among themselves: I said, that I thought they had been subject to the *Czar*; he answered, that only those of the Desarts of *Rustaya*, between the *Caspian Sea* and the North of *Stralscoe*, used sometimes to serve him voluntarily in hopes of Plunder, and other Encouragement which his *Czarian Majesty* granted them, as well as the *White Calmucks*, to bind them to his Interest. In a word, he gave me to understand, that the *Czar* made the same Use of the *Calmucks* in general, that the *Han* of *Tartary* does of the *Noghaians*; with this Difference, that the first, especially the *White ones*, made incomparably less Advantage of their Incursions, than the others by the Sale of their Slaves; for, besides that they live in a pretty good Intelligence with the *Circassians* of the Mountains, their nearest Neighbours, who have put themselves under the Protection of his *Czarian Majesty*, ever since the Action of 1708. the keeping of Concubines being contrary to the *Christian Religion*, which the *Muscovites* profess, the *Persians* are the only ones to whom they can sell what handsome Women they happen to take, which they must go a great way to seek amongst the *Circassians* that inhabit the Plains, and that but in War time, and those only the *Pagans* or *Christians* of the Colonies who are settled there; the *Mahometan Religion* no more allowing the Professors of it to sell those of their own Faith, than it does the *Persians* to buy them. For this reason the *Czar*, to make them amends for this Disadvantage, gives them Cloaths, Arms, and other Yearly Presents, which the *Grand Seignior* nor the *Han* do not to the *Tartars*; who, as I've already observed, march all

* The *White Calmucks* have fixed Villages as well as moveable ones.

at their own Expences, and even give the *Han* the Tithes of their Slaves, besides what they pay to the *Myrsas* their Chiefs.

As we were preparing to depart from these Fishermen, the old Man happening to have the Curiosity to ask whither we were going; my *Circassian* answering, to *Astracan*: He said; "Take Care how you appear before the Gates of it, for fear of being seiz'd and suspected of being *Turks*, the Governor having received Orders from the *Czar* not to suffer any Strangers to enter." "How! reply'd the *Noghaian*, if we were *Turks*, as we are not, is not a Peace concluded between the *Czar* and the *Grand Seignior*?" I don't know (rejoin'd he) but the same Precautions and Prohibitions are observ'd, as in War-time." Another Fisherman assured us, he was inform'd in that City, that Hostilities were again begun, and that the *Calmucks* were making ready for their Incursions. I heard besides afterwards that the *Muscovites* had kept themselves very much upon their Guard, and were very jealous of Strangers ever since the last Rebellion, which happen'd (as was said) on Account of his *Czarian* Majesty's Orders for every one throughout his Dominions to cut off their Beards, and dress themselves after the Manner of the *Franks*; at least the Heads of the Insurrection made this their Pretence. However it was, this Command would have caused a great deal of Trouble to a Prince who had not been so absolute, so powerful, and so successful in surmounting his Misfortunes, as the *Czar*. I remember that when the News of this Injunction reach'd *Constantinople*, they look'd upon his Majesty as the greatest Tyrant in the World; and 'tis hardly to be believ'd how much the Minds of some *Greeks*, who were before well-affected to his Interests, as being of the same Religion, were alienated from him; insomuch that they said, that if, according to certain Projects which he had formed, he should one Day render himself Master of *Constantinople*, they would sooner follow the *Turks*, and settle in *Asia*, than submit to such a Sovereign. The Beard is the most sacred thing imaginable among the Eastern Nations, who would rather suffer almost any Part of their Body to be cut off than it, they look upon it as a Mark of Liberty, and consequently the Loss of it, as a Badge of Slavery; for instance, the *Turkish* Servants must not wear one, no more than the Slaves, but only Whiskers; nor the private Soldiers, or any other Person in the Army, who have not some Command of themselves; and both among the *Turks*, and other Eastern Nations, there can no greater, or more sensible Affronts be offer'd, than to the Beard; and to curse any Man's, or threaten to cut it off, is more than to beat him, or either to call or make his Wife or Daughter a Whore. This Superstition extends even to their Horses Tails, of which I saw an Example in an *Armenian*; who happening to ride by where a Company of *English* Gentlemen were diverting themselves in the Country, was invited to drink by one of them whose Horses he took Care of, being a Farrier by Trade; so he dismounted, and fasten'd his Steed to a Hedge. As they were all very gay, they endeavour'd to make him so likewise; and in the meanwhile, one of the merry Company cut off his Horse's Tail: When the *Armenian* (who had not observ'd it till he was ready to mount) perceiv'd it, he broke out into terrible Exclamations and Complaints, asking what Crime he had committed, to have his Steed so spoil'd, and in short would never get upon it afterwards; and the Gentleman, who had play'd him this Trick, to appease him, was forced to give him his own,

own, which was rather better than worfe, and make his Servant mount that which was mutilated, injured, and disgraced in the Eyes of his first Master; and when we enter'd that Part of *Pera* which is call'd *Beoglou*, all the little Boys furrounded the Horse to stare and laugh at it; and the *Turks* sitting in their Shops, being surprized with the Novelty of the Sight, said to one another, *Back back ne deli guia-ourler*, Look, look at these Fools of Infidels.

After the Fisherman's informing us of the new Rupture between the *Turks* and *Muscovites*, my *Noghaian* wish'd himself any where rather than where we were; and his Fear was stronger than ever, and suggested to him, that the *Calmucks* aforesaid might be gone to wait for us in the Country, to make us Slaves, and that the dry Provision they had taken were a Sign they were going upon their Inroads. Upon his acquainting me with these his Apprehensions, I ask'd the Fishermen what these *Calmucks* did with their Fish, they who were not reckon'd great Fish-Eaters? They answer'd, that they eat part of it, and exchanged the rest, for *Cummin* to make their *Falcan*, with the *Circassians* and *Cossacks*, who prefer'd it to their Venison, because it was lighter, and would keep without spoiling. I own, considering within my self that I was in an Enemy's Country, with the Passports of the *Han of Tartary*, and the *Bashaw of Bender*, I found that the Fears of the *Noghaian* were contagious, and had made an Impression on my Mind; and I saw but too well that the Courage of the *Tartars* consisted in having a Multitude of Men and good Horses, to plunder and escape from Pursuits: However, without declaring my Thoughts to him, I gave over my Design of visiting *Astracan* and *Azoph*. Having satisfy'd our Landlords for what we had eaten, and for the *Caviac*, smoak'd Salmon, Carp, and other Fish, wherewith the *Noghaian* furnish'd his *Sophra*, and the *Circassian* a Leather Sack, we departed: Nevertheless, I had a fancy to see *Astracan*, at least at a Distance, and outwardly, since I had lost the Hopes of viewing it within; and Night coming on within two Hours after leaving the Fishermen, we halted upon the Sea-shore, to hold a Council upon what Road we should take, and how I should satisfy my Curiosity. Whilst we were smoaking our Pipes, we fix'd upon this Resolution, to ride briskly all Night, to the end that at Break of Day we might find our selves near enough this City to have a Sight of it; so I took Care to hide my *Turkish* and *Tartarean* Passports, and we set forwards about Six at Night, in order to put our Design in Execution; which we did very successfully, without any other Accident, but meeting with some *Calmuck* and *Cossack* Horsemen, who, in all Probability, taking us to be some of their own Party, pass'd pretty near without speaking to us. Having advanced within a few Miles of *Astracan*,* and not daring to approach any nearer, as not being sure of escaping an Examination by the *Muscovites*, I look'd about for a rising Ground, in order to consider it to Advantage, in which an excellent *Roman Telescope* of *Campana's* assisted me very much; and its Walls regularly terrass'd with the Spires of its Churches, and the Roofs of its Houses, yielded an agreeable Prospect; and I have been informed since, that

* *Astracan* is seated at the Mouth, or rather Mouths, of the *Volga*, there being 70 of them. It formerly belong'd to *Tartaria Minor*, till the Year 1554, when it fell, under the Dominion of *John Basilides*, Czar of *Muscovy*; and if one may believe the *Russian History*, *Sultan Selim*, out of a Desire to get it from him, sacrific'd near 200000 *Janizaries* and *Spahis*, and 150 Ships before it.

this was all that was worth seeing in it, (as I heard) the Houses being generally of Wood and ill built, and its Streets narrow and forrily paved; in a Word, that it was as ugly within as handsome without, if one excepts some new Houses of the Governors and Officers, and the Churches. Despairing to see *Asoph*, on the same Account, I told my two Guides that I gave my self up entirely to their Management, as to what Rout they would take back again, only that I must pass by *Calbath*, and so on to *Palus Maotis*: Wherefore, that we might get at a Distance from the *Calmucks* and *Cossacks* as soon as possible, we made the best of our Way to the S.W. my *Noghaian* and I having resolved within our selves to stop no more than was necessary, even in the Way of the *Circassian* Villages, for he was distrustful of every thing; however, we took care to hide the Reasons of our Apprehensions from our Fellow-Traveller, that he might not be tempted to take the Advantage of them.

In the mean while, as we were upon the Road, I revolved in my Mind with Admiration, how Nature had placed almost under the same Air and Climate, the handsomest People in the World, between two the most ugly and hideous; I mean the *Circassians*, between the *Noghaians* and *Calmucks*; from each of which they are only separated by some Mountains and Rivers. The free, easy, and well-proportion'd Shape both of the Men and Women, recall'd into my Mind the Idea of the fine Antique Statues which I had seen in *Italy*; and not finding any Crooked, or Cripples amongst these Nations, no more than among the *Turks*, I concluded, that the Prison in which our Women confine their Shapes, in order to make them seem small and slender, and which some of them don't let out even when big with Child, was the principal Cause of so many of their Children being lame and deformed, as the Liberty which all the Eastern Nations give to theirs was, on the contrary, the Reason of that natural Beauty, of which these Statues are such finish'd Copies. The fine Make of their Horses in general, struck me also with an Astonishment little inferior. We continu'd our Journey Night and Day almost without stopping, but only to eat, rest our selves a few Hours, and feed our Beasts, and that in the open Air, excepting in four Villages, where we lay, for the Reasons which I shall relate in the Sequel; in the others which we pass'd through, we only took some Provision for our selves, and Barley or Oats for our Coursers, halting afterwards near some River or Wood, especially where we found any that was dry and fit to make a Fire. The first Village where I took up my Lodging, was about seven Days Journey from the Mouth of the River *Strelli*, as near as I could judge by the bending of our Course. We lay here on Account of some Ruins, which we met about two Hours and a half before we came at it, which I had a Mind to get some Information of. These consisted of divers Heaps of Stones amongst some Briars, with several Fragments of Walls, still cemented together with a Mortar, which Time nor the Injuries of Weather had not been able to dissolve or separate. Amongst the finest of the Materials that remain'd, were divers square Stones of different Sizes, as hard as Marble, and of an Ash-Colour; and after having hunted up and down all over the Place, for about two Hours, I found a long flat Stone also of an Ash Colour, and only cut into a plain Square, about a Span and a half in Thickness, and three broad, and it was formerly longer, as I judged by some little broken

broken Pieces of the same Colour, which I believe had been Part of it. I copied from it the Characters of the Print XXVII. N. (6.) which are unknown to me, and no Body could as yet explain them; however, I have represented them as well as the Injuries they have suffer'd from Time would permit me: Probably they may be the same Age with those in the Books found by the Mathematicians employ'd by the *Czar* some Time since, in taking a Survey of all the Coasts on the *Caspian* Sea; the rather, because they, for the most part, resemble them, (as I have been inform'd by those who have seen both;) they are in the said Print something less than in the Original.

Near this Stone I observed a hollow Place, which seem'd to me to have been the Entrance into some subterraneous Cave, though now choak'd up with Earth; and two square Consoles also of Stone entirely plain, without any thing to set them off, which were on each Side of it, confirm'd me in my Opinion, and that the Stone, with the Inscription upon it, had been the Architrave. I could not meet amongst these Ruins with any Ornaments of Architecture, nor any other Inscriptions, or ought else that was worth remarking. They are but of small Compass, especially on the N. and S. E. where they are bounded by Woods and Mountains, at the Foot of one of which they are situated, and have on their S. E. a little rapid and clear River, admirable for the Softness of its Water, a Quality it has in common with most part of the Rivers in this Country. I enquired in the Village that was nearest to them upon our Road, if they could inform me any thing about them; but could not so much as hear any Name they had, besides that of the *Old City*, a Name usually given by the Eastern People to all those of whose real ones they are ignorant. I ask'd, if no Body had found any old Coins thereabouts; and they told me that a young Man in the Village had some Pieces of Silver, with two carv'd Stones that he had brought from thence. I desir'd to be conducted thither, and he show'd me his whole Stock, which was the Silver Medal in the Print XII. N. (31.) and one of Brass mark'd (c) in the Print XIV. and the 3 *Cornelians* 14. and 16. in the XXIVth, and (h) in the XXVIIth ones. He said he had exchange'd six of the first sort for three Knives with a Cutler, who had melted them down to make the Handle of a *Myrfa's* Sabre. This Village was very ordinary, and consisted only of such Huts, as those I have represented in the first; and the Inhabitants us'd us with so much Humanity, that I suffer'd my self to be over-perswaded to pass the Night there, and they almost fought who should entertain us; but the Proprietor of the Medals and Stones carry'd it, by our Choice. Being enter'd, a young Boy pull'd off my Boots, and a Girl brought me some warm Water in a Bowl to wash my Feet, whilst others took Care of our Horses; in a Word, we were treated every where as in the first Village, at least with very little Difference. They dress'd here for us half a young Wild Boar, and a quarter of a Kid, which they cut in small Pieces, and roasted separately, after the Manner of that Country. My *Circassian* would not touch the first no more than the *Noghaian*, being both *Mahometans*; whereupon I made them ask my Landlord, of what Religion he was; and he gave me to understand that he was of the same as the other *Circassians* of the Mountains, *viz.* that which had been left them by their Ancestors, and was taught by their Elders; and my *Circassian*, who had been of the same, gave me an Account of it, by the Mouth of my *Noghaian*, tho' a very confused and imperfect one,

which Account other Persons of more Understanding, who have spoke of it since to me, did not contradict, and was in Substance thus: The *Circassians* of the Mountains are something like the *Druids*, prostrating themselves before old Oaks, and other Trees, wherein they believe some invisible Deities reside, who are capable of granting the present temporal Blessings they desire; for as for any future and spiritual Happiness, which all those who believe the Immortality of the Soul, (however they may differ in other Points of Religion) pray for, they seem not so much as to have any Idea of it. They go in Procession round these Trees, with lighted Torches, and fasten Wax-Tapers to them; and at some Times of the Year they sacrifice divers Creatures under them, as Oxen, Sheep, Lambs, Goats, &c. and their Elders, who are as it were their Priests, and chosen from amongst the most aged, distribute the Meat about to the Assistants, and carry it to the Sick and Poor, who are absent. These Elders (according to the Accounts of several *Greeks* and *Armenians*, especially the latter, who have been conversant with them, and have seen their religious Ceremonies) don't so much as know how to read, and repeat a sort of Form of Prayer, which they transmit and hand down to Posterity as they have received it from their Ancestors. Several Trees, whose Trunks and first Branches were blacken'd with Smoak, with Coals, Ashes, and other Traces of Fires, which I observ'd here and there near them, were sufficient Confirmations to me of this their Custom. As for the rest, nothing is more amphibious than the Religion of the *Circassians* in general, it being a Composition of several others; for they who live most to the S. E. and N. W. are mostly *Pagans*; they who are nearest the *Tartars* and *Persians*, are for the most Part *Mahometans*, or at least are circumcis'd, and have a great deal of *Mahometism* mix'd with their Superstition; and they who have most Commerce with the *Muscovites*, *Georgians*, *Mingrelians*, and *Armenians*, have adopted many *Greek* and *Armenian* Ceremonies, and some of them are even baptized; in a Word, both their Knowledge and Practice in Matters of Religion, is a meer *Chaos*. Our Landlord (as I found) was circumcis'd, without being either *Mahometan* or *Jew*, and he eat Swine's Flesh, contrary to the Law which prescribes Circumcision, as perhaps my *Circassian* would have done likewise, if he had not been restrain'd by the Example of the *Noghaian*. They made me here the same Proposal with respect to She-Slaves and Horses, as they had done elsewhere, which I declined after the like manner.

As I found these People still handsomer and handsomer, in Proportion, as I advanced amongst the Mountains, and saw no Body who was scar'd with the Small-Pox, I bethought my self to ask them, if they had any Secret to preserve themselves from the Havock which that Distemper makes among so many other Nations: They inform'd me, that 'twas owing in a great measure to their inoculating them; whereupon I desir'd to be told their manner of doing it, which they explain'd to me exactly enough for me to comprehend it without seeing the Operation; tho' by my diligent Enquiry in all the Villages thro' which we pass'd, I found an Opportunity of being present when it was put in Practice: It was in a Village call'd *Deglivad*, upon a * young Girl

* They oftner inoculate the Small-Pox upon Girls than Boys; however even they are not much mark'd, which may be the Effect of the Benignity of the Climate, and of the Precaution in treating all Children, when sick before they have it, as if 'twere that Distemper.

of between Four and Five Years old ; they had (as they said) purged her before hand ; and on my asking with what, I understood that it was with the dry'd Fruit, and the Leaves and Roots of *Bugloss* boiled together, at least the Leaves which they shew'd me made me judge it to be that Plant. The Girl was carried to a young Boy of three Years old, who had this Distemper naturally, and whose Pocks began to suppurate or were ripe, and an old Woman perform'd the Operation ; for those of this Sex, who are the most advanced in Age, are believ'd to be also so in Wisdom and Knowledge, as well as the Oldest of the other ; and they exercise generally the Practice of Physick, as these latter do of Priesthood. The Manner of her inoculating the Pock was thus : She took three Needles fastened together, and prick'd first the Pit of the Stomach ; secondly, directly over the Heart ; thirdly, the Navel ; fourthly, the Right Wrist ; and fifthly, the Ankle of the Left Foot, till the Blood came ; at the same time she took some Matter from the Pocks of the sick Person, and apply'd it to the bleeding Parts, which she cover'd first with *Angelica* Leaves dry'd, and after with some of the youngest Lamb Skins ; and having bound them all well on, the Mother wrapp'd her Daughter up in one of the Skin Coverings, which, as I have observed, compose the *Circassian* Beds, and carried her thus pack'd up in her Arms to her own Home ; where (as they told me) she was to continue to be kept warm, eat only a sort of Pap made of Cummin Flower, with two thirds Water, and one third Sheep's Milk, without either Flesh or Fish, and drink a sort of Tisan made with *Angelica*, *Bugloss* Roots and *Licorish*, which are all very common throughout the Country ; and they assured me, that with this Precaution and *Regimen*, the Small Pox generally came out very favourably in five or six Days ; about which I took the old Woman's Word, not staying to see the Effect of it. They told me also another Precaution which they take ; and that is, they treat all young Folks, who are at all indisposed before they have had this Distemper, as if it were a Symptom or Indication of it, as some must naturally have it before it can be given artificially to others ; and to this Precaution or *Regimen*, they attribute their having such a small number of Pocks, and so few Marks of them. To this first manner of communicating the Small-Pox they have added a second more general and more easy, which is, that after purging the Persons to whom they design to give them, they put them naked to Bed to one who has them before the Pocks are ripe ; and they communicate them both these ways (the first of which is the most certain and infallible) to Children under Seven Years of Age ; and those Parents who have handsome Daughters, will sometimes ride for that purpose a Days Journey round about, to find some young Child who has them. No body cou'd give me any Information, of how ancient standing the Practice of this Operation had been amongst them.

Angelica and *Bugloss* are (as I before hinted) very common in this Country, and the two favourite Herbs of their own old She Physicians. The Name of the first is in their Tongue *Albanel*, and the second *Fehinne* ; I have seen several Roots of the first almost as large as ones Arm, hanging at the Top of their Huts. *Amuranth*, which they call *Hellenlibiot*, has the third place in their Esteem ; and the *Heldet*, or *Carduus Benedictus*, the fourth, which are likewise in great Plenty every where : They dry the Roots and Leaves of all the four, and boil them in

Water without any other Addition, and afterwards drink it at Discretion indifferently in all Distempers.

The most general Food of the *Circassians* consists of Mutton, Beef, Poultry, wild Fowl and Venison; they have Numbers of the first sorts in the Champian Country, and being great Hunters they are never without the others, especially amongst the Mountains and Woods that are the most inhabited. The Mountaineers eat Horse-Flesh as well as the *Tartars*, having but few horned Beasts; and they pound some Millet in Stone Mortars, then diluting it with Water, make it into Dough, which they bake under Embers, and that is usually their Bread. The *Circassians* who are *Mahometans* obey the *Han*, and upon Occasion furnish him with 15000 Men. The Mens Habit is pretty like that of the *Tartars*, but somewhat shorter; that is to say, they keep a Medium between their Dress and that of the *Persians*: The same may be said of the Womens, as may be seen by the Figures on the Map C, where they are all represented. Letter (i) is a *Noghaian Tartar*, (a) is the same upon my Map B, with his Waggon drawn by Dromedaries; upon which is an *Obba* or Tent after his Country Fashion. (g) Is a *Circassian* with two young *Circassian* Maidens (e) (f) which he is offering to sell to the *Persian* (h). The *Circassians* are generally govern'd by *Myrfa's*, like the *Tartars*; which *Myrfa's*, at least they who are not *Mahometans*, sell or present the Children of their Subjects, even sometimes their own, for Slaves; and they used themselves to chuse those which they paid as a Tribute to the *Han* before the Defeat of the *Tartars*, Custom having rendered that easy to them, which to us seems contrary to Nature. Their Marriage is but a Civil Contract, and their Elders serve them instead of Judges, as well as Priests. Tho' Fathers and Mothers offer their Children, as I've observ'd, they teach them to preserve their Virginity, the Loss of which takes away half their Value; and a Man, who shou'd seduce one of them, wou'd violate the Laws of Hospitality, and be condemn'd to buy her of her Parents, (who alone have the Right to dispose of her) at the Price of a Maid, but this happens but seldom; and after he has purchased her, he may do as he pleases with her, either keep and make her his Bedfellow, or sell her again to another. Their manner of administering Justice, is almost the same as among the *Noghaians*, but more severe; Murther is punish'd with Death, and the Execution of it, as well as the Choice of the kind of it, is left to the nearest Relations, as in *Crim Tartary*. The Thief, who can't return what he has taken, is condemn'd to be a Slave to him whom he has robbed, and if he does restore it, to suffer a certain Number of Lashes on his naked Body; which either the Person wronged, or somebody for him, lay on. Their Tongue is very soft, and they seldom or never use the Letter (r).

At a little more than two Days Journey from *Deglivad*, and three and a half from the Ruins before-mention'd, we met with others which were more advantageously situated, but inferior in every other respect. They lie upon an Ascent, and are almost entirely surrounded by large Plains; the Sight is bounded towards the North by a Forrest; and a fine River, which runs from the North East to the South West, divides them into two equal Parts; but the Materials don't at all answer their Situation, being only Flint, and the most ordinary Stone, insomuch that if some Numbers of them were not still cemented together, they
cou'd

cou'd never be thought to have been made use of by Art. There were, however, here and there some reddish Stones, which for their Colour and Hardness resembled those of the *Emilian* and *Appian* Ways; and I took them at first for bak'd Earth, some of them were flat, and some few square, and for the most unhew'd and without any Lustre, the largest not above three Foot in Diameter. As for the rest, I cou'd not find either *Basso Relievo's*, Columns, Chapiters nor Inscriptions. Hereupon I resolv'd to lie yet one Night more in the two next Villages that we shou'd come at, to see what Informations I cou'd get from the Inhabitants of them; but they cou'd not give me any insight into what they had been, no more than the others of those before-mentioned; neither cou'd they furnish me with any Medals nor Stones which had been carv'd, not having found the least Curiosity themselves, nor heard of any one who had.

The Place where I found these Ruins, with the others before-mentioned, whose Characters I'm wholly ignorant of, seem'd to me according to the Metaphysical Line by which I directed my Return, to be to the South West, where the ancient Geographers place the Pillars of *Alexander the Great*. N. B. For the most part where the Rivers were not frozen, we were carried over by our Horses, those of the *Circassians*, as well as those of the *Tartars*, being excellent at swimming; only we were ferry'd over the River, at the Village where we stop'd after having seen these Ruins, in a sort of a Canoe made out of a single Trunk of a Tree.

My *Circassian* being now become useless to me, and expressing an Apprehension of approaching *Calbata*, a City of *Circassia*, that (as well as the *Calmuks* who are to the North East of it) paid Obedience to the *Han*, which he did not, (besides his having been in the Number of those who had beaten his Brother in 1708,) and seeming to have inherited the Fear which begun to leave my *Noghaian* by degrees, as we drew near it, said that he had a Brother some Hours riding from where we were, whom he was desirous of seeing; whereupon I made him several little Presents, as of Part of what Tobacco remain'd, and other Trifles which I had in my Portmanteau, with a little Money, wherewith he was very well contented; and my *Noghaian* and myself continued our Journey. However, his Fears were not yet dispell'd, and he propos'd to me not to stop any more at any Village whether fix'd or moveable, (for we met with both in our way) but to buy Provisions; and as I cou'd not find any thing new to remark, I did not oppose his continual Sollicitations, which I was pretty well used to; so we travell'd with such speed and good Fortune, that we arrived at *Calbata* the 24th without any ill Accident.

Calbata may deserve the Name of a City for its Largeness, but not for its Handsomeness, the Houses being very forrily built, consisting only of miserable Huts made of great Pieces of Pine, and other Trees laid one upon t'other, joined by Mortises and cover'd with Turf; or else of Hurdles plaister'd over with Mud or Clay. They are generally low without any thing but the Ground Floor, excepting a very few rais'd upon square Walls, wretchedly made, about the height of a Man. Its Inhabitants were *Armenians*, *Greeks*, some *Jews*, *Noghaians*, *Circassians*, &c. in a word, I met with all the Nations that I have mentioned between that Place and *Bender*, except *Black Calmuks*.

I bought here of an *Armenian* Goldsmith three Silver Medals like (c) in the Print XIV. and (b) in XXVII. *Pertinax* N^o. (6) with three others like (26) (43) (44) and *Faustina* and *Tranquillina* all of Brass in the Print XII. which had been all of them condemn'd to the Flames by their Possessors, who sold them me for the small Lucre of about as many Pence.

The *Circassian* of *Cepherza Myrfa's*, who had appointed to meet us at a Slave Merchants of his Acquaintance, having finish'd his Affairs, and supposing by my long delay, that I had alter'd my Resolution of passing through this City, and was return'd back another way, had been gone about ten Days. This Merchant, among five handsome Girls, the eldest of which was not thirteen, had a little *Calmuck* about eight, whose Skin was as white as Snow; but she had in her Face all the Deformity of her Nation, and seem'd to me very proper to represent the Devil, according to the Notion of the *Ethiopians*, who paint him White: Surpris'd at seeing so ugly a Creature among so many beautiful ones, I ask'd what he intended to do with that little Monster; he answer'd, that he had bought her to serve the Wife of one of his Friends, who was very handsome but very jealous.

We left *Calbata* on the 26th, and set forwards for the *Palus Maotis*; and in our Way on the 27th we pass'd by a Colony of *Noghaians*, a little less deformed than the first, who entertained us very civilly, as well as the *Circassians*, *Georgians*, and *Mingrelians* that we met as we enter'd the *Champion Country*; and we made no stay any where but just to rest and refresh our selves. On the 31st we reached the Eastern side of the *Palus Maotis*, about forty Leagues above *Temrok*: and seeing several *Saicks* in an open Road without Town or Village, I ask'd whither they were bound, and found that the most part of them, which were designed for *Constantinople*, had prudently resolv'd to Winter at *Jegnikale* or *Cassa*, and two of them to venture on to *Killia* with the first favourable Wind. As I cou'd not propose to meet with any thing new, worth my Curiosity, in returning to *Bender thro' Crim Tartary*, I resolv'd to spare my self that barren Fatigue, by embarking on board one of the latter; whereupon I agreed with the *Reys* for my Passage, having first satisfied my *Noghaian* beyond even his Hopes, by presenting him, besides five Piaştres, with the two Horses that I had bought for my Journey. He gave me a thousand Blessings and Thanks, and desired a Certificate of his good Conduct to show the *Bashaw* of *Jegnikale*, he being (as he said) to pass thro' that Town; and from thence to *Kesleve*, to sell his Horses there to a *Turk* of that Place, who had desired two or three a long while. I told him, that the *Reys* being to stop there some Hours, I wou'd go and thank the *Bashaw* in Person, and assure him that I was very well satisfy'd with his Service; so conjuring me not to forget it, he took his leave of me, and set forwards on his Journey.

Twenty four Hours afterwards, the Wind declaring in our favour, we hoisted Sail, and were carried very swiftly down as far as *Jegnikale*, whither we got before my *Noghaian*, who (as I heard at the *Bashaw's*, from a Man who was come from *Taman*) had stopt to wait for a large Boat to transport his Horses. I kept my word with him in satisfying the *Bashaw* of his good Behaviour, which he seem'd very glad to hear, and ask'd me several Questions about my Travels; and he cou'd not conceive, that only the Curiosity of seeing a Country so disagree-

disagreeable in his Opinion, as being destitute of any fine Towns or pleasant Villages, cou'd have induced me to take so long a Journey. I told him, that the Report (whether true or false) of a new Rupture between the *Porte* and the *Czar*, had hindred me from viewing *Astracan* and *Azoph*, as I had propos'd to my self: He confirm'd it to me, and added, that the *Grand Seignior* had again declared War against him, for not having withdrawn his Troops from *Poland*, nor evacuated *Azoph*; and he assur'd me, that he must expect no more Quarter from the Hands of the *Sublime Porte*, after having thus abused the Imperial Clemency. I answer'd, that I was surpris'd at this Infringement of his *Czarian* Majesty; and that I thought it was his Interest to cultivate and preserve a good Intelligence with the *Sultan*, in order to push his Conquests on the *Baltick* side.

In the mean while my Fellow Traveller came over, and having seen me give good Silver for Brass Medals, did not believe me over wise, and cou'd not refrain telling me his Thoughts, *viz.* that they were fit for nothing but the Brasiers to melt down; and that I gave too much for them, though I don't think I paid above a Penny a-piece for the Brass ones, and as much more than the intrinsic Value for those of Silver. The *Bashaw* (whom he came to wait on before my Departure from *Jegnikale*) having asked an Account of my Travels and Behaviour, he declared to him his Opinion of me in this Respect, as I was inform'd by the *Italian* Interpreter, who acquainted me with his Arrival; and I found by the Questions the *Bashaw* asked me concerning these Antiquities, as whether I thought the Ancient Brass better than that of the Moderns, that he was much of the same Mind as the *Noghaian*. I answer'd him, that I did not at all regard the Metal of which they were made, but the Antiquity of these Coins; and that they were of great Use for the Study of History and Geography; but it signify'd just nothing, 'twas all *Hebrew* to him, and I cou'd not make him have any Notion of it.

After some more Discourse upon the same Subject, I thank'd him for his Recommendations, and embarked again to continue my Voyage, according to the Desire of the *Reys*, who had finish'd his Affairs in less than an Hour. We gain'd the open Sea the second of *February* at Night, after having pass'd the Streights of *Caffa* before the Wind; but about two in the Morning, a violent South West Wind oblig'd us to change our Course, these sort of Vessels not being able to keep the Sea with a contrary Wind, as I've observ'd before. The *Reys* considering that it was fair for *Sebastopolis*, where he intended to compleat his Cargo, his Ship not being but half laden, and that it blowing hard wou'd carry us thither in a small time, steer'd for that City; and we arriv'd there in less than Twenty four Hours very fortunately. The hopes of meeting with some Remains of the ancient *Dioscurices*, upon the Ruins whereof this Place was built, comforted me for this Disappointment; but I was mistaken, for I cou'd not discover either any Inscriptions, or Pieces of fine Architecture, to shew that ever there had been formerly a considerable City there, excepting some Pieces of Columns of Granite, with a Pedestal of white Marble entirely plain, two Medals of the Emperor *Claudius* and King *Lyfimachus*, and one of *Amisus*, a City of *Pontus* mention'd in the first Volume, which were sold me by a *Greek*, with a Marble Head, which the *Reys* with much Difficulty, (after having shown that Aversion to Figures which is en-

join'd

join'd by the *Mahometan* Law,) suffer'd me to put on board his Vessel. As for the rest, the Houses of this City are but ordinary, and sadly built; but 'tis very populous, and there is a *Mingrelian* Church very plain, wherein Divine Service is celebrated in that Language, according to the Rites of the *Greek* Church. There are besides two Mosques, one of which is tolerably handsome, and may have been built of the best Materials of the ancient City, there being some Granite Columns finely polish'd. The *Reys* took in here several *Mingrelian* Slaves; great part of which were sold by their Mothers like the *Circassians*, but were incomparably less beautiful. He also took in some Honey and Wax; and the Wind changing to the North West three Days after our Arrival, we hoisted sail again; but it did not remain so long as the contrary one, which had brought us to *Sebastopolis*, for giving place to a tempestuous South East, it drove us up two Days afterwards towards *Crim Tartary*, a great deal faster than we desired. Hereupon the Captain repented his having put to Sea in this Season, and swore by his Beard, that if it shou'd please Heaven to let him gain any safe Harbour, he wou'd Winter there. As for me, I chang'd my Design of going by Sea to *Constantinople*, into a Resolution of going by Land to *Bender*, and we had the good Fortune to reach the Port of *Kesleve* on the 9th. I had no sooner landed, than I made a Present to the *Reys* for the Time I had been on board, and recommended the Care of my Marble Head to one of his Sailors who was a *Greek*, giving him a Direction to send it to *Constantinople* by the first Vessel that he met which was bound thither; after which I look'd out for another sort of Carriage. Upon Enquiry, I found a *Tartar* of *Akerman*, who had a Waggon with two Horses, and was returning thither, and I agreed with him to carry me as far as *Precop*, or farther, if I was satisfied with him; but in very few Hours he gave me reason enough to the contrary, after the following manner: Happening in the Night-time to pass by a Meadow, where several Horses were feeding without a Keeper, he seeing that I was laid down in the Waggon, and believing me asleep, as I was indeed almost, tho' I made shift to keep my Eyes open enough to observe him, leap'd down, and stopping his Horses gave them some Handfuls of Hay to employ them; than taking a little Bag made of Hair, (call'd by the *Turks* and *Tartars* *Torba*) wherein they usually put some Barley, which they give their Horses, by thrusting their Heads in, and fastening it to their Necks, he very softly drew near that which seem'd to him to be the best; the Creature smelling the Provender, very familiarly put his Head into the Sack, which the *Tartar* tied about his Neck, and taking hold of his Mane, led him to the Waggon where he fasten'd him with a Rope; then getting up into his Place, drove away as hard as possible. A little after meeting one of his Countrymen, who was going to the City whence we came, and ask'd him where he had gotten that Horse; he answer'd confidently, and so loud that I heard him, *Alla verdi, God has given it me*. Upon reflecting on what I had seen and heard, fearing that this Villain might play me a Trick, by showing me some such Piece of his Art, and pretend that Providence had presented him with something of mine which I shou'd not be willing to part with, I resolv'd to discharge him at the first Village that we shou'd come at; but an Hour or two afterwards I falling fast asleep in good earnest, he quitted his Waggon a second time, for some Trick which I did not see,

perhaps

perhaps of the same Nature; and it happen'd, that his Horses being thus left to themselves, began to run full Speed a-cross the Fields, and the Night being dark, the Waggon was soon out of the *Tartar's* Sight. I waked in a Surprise, and in vain call'd upon him; and the Horses continuing to gallop, seiz'd on the Reins as well as I could, and stopt them, and for fear they should take their Career again, ty'd two of their Legs, after having given them some Handfulls of Hay, which was fasten'd behind the Waggon, to amuse them; then I began afresh to call *Mehemet* (which was his Name) as loud as ever I could, but no Body answer'd; so not knowing what to think of this Accident, the Cause and Circumstances whereof my falling asleep had hinder'd me from finding out, and being ignorant where I was, I resolv'd to wait for Day; which hardly began to break, before I perceiv'd a *Tartar* hastening towards me, and crying, *Allah, Allah*, whom my Guide had sent one Way to seek his Waggon, whilst he was looking for it another. This Man carried me to a Village at a small Distance from the Place where he found me, and an Hour after I saw *Mehemet* arrive, who had (as he said) been running all the Night, and was heartily tired: He excus'd himself, by pretending that he had stopt for a natural Occasion, after having given his Horses some Hay. I did not reproach him with his Theft over Night, nor let him know that I suspected he had left his Waggon for such another Job; but judging the *Tartar* whom he had sent to seek me to be of better Principles, I agreed with him to carry me as far as *Bender*. He was an old Man about 60 Years of Age, and prov'd afterwards not less honest than I thought him; so I took my Baggage out of the Waggon, and paid *Mehemet* for half the Way between *Kesleve* and *Precop*, tho' we had not come near so far, that I might get rid of him. The old Man had two Horses, but they were but indifferent, and he confess'd as much himself beforehand, but added, that they were good enough to carry me to a *Keddi* about eight Hours riding beyond *Precop*, where he had fresh ones, with which (as he said) we might reach *Bender* in four or five Days. We saddled our Steeds, mounted, and arriv'd at *Precop* the next Day before Noon; and the *Orbey* being there, I went to see him, and told him how useful the Passport from the *Han* his Father had been; he receiv'd me very kindly: He was in the ordinary plain House before-mention'd in speaking of this City, sitting upon a *Sopha*, after the *Turkish* Manner; among other Things, he enquir'd, if I had heard how the Governor of *Azoph* had refus'd to evacuate that Place? I answer'd, that the *Bashaw* of *Jegnical* had told me of it; "Ah! says he, if the *Visier Baltagi Mehemet* would have been advis'd by the *Han* my Father, it had not been now in the *Czar's* Power to give Orders to his Governor contrary to the Treaty; he ought to have taken and carried him to *Constantinople* as an Hostage and Security for the Performance of the Conditions, and have kept him there till the Execution of them." He ask'd me divers other Questions about my Travels, to which I return'd suitable Replies; but seeing some Body come to him, who said loud enough to be heard by me, *The Horses are ready*, and concluding, *He was going to ride out*, I took my Leave; he wish'd me a good Journey, and I went to my Guide, whom I had left in a Coffee-House that was kept by a *Janizary*, where I found several others, and amongst the rest, two who were come from *Azoph*. I desired to know what had induced them to return; they answer'd,

the Fear of being made Prisoners ; and that when *Ali Bashaw*, whom the *Porte* had sent thither as Governor, thought of taking Possession, and a great Part of the new Fortifications were already demolished, the *Muscovite* Governor came to tell him, he had Orders to suspend the Demolition of the rest, upon the News of the Deposition of the *Visier Baltagi Mehemet*, his *Czarian* Majesty fearing that his Successor would persuade the *Grand Seignior* to renew the War ; however, he offer'd to continue the *Thaim* to him and all his Retinue, in Hopes that the new *Visier* would be for Peace ; but that they would not depend upon Uncertainties, and thought it was the surest Way to return.

Having dined at *Precop*, we set forwards on our Journey, without taking any Provisions along with us, but a Loaf of about 2 Pounds, which I bought of a *Janizary* ; my new Guide assuring me, that there was Flesh enough at the *Keddi* whither we were going, and might reach *Calbournont* next Evening before nine a Clock. But having enter'd into the Defarts in Search of the *Keddi*, we could not find it, and he said he feared it had removed ; and a thick Fog falling in the Night, which made it too dark to travel, we sat down and eat most of our Bread, and slept three or four Hours, (he upon a Piece of Felt, and I upon my Carpet,) leaving our Horses to feed upon what Grass they could come at. The Fog continuing next Day, we pass'd that, and great part of the Night following, in wandering so unfortunately, that we could not so much as see the least Mark where the *Keddi*, we were looking for, had been, nor of any others. In vain he call'd as loud as he could, sometimes upon one, sometimes another ; not so much as the Eccho of an Answer was heard : Whereupon we dismounted about Midnight, eat the Remainder of our Bread, and lay down, as before, till Daylight ; when we continued our Journey, or rather Rambling : The Fog growing thicker, confounded us entirely, so that we rode up and down without seeing any Brack ; and the third Night coming on, and being extremely dark by reason of the Fog, we rested our selves, and refresh'd our tired Horses, in a Place where there was a good deal of Grass, but most Part withered, having our selves only some Tobacco to divert our Hunger and Thirst, which began to be violent, especially mine. The next Day (the Fog continuing) we resign'd our selves up to Chance, going sometimes to the right, sometimes to the left, meeting only with some Wild Goats that ran up and down by Thousands, which I thought at first a good Omen, expecting that we should soon meet the Keepers ; but my Guide quickly drew me out of this pleasing Error, by informing me that they were all wild, and so swift that they would outstrip any Horse or Grey-hound. In the mean while, he was so much concerned, and lamented in such moving Terms his having plunged me (tho' unwillingly) into this Misfortune, that he prevented all the Reproaches I might otherwise have cast upon him ; asking a thousand Pardons, and assuring me that a like Accident had never happen'd to him before, and showing his Sorrow for it, even so far as to shed Tears. The fourth Night being at last come, we pass'd it as we had done the preceding ones ; what most incommoded me, was Thirst, not having been able to find any Water between that Place and *Precop* : As for the *Tartar*, he neither complain'd of that nor Hunger, having been used to frequent Fasting when upon his Incursions. The fourth Day, which we might the better call so as deserving only that Name, the others having been made real Nights by

by the Fogs and Mists, the Sun shone out, and shewed us at the same time our Error, in having turned our Backs upon the *Black Sea*, where-as we should have kept along the Side of it as much as we could; hereupon facing about, we directed our Course by this auspicious Planet: But my Guide's Jade at last sunk under the Fatigue, without its being in his Power to make him stir, whatever Blows he struck him; upon which he took a sharp-pointed Knife, and open'd one of his Veins, and making the Law yield to Necessity, drank the Blood which came from it, and invited me to do the same; but how violent soever my Thirst might be, I found that my Aversion to that was yet stronger. In the mean while, we held a Council about the Danger we were in of dying with Hunger, and it was resolved to kill the Horse and eat him; and we were just going to put it in Execution, when I discover'd a Man riding about a Quarter of a Mile from us, whom I shew'd to my *Tartar*, and bid him hasten as fast as my Steed wou'd carry him to overtake him, whilst I wou'd wait for him sitting upon my Portmanteau, which I took off to ease the Creature. He did as I desired him, and returned in about half an Hour to tell me, with a Joy that seem'd to have made him already forget his past Hunger, Thirst and Fatigues, that this Man belonged to a *Keddi* of 2000 Horses, which had been at Grass five Months, and were about half a League from thence, and that he wou'd come in a Minute to conduct us thither; he did so accordingly, and mounting my Guide behind him, I placed my Portmanteau upon my Steed, and we rode directly to the *Keddi*, where the Master, or Chief of the Keepers, received us very civilly, and made us sit down by the Fire in his *Obba*. As my Thirst was excessive, and very troublesome, I begg'd him to give me some Water; he answer'd, that they had none but that of a Well his Men had dug, which was so bitter that it was not drinkable even for Horses. I ask'd him what use they made of it; and he said they wash'd themselves and boil'd their Victuals with it; and that they carried their Horses every five, six or eight Days to some River or Pond, which was sufficient in the Winter; at the same time he brought me a large Porringer full of Mares Milk fermented, such as I had so often drank amongst the *Noghaians*, which I emptied, my Drought making me think it the best Liquor that ever I had tasted in my Life; and my old Man, to whom they gave such another, acquitted himself of it as well. After this (that we might wait for Supper the more patiently) they brought us a great Piece of cold roasted Horse-Flesh, which we eat with all the Appetite that one may reasonably be supposed to have after fasting above three Days. Night approaching, we saw the Horses brought home to the *Keddi* by 12 Keepers; after which we went into the largest of their *Obbas*, where was a great Fire, and round about it three wooden Spits, with several large Pieces of Flesh, which were turned by three Men, and made a Triangle. One of the Keepers having taken a wild Goat with a Hare, I ask'd him how he did to catch it, my Guide having told me that no Courser or Grey-hound cou'd run so swift or so long; he answer'd, that they took a Grey-hound upon a Horse, and that when the Steed was weary with galloping, they let the Hound slip. Hereupon I began to examine this Creature, whose Hair was short and harsh; I found that it had over the Upper Jaw a sort of Pouch, in which one might put at least both ones Hands, and wherein were two Holes which served as Nostrils. I en-

quir'd if they were all made so, he said Yes; and added, that when they were running, this Pouch was fill'd with Wind, and seem'd by its Bigness to be a second Head. He uncased it himself, whilst another did the same by the Hare; and having drawn them, they cut them both in pieces, and made a second triangular Spitfull. The first Roast being ready, all the Keepers sat down upon the Ground upon a large piece of Felt, instead of a Carpet; and whereupon was the Head of the Company, who placed my Guide and me on each side him. We had pieces of Board, which served each both for a Table, Dish and Plates for three Persons; whereupon our Host distributed the Meat as he thought fit; which done we began to eat without speaking a Word; and the Master, my Guide and I concluded the Repast by each of us smoaking a Pipe of Tobacco, and the recital of our Misfortunes which my old *Tartar* made to our Landlord, and to which I added what happen'd to me upon coming from *Kesleve*. My Eyes beginning to grow heavy, and he perceiving it, had a Piece of Felt spread upon the Ground, on which I laid my Carpet and my Portmanteau, and slept as if I had been dead from Eight a-Clock at Night till Nine next Morning; insomuch, that I don't know that ever I eat or drank with so good an Appetite, or slept so soundly.

Having treated with the Landlord for fresh Horses, I thank'd him for his Civilities, and set out with a young *Tartar*, whom he sent with me to conduct me to *Bender* and bring them back. The old Man being fatigued staid there, and went to look for his Steed, which had been condemned to be eaten, but saved his Life by our lucky meeting with this *Keddi*. We reach'd *Calbournout* before Ten at Night, tho' distant Twenty Leagues from the Place of our Departure, as my new Guide inform'd me, and which I the easier believ'd, in that our Couriers seem'd rather to fly than run; and passing the *Nyester* early in the Morning, we only stopt at *Ozakow* as long as was necessary for me to make my Appearance before the *Bashaw*, and take Provision; and we continued our Journey thro' the Desarts without Interruption, but to rest our selves some Hours, which carried us in two Days more as far as *Bender*, being above Eighty Leagues from the Place of our setting out.

At my Arrival, which was on the 21st in the Morning, I alighted at Monsieur *Fabrice's*, who express'd himself glad to see me, after a longer Journey than I had mention'd to him, or indeed at first propos'd to my self; and my Friends at *Constantinople*, to whom I had not given the least Intimation of my Design before it was put in Execution, no sooner heard that I was gone into *Crim Tartary*, and carried so long without giving any Account of my self, than they gave me over for lost or sold. What wou'd they have thought had they known the whole? For People have such strange Ideas of these Nations, so little Knowledge of the Difference that Hospitality makes them put between those whom they look upon as Enemies, and carry off from their own Houses and sell, and those who commit themselves into their Hands, and trust to their Honesty as I did, that no body dares undertake to travel thither, but only upon the *Pegasus* of the Poets, or in Imagination; which is the Reason that we have so many fabulous Accounts even of *Crim Tartary*, which is so little distant from *Constantinople*. Whilst I'm upon this Topick, it may not be amiss to observe, that I've read a Book, printed at *London* in 1704,* which places

* This Book is The Present State of the Universe.

places the City of *Crim* * in the middle of the *Peninsula*, to which it gives Name; and says, that it is thought impregnable by reason of the Strength and Height of its Walls and Castle, and the Depth of its Ditches; adding, that it may be the same which a *French* Writer styles *Bacchisaraium*, where he resides: Whereas, first, the City now call'd *Crim* is a good Distance from the middle of the Country, and has no manner of Marks or Remains of such a Castle, or such a Force as 'tis represented to have, no more than *Bacchisarai*, which is about Twenty-five Leagues from it, as well as I cou'd judge by my Riding. Another Reason of so many Mistakes is, that several Travellers write too much upon Hear-say, and the Answers of the Natives to the Questions they ask them, thereby to avoid the Trouble of viewing themselves what they write; and these Inhabitants are generally too ignorant to give any faithful and just Account of what they see every Day, *i. e.* If one shou'd enquire of a *Crim Tartar*, if *Bacchisarai* is well fortify'd; he wou'd answer Yes, tho' this Town is not so much as walled in, without knowing what Fortifications are. 'Tis from such Hands as these that Mr. *Tavernier* (amongst others) has related so many groundless Stories.

* Article
of Tartary,
Pag. 120
and 121, the
fourth Edi-
tion.

C H A P. III.

Of the Peace confirm'd on Azoph being deliver'd to the Porte. Complaints of the King of Sweden against the English and Dutch Ambassador. His Swedish Majesty ask'd, whether he intended to stay or go Home? Gives no Answer, but demands One Thousand Purser for that Purpose. Twelve Hundred granted, but not to be deliver'd till his setting out. Got from the Hands of the Bashaw and Han. One Thousand more demanded by his Majesty's Order. His Envoy arrested on that Account. A Divan held thereupon. The Grand Seignior's Speech. Orders sent to Bender to press the King's Departure, the Convoy, Wagons, &c. being ready. His Majesty's Refusal. Attacked thereupon. His unparallel'd Defence, taken Prisoner, and sent to Demotica, &c.

I Found the King was still encamp'd on the same Spot where I had left him, under a thin cold Tent, where he contented himself with, or rather wou'd hardly suffer a little Fire, that was put therein with-
out

out his Order, altho' the Weather was very severe; the House which his Majesty had consented should be built for him of Stone, not being yet finished. 'Twas a long Pile of Buildings mark'd CC. Print XXXI. or rather of Halls and Chambers but one Story high, with a boarded Roof entirely plain, having only its Largeness and Convenience to recommend it, and being more like a Place of Conference for a Treaty of Peace than a Palace: However, I shall call it so on account of the Royal Guest for whom 'twas design'd, and whom it cost Seven Thousand Crowns of the Money I had brought from *Constantinople* before my Departure for *Circassia*.

Being one Afternoon, just after my Arrival, at Mr. *Grotbuser's*, where I had din'd, the King came in, and seeing me there yet in my *Tartar* Cloaths, smiled; whereupon I made a very low Bow, and offer'd to withdraw, out of Respect; but his Majesty very graciously order'd me to stay, and asked me several Questions concerning *Tartary*, to which I gave such Answers as seem'd not to displease his Majesty; till Mr. *Mullern* coming in with some Papers, I retired.

I lodged, as before my setting out, at Mr. *Fabrice's*, who has always shown me a great deal of Favour; and I found there a good Table and soft Bed, as usual. As I had almost during my whole Journey lain upon the Ground, except at *Bacchisarai*, *Cepherza Myrsa's*, *Kaffa*, *Jegnrikale*, &c. even on board the *Saick*, where my Carpet serv'd me for a Bed, this at Mr. *Fabrice's* being upon a *Sopha*, (for his House was furnish'd partly after the *Turkish*, and partly after the *Christian* Fashion) I could not sleep upon it for several Nights, and was obliged to lie upon the Floor on a Mat or Carpet; and it was but by degrees, and after a Week, that I could reconcile my self to Softness, or bring my self to sleep upon a Feather Bed.

I enquir'd concerning the State of the War against the *Muscovites*, and I heard that the *Turks* had made a great deal of Noise (as usual) about *Azoph* not being delivered to them at the Time agreed upon; that the *Grand Seignior* had even sent, or pretended to send, Circular Letters to the Generals of his Troops, commanding them to hold themselves in Readiness to march in the Spring; such Orders at least were publish'd, and the first Interpreter of his *Swedish* Majesty gave me a Copy of them, the Translation whereof is in the *Appendix*. But the *Muscovite* Hostages had conjured the *Sublime Porte* to pardon their Master's Delay in executing the Articles of the Treaty, swearing that his Intentions were sincere, and promising immediate Satisfaction; whereupon the Imperial Clemency took Place of Resentment, and Conferences of an Agreement were already enter'd upon, at which the *English* and *Dutch* Embassadors assisted.

The *Han* was at *Cauchan*, whither I went to pay my Respects, and return him Thanks for the good Usage and Civility I had receiv'd, by the Means of his Passport. He gave me a very gracious Reception; and seem'd, by the Questions he ask'd me, to hear with some Satisfaction the short Account I gave him of my Journey, and the Countries thro' which I pass'd, especially *Circassia*.

On the 27th of *April* a *Capigi Bashaw*, from *Constantinople*, demanded Audience of the King, and was admitted with a pretty deal of Ceremony; several *Swedish* Officers, who had been to receive him at his Lodgings, accompanying him thither, besides divers *Zchoadars* of the *Bashaws*, and his own Servants. He presented his Majesty with the *Grand Seignior's* Letter, concerning the Peace concluded with the *Czar*; which

which, with his Majesty's Answer, is in the *Appendix*. In the mean while, the *Swedish* Ministers had prepossess'd the King with the Opinion, that this Peace was confirm'd with the good Offices and Interposition of the *British* and *Dutch* Embassadors, Sir Robert Sutton and Count Colyear; whereupon his Majesty call'd them Voluntary Mediators: And some having added, that it was chiefly, if not wholly, owing to the Credit and Influence the first had over the Minds of the *Turks*; this Prince declared War in good earnest against him; highly resenting that a Minister of a Queen, who was a Relation, and in Amity with his Majesty, should presume to act so contrary to his Interest, without any Permission, or Orders from his Mistress. This War was carry'd on against his Excellency, both with the Tongue and Pen, complaining that he had been acting under-hand, and concerned himself with excusing the *Muscovites* staying in *Poland*; nay, they pretended to have some * Extracts of his Letters to *Vienna*, as Proofs of it; and wrote to *England*, that he had not only travers'd, by all imaginable Means, the Measures which his *Swedish* Majesty had enter'd into with the *Porte*, since his Arrival at *Bender*, in order to retrieve and re-establish his Affairs, but had thrown off the Mask, and openly espous'd his Enemies Interests. They added, that Baron Goltz, an Envoy and Creature of King *Augustus*, was continually with his Excellency, and that he was entirely influenced by the *Saxon* and *Muscovite* Money; in short, no less Satisfaction was insist'd on by his Majesty, than his being recalled and disgraced. Mr. *Fabrice*, having in vain endeavour'd to destroy these Impressions, sent word to his Excellency what was laid to his Charge: I took the Liberty to do the same; and he answered me, that he was pre-acquainted with it, and that Mr. *Funck* abstain'd even from the common Civility usual among Ministers of Potentates in Amity together; and that several *Swedish* Officers had left *Constantinople* without taking Notice of him, which, his Excellency added, is the only Wrong they can do me. As for the Extracts, these are his very Terms; "Mr. *Fabrice* writes me word, that the *Swedes* pretend to have some Extracts of my Letters, as Proofs of what they charge to my Account: I cannot believe they have any true Extracts of my Letters; but, granting it to be so, they must have a wonderful chymical Art, to extract Matters of that Consequence out of nothing; for I am sure I never wrote any thing tending that Way."

The Troops waiting at *Bender* for the King of *Sweden*'s Departure; having desired, by Mr. *Grothusen*, his Majesty to let them know whether his Royal Intention was to stay longer, or be going, that they might take their Measures accordingly; his Majesty returned them no Answer, but order'd his Minister at the *Porte* to solicit 1000 Purfes, or 500,000 Dollars to defray the Expences of his Journey, and a numerous Convoy, which was promis'd, and he obtain'd 1200 Purfes, as I shall observe in its Place. In the mean while, I made a Tour to *Constantinople*, and was inform'd from Sir Robert Sutton's own Mouth,

* They did not shew these Extracts, but I found them afterwards among some Papers I redeem'd from the Tartars after the Action at Warnitza, and there was nothing of that Nature in them. I found also, amongst the same, a Letter from Dr. Robinson, late Bishop of London, excusing Sir Robert Sutton's Proceedings, so far as saying, that he had Orders from the old Ministry to prevent the War with the Czar, and that he had none contrary from the new one, but would have some; and I believe his Excellency never had any Reproaches from either.

that the King of *Sweden* did him more Honour than he deserv'd, in calling him Mediator ; that he was indeed invited to be present at the Conferences, and that the *Dutch* Ambassador was sent for also, and they both assisted at the *Divan*; but that they were rather as Witnesses of the Peace being confirm'd, than any thing else ; and that if the *Czar* had surrender'd *Azoph* by the Time promised, those Conferences had never been held : That altho' they form'd new Pretensions on that Account, as on *Kiow*, Baron *Shaffirof* had no sooner engaged for the punctual Performance of the Articles stipulated at the *Pruth*, than they receded from them, seeming perswaded by the Reasons he gave them, viz. that 'twas not a thing to be proposed to his *Czarian* Majesty, to deliver up a Place as dear to the *Muscovites*, on Account of Numbers of their Saints buried there, and rever'd there, as *Mecca* is to the *Mahometans* ; and that for *Poland*, few or no *Russians* remain'd there that were in the *Czar's* Service.

I went to pay a Visit to Dr. *Tinone*, a very good Friend of mine, and a Gentleman of Merit and Learning, who had study'd some time at the University of *Oxford*. As he was reviving the Practice of inoculating the Small-Pox, which had formerly been in Vogue in *Greece*, and was then almost disused there, he heard with Satisfaction an Account of what I had observ'd in *Circassia*, in that Respect ; and a few Days afterwards he presented me with the Discourse upon that Head in the *Appendix*. Having finish'd some little Business at *Constantinople*, I returned to *Bender*, towards the latter End of *September*, and found there the Brigadier *Eosander*, who was come with Dispatches from the King of *Prussia* to his *Swedish* Majesty, who receiv'd him very graciously. 'Twas whisper'd, that he was not only intrusted with Instructions from the former, but also from King *Augustus*, who courted the Friendship of the *Swedish* Monarch upon any Terms but renouncing the Crown of *Poland* ; and that his Orders were to enter upon the Negotiation of a Triple Alliance between those three Potentates, by Virtue of which King *Augustus* should remain upon the Throne, and the King of *Prussia* should have *Stetin* sequester'd into his Hands, with some other Conditions not publish'd ; which being agreed on, these two Princes engaged themselves to preserve to his *Swedish* Majesty his *German* Territories, and to enable him, by their Assistance, to recover *Ingria* and *Narva* : There is in the *Appendix* an Extract of a Letter of Count *Welling's* to the Chancellor Mr. *Mullern* thereupon.

As the *Swedish* Court continued their Exclamations and Invectives against Sir *Robert Sutton*, I found them so full of Prepossession, that I could not forbear telling them what I had heard from his Excellency's own Mouth, viz. that he had rather been a Witness of the Conferences between the *Turks* and *Muscovites*, than any thing else ; they answer'd me, that I might say so indeed of the *Dutch* Ambassador, tho' he had been well paid for the small Share he had in the Ratification of it, as witness * *Taganrok*. I reply'd, that 'twas then *Sweden's* Misfortune that the Interests of *Christian* Potentates were so contrary, that to serve one was to disserve another ; and that the *English* Ambassador might think it for the common Interest of the Allies, to have an End put to the War between the *Czar* and the *Porte*, which the *French*

* A Palace of the Dutch Ambassador burnt down in 1700, which his Excellency was then building, and which the French and Swedes call'd *Taganrok*, giving out it was at the *Czar's* Expence.

Minister had been at so much Pains to kindle; and I quoted, to prove this, one of his Letters, before-mentioned, to the *Marquis de Torcy*, which had been intercepted in a *French Vessel*, taken by an *English Captain*, who begg'd me to interpret it to him in *Canea*. I added, that the *English* Ambassador might have had Orders from his Court for what he had done; as I supposed that of *France* had from his, for acting contrary.

Mr. *Mullern*, to let me see that the Court of *London* did not approve of his Excellency's Proceedings, carry'd me one Day into his Cabinet, to shew me a Letter from Count *Gyllemborg*, the *Swedish* Minister at that Court, wherein he inform'd him, that they were so displeased at hearing that he had given the King his Master such Grounds of Complaint, that they would give his Majesty the Satisfaction he desired, and that he would be infallibly recalled. Count *Welling*, being intent upon Affairs of more Importance to the Crown of *Sweden*, than that of obtaining the Satisfaction which was absolutely insisted upon, of that Ambassador, an Occasion offering, excused the Crime wherewith they at *Bender* charged him, viz. the receiving Presents of the *Czar*, as may be seen by the Extract in the *Appendix*, of his Answer to Mr. *Mullern* about a Royal Commission for that Court.

In the mean while, the Time granted the *Czar* for evacuating *Poland* being expired, different Reports were made to the *Han* and the *Porte*, that some *Muscovite* Troops still remained there, and the others were actually on their March for *Pomerania*. The *Poles* at *Bender*, who pretended to have very good Intelligence, affirm'd it; and the *Swedish* Court there did not fail to represent, that the *Czar's* Design was to oppose the King's Passage; and to add, in a Memorial which they drew up thereupon, that all the Treaties made and confirmed, were only sworn to on the *Czar's* Side, with an Intent to amuse the *Porte*, and gain Time to deceive them the more securely: That King *Augustus*, who encouraged him to it, and sympathized with him in keeping his Word no longer than 'twas for his Interest, had long entertain'd a Thought of rendring not only the Crown of *Poland* hereditary in his Family, but had yet more distant Views upon the Empire of *Germany*, in Case the Emperor should die without Heirs; and that these Views, which were concerted with the *Czar*, who had also Designs of his own upon the Eastern Empire, render'd him his inseparable Ally, and consequently an Enemy to the *Porte*, whatever good Face he put upon it: That his Envoy at *Constantinople* was a *Saxon*, and that Mr. *Komentowsky*,* who was upon the Road to the *Sublime Porte* as Ambassador of the Republick, was one of his Creatures; thereupon the *Polish* Noblemen both gave the *Han*, and sent to *Constantinople*, a Protestation sign'd by their own Hands, against this pretended Embassy, (as they call'd it) not having given their Consent to it, tho' they were some of the principal Members of the Diet.

Upon these Reports and Representations, the *Porte* sent an *Aga* into *Poland*, to see if these Informations were true, and if there were really some *Muscovite* Troops yet in that Republick, contrary to the first Article of the Treaty of *Pruth*. The Lieutenant-Colonel, Mr. *Ansvidsen*, who had learnt the *Turkish* Tongue since his Arrival in the *Ottoman* Territories, and spoke it pretty well, and Mr. *Clinkonstrom*, one of his Majesty's Secretaries, who understood *Polish* perfectly, (so as they cou'd together make a good Interpreter for the *Aga*, if he had

* He was Palatine of *Maffovia*.

wanted one,) were allow'd to follow him as two of the principal Officers of his Retinue, in *Tehoadar's* Habits, in order to give him the necessary Directions in the Enquiry he was to make in *Poland*, which Country they both knew very well, having been there a good while before. A noble *Tartar*, call'd *Cepherza Myrsa*, of whom I have spoken in my Passage thro' his Country, was also sent by the *Han* on the same Account, but kept separate, with his Train.

In the mean while, Mr. *Eosander* set out from *Bender*, better satisfied with the Civilities he had received, and the Respect shown him, than with the Success of his Negotiations; and the *Swedish* Chancery receiv'd Letters from Count *Gyllemborg*, confirming the Promise that had been made him (as he said) of recalling Sir *Robert Sutton*, and the favourable Dispositions of the *Tory* Ministry to his *Swedish* Majesty. They gave also an Account of the Scene's being changed with respect to the War in *Flanders*, and of the new Generalissimo the Duke of *Ormond's* having received Orders from the Queen his Mistress, to avoid any Engagement with the *French*, and of the fatal Blow given to the Allies, by his separating from them, whereby *France* would shortly be in a Condition to give real Demonstrations of her Friendship to *Sweden*. They added, that a Peace was under-hand resolv'd on between the two Courts; that my Lord *Bolingbroke* was actually at *Paris*; and that the irreparable Loss of the *Hollanders*, who had suffer'd the most, would oblige them to do the same: That Conferences were already held at *Utrecht*, and that the Earl of *Strafford* and Bishop of *Bristol* were Plenipotentiaries from the *British* Court: That the Views of the *Tory* Ministry were the same as the *Whigs* pretended to have, *viz.* to hold the Balance of *Europe*, tho' they endeavour'd to compass them by a quite different, and much shorter Way, that is, by a Peace; alledging that *Charles III.* King of *Spain*, succeeding to the Empire, made it lean too much on his Side. The Names, *Tory* and *Whig*, so often quoted in these Letters, created a Desire in the King of knowing their Origin; to which Intent he asked it of Mr. *Fabrice*, who not being able fully to inform him, had recourse to me; and I, being as little able, wrote about it to an *English* Gentleman at *Constantinople*, who sent me the Account in the *Appendix*, which having received and translated, his Majesty seem'd very well pleased with.

The *Aga*, with Messieurs *Arfvidson* and *Clinkonstrom* being returned, and having confirmed the Report above-mentioned, that there actually were Troops remaining in *Poland*, the *Porte* declared War anew, for the third Time, against the *Muscovites*, or at least made a great deal of Noise about it, and pretended as if they wou'd. The *Visier Yussuff Bashaw* was depos'd, and *Soliman Aga*, a Man without Judgment or Experience, was put in his Place, or, to speak properly, was the Cloak under which *Ali Bashaw*, the *Grand Seignior's* Favourite and Son in Law, began to govern openly, the *Sultan* and new *Visier* setting their Names to whatever he thought fit.

The *Muscovites* were forced to make another Retreat to the Seven Towers, even to an Express of the *Czar's*; and Baron *Goltz*, who was at *Constantinople*, was sent to *Adrianople* to keep Company with the *Palatine* of *Massovia*, the new Ambassador from the Republick, who was but just arrived there, and was arrested, with his numerous Retinue of 300 Men. In the mean while, the *Grand Seignior*, who persisted in his Resolution of sending the King of *Sweden* away in the Win-

ter, under Favour of the Ice, for the Convenience of the *Tartars*, dispatched Orders to the *Bashaw* of *Bender*, to tell him to get ready by that Time : To which his Majesty answered, that his Highness had made him hope in his Letter of *April*, that he would furnish him with all Necessaries for his Journey ; and that he had insinuated from time to time to the *Porte*, that 1000 Purfes, or 500000 Crowns, wou'd be absolutely requisite in order to prepare for it ; whereupon the *Bashaw* said he would write to the *Porte* about it, which he did accordingly.

The News of the War's being declared, caused, as may be imagin'd, a great deal of Joy at *Bender* ; the *Han* went in Person to give the King an Account of it, after having sent him the following Presents by a *Myrsa*. 1. A fine Plume of Heron's Feathers, with a Rose of a large Balafs Ruby set round with small Diamonds. 2. A Sabre and a *Circassian* Knife, embellished with Turquoises and little Rubies. 3. A Bow with a Quiver of Arrows, enriched with Pearls and other precious Stones, which had been given the *Han* by the late General *Mazeppa*. 4. A fine *Circassian* Horse of an *Isabella* Colour, with magnificent Furniture, after the manner of the Country ; the Bridle and Portal being cover'd over with little Pieces of Silver gilt, exquisitely inlaid, and the Saddle with Crimson Velvet and a Caparison of green Cloth, each of them set off with rich Gold Embroidery. The King gave him such a Reception, as show'd how agreeable the News was to his Majesty ; and the Discourse turning upon the Journey, the *Han* said, that with God's Assistance, if his Majesty pleased to prepare himself for it, they wou'd set forwards with the first hard Frost, in order to have all the Winter before them, that being the most convenient Season for the *Tartars*. The King answer'd, that he only waited for the Money he had demanded for that Intent, and that he had given Orders to his Envoy to solicit for it at the *Porte*. The *Han* promised to write about it next Day ; and after some Protestations of Friendship on both sides, he retired, being accompanied to his Palace by several *Swedish* Officers.

In the mean while, the *Palatine* of *Massovia*, who was very well used, bating his Confinement, offer'd Hostages in the Republick's Name, of which he wou'd be himself one, as a Security for the King of *Sweden's* Passage through *Poland*, where he promised they shou'd pay him all the Honours that his Majesty cou'd reasonably expect, from a Nation reduced to such a low Ebb by the Misfortune of War, and their intestine Broils, provided he wou'd pass as a Friend ; and that Six Hundred Noble *Poles* wou'd receive and compliment him upon their Frontiers, and shou'd go before him during the whole Road, 'till his Majesty shou'd arrive upon his own Territories, to order and procure proper Lodgings and Refreshments for him and his Retinue. On the other hand, altho' the *Sublime Porte* seem'd in a great Commotion, made great Outcries, and swore in Publick to reduce by her numerous, invincible and always victorious Troops, &c. the perfidious and perjur'd *Czar* to such a Condition, as that he shou'd not be able either to maintain or send any Forces into *Poland* for the future, she gave his Friends secretly to understand, that she was not entirely inflexible if that Prince wou'd submit to Reason ; but they always flattered themselves with the Hopes of the first at *Bender*, and were not at all diffident of the second ; tho' they might observe, but too visibly, that neither Honour, Glory nor Generosity make the *Porte* act in good earnest ; but that her own proper Interest alone is the Life and

Spring of her most considerable Motions. Tho' *Baltagi Mehemet* was not Master enough of that profound Dissimulation that generally covers all their Designs, to hide from the King or the Publick that they did not undertake the War, or conclude the Peace for his Interest, leaving him only the Liberty by an Article of the Treaty at *Pruth*, to make one for himself; (for, as the Oracle of the Mussulmans was then made to say, the Law neither allows them to make Peace or War for Infidels;) Tho' they might judge of the Indifference of the second Peacemakers, (or the Confirmers of the same Treaty) with respect to gaining Conquests over the *Muscovites*, when they were advised to demand *Kiow*, by their Answer, *What shou'd we do with it? It would be a great Expence to the Sublime Porte without any Advantage*: Tho', I say, they saw and heard all this, yet their Eyes were not open'd; and it seem'd as if they had been enchanted by the *Turks*, and were in love with their Enchantment. They had been deceived twice on the same Head, and yet wou'd not suspect it a third time, not even tho' they were caution'd; and I received the Letter in the *Appendix* to that effect from a Person who knew the *Porte* well.

On the 10th of *November*, the *Buiuk Immraour* arriv'd with the Supply granted to the King; and on the 15th the *Han* received the Letter in the *Appendix* from the *Grand Seignior* concerning his Majesty's Departure with Presents; and the *Bashaw* another on the same Subject without Presents. On the same Day Count *John Sapieha*, who had refused to sign the Protestation of the *Polish* Noblemen against the Embassy of the *Palatine* of *Massovia*, was accused in the *Polish* Council of War of abandoning King *Stanislaus*, and disobeying his Orders, (which were to join his Troops with those of the *Palatine* of *Kiow*, in order to enter into *Saxony*, when his *Polish* Majesty was on his March with General *Crassaw* for *Pomerania*) and of delivering up his Men to the Enemy. He excused himself upon the Impossibility, as things stood, of doing otherwise. This Count being as much dissatisfied with the Court of *Bender*, as they were with him, demanded Audience next Day of his Majesty, who granted it him at Mr. *Mullern's*. He complain'd there, that contrary to the Laws of *Poland*, and the Right of his Family, King *Stanislaus*, at his *Swedish* Majesty's Request, had taken from him the Post of Great General of *Lithuania*, and given it to the mortal Enemy of his Family Prince *Wisnowisky*. The King, or rather Mr. *Mullern* answer'd, That he must only thank himself for it, for having quitted the side of King *Stanislaus*; which he denying, or giving the same Reason as the Day before, his Majesty very graciously promised to make him amends for it the first Opportunity that should offer, provided he remain'd faithful to King *Stanislaus*; but he not being contented with this Promise, demanded a Passport, which was refused him.

The next Day the *Han* and the *Bashaw*, having conferr'd together upon the Contents of their Letters, went together to the King, to communicate the purport of them to him; and his Majesty seem'd satisfied therewith, and promised to give Orders to prepare for his Journey. On the same Day, a *Janizary* having kill'd a *Moldavian* at *Killia*,* his Widow complain'd of it with Tears to the *Bashaw* of *Bender*, who order'd him to be seiz'd, and condemn'd him to be poniarded by herself, which she executed with a great deal of Resolution.

On the 17th, a young Son of the *Han's*, about Five Years old, was brought

* The young Moldavian Women are dress'd as the Fig. (6) in the Print XIX.

brought to the King, and presented him with a young *Circassian* Horse ; and both his Majesty, and his Attendants by his Orders, caress'd him very much, and he was waited on back by several *Swedish* Officers. On the 18th, Mr. *Grothusen* went to visit him from the King, and presented him with a Gold Watch set with precious Stones.

On the 21st, I went to pay my Respects to *Sultan Galga*, who receiv'd me very affably ; and more familiarly than I durst have hoped for from a Person of his Rank, if I had not known him before. He ask'd me several Questions, not of Things so remote as the *Han* his Father had done, but only concerning the Places I had passed through since my last waiting on him. He enquir'd whether the King of *Sweden* was preparing to depart ? I answer'd, that I believ'd he was, at least that his People talk'd of it every Day. He ask'd, if they were satisfied with leaving *Turkey* ? I said, that I did not doubt but their first Departure from a Place wherein they had receiv'd so many Civilities, wou'd cost them some Sighs ; but that the Love of their Country, which most of them had not seen in 14 or 15 Years, wou'd comfort them for it.

The Money promised for the King's Departure being arrived at *Bender*, (as I have said) and several Days elapsed without any mention made to the Court of delivering it, and their present Occasions being very urgent, besides considerable Debts which had been contracted, Mr. *Mullern* and Mr. *Grothusen* waited on the *Bashaw*, in whose keeping they were inform'd it was, and demanded it in the King's Name. The *Bashaw* refused it, alledging that he had positive Orders from the *Grand Seignior* not to deliver it 'till the Moment of his Majesty's Departure ; but Mr. *Grothusen*, who had an extraordinary Ascendant over him, was not dishearten'd ; told him, that the Money was absolutely requisite to prepare for his Departure : The *Bashaw* answer'd, that the *Grand Seignior* furnished every thing that was necessary for that, as Waggon, Provisions, &c. together with the Convoy. Mr. *Grothusen* reply'd, that there were a thousand things belonging to the *Franks* Equipage, which the *Turks* cou'd not make, and which must be bought and made by the *Swedes* themselves ; and that he might observe that his Highness's Orders proceed-ed only from a fear that the King wou'd not go, and wou'd stay at *Bender* as long as it lasted ; but that on the contrary, the giving it was the way to put him in a Condition to go sooner : That, as for the rest, it signified nothing to his Highness, what Use his Majesty made of the Money design'd for his Departure, provided he went at the time agreed on, which was the first hard Frost. The *Bashaw*, being perswaded by such Arguments, and the Hopes of being paid 37000 Crowns which he had lent to Mr. *Grothusen*, said, that tho' he was satisfied with delivering the Money upon these Assurances, he cou'd not do it without the *Han's* Consent, and promised to do his utmost Endeavours to obtain it, and to wait upon him the next Day for that purpose ; advising Mr. *Grothusen* to meet, or rather to be there before-hand, and make the first Overture of it to his *Tartarian* Highness. Mr. *Grothusen* accordingly went thither alone ; and the *Bashaw* dropping in, as if by Chance, help'd to induce him to it ; whereupon the *Han* agreed to it, having first required the following Points, 1. That his Majesty shou'd set out for *Sweden* with all his People, as soon as his Highness shou'd fix the Time and Day ; that he shou'd neither directly nor indirectly

rectly attempt to take Advantage of the favourable Dispositions that several *Poles* might retain for him, by soliciting them himself, or having them solicited, to any Tumult or Revolution during his whole Passage ; in a word, that he shou'd pass as a Friend. 2. That, without pretending to support King *Stanislaus*, he shou'd leave the Republick at liberty to chuse their Sovereign, if they were not satisfied with him then reigning, without attempting to influence their Election by Force of Arms. I am uncertain whether Mr. *Grotbussen* propounded these Points to his Majesty in the same manner they were express'd to him ; but I know that *Sultan Galga*, in a second Visit I made him, declared (by way of complaining of Mr. *Grotbussen*, as having deceiv'd his Father,) that he had sworn, and even brought Assurances in Writing from the King, (which I hardly believed) that he wou'd begin his Journey at the appointed Time, and not excite any Commotion in *Poland* ; which satisfying the *Han*, his Father, the Money was deliver'd. However it was, the Money was put into the Hands of the *Swedes*, and was soon gone, greatest Part of it being given to the *Poles* ; and the King sent Orders to Mr. *Funk*, his Envoy, to demand 1000 Purfes more of the *Porte*. In the mean while, it beginning to freeze pretty hard, the *Bashaw* waited on his Majesty the 7th of *December*, to represent to him that the Frost being come, it was time to think of his Journey, and desired him to prepare for it ; and Mr. *Grotbussen* answer'd for the King, *Don't you trouble your self, we shall be ready as soon as is necessary*. Some Days after, the Frost increasing in such a manner, that 'twas believed to set in for Winter ; and the *Tartars*, who don't love to be long in one Place, (especially where there is no Plunder) beginning to grow impatient at their Stay near *Bender* ; *Sultan Galga* went on the 10th, in his Father's Name, to tell the King that he must set out on the 15th ; but his Majesty gave him no other Reply, but that he wou'd send to the *Han* about it ; whereupon the Prince contenting himself with begging him not to defer it, retir'd after having made a very short Visit. The 11th, Mr. *Grotbussen* wrote a Letter to the *Han* in his Master's Name, which I never had ; but the Contents of it seem to have been not at all satisfactory by the *Han's* Answer, and a Letter to Mr. *Mullern* in the *Appendix*, which import, that if the King did not depart as a Friend, according to his Word given to the *Grand Seignior*, that he was apprehensive lest he shou'd be obliged to it *Nolens Volens* ; and his Majesty (as appears by his Letter to the *Han* of the 13th) answer'd it in such a manner, as gave him to understand that if they attempted it, he was resolv'd to repel Force by Force. The *Han* having inform'd the *Bashaw* of these his Sentiments and Dispositions, and consequently of the Danger which they had incurred by delivering the Money before the Time ; the *Bashaw* alarm'd, as may be well imagin'd, went to his Majesty to reiterate his Prayers and Instances for his Departure ; but he expressly told him that he was not ready, but that he wanted another Supply, and had given Orders to his Envoy to demand it, and waited for it in order to his setting out for *Sweden*. The *Bashaw* judging himself lost at this Declaration, sigh'd and cry'd out with a loud Voice, " It will cost me my Head for having deliver'd " the Twelve Hundred Purfes contrary to the Orders of the Emperor " my Master ; and I fear your Majesty will meet with some Violence " if you don't depart. Be in no Apprehension on my Account, says " the King, nor on your own ; I'll take care to justify your Conduct " in

“ in this Respect to his Highness. But (reply'd the *Bashaw*) 'tis not
 “ the *Sultan's* Custom to hear Faults justify'd, but to punish them,
 “ even if one is only accused or suspected; the best Justification (which
 “ I beg your Majesty to grant me) is to depart, as the only thing that
 “ can save my Head.” The King repeating it again, that he would
 not go till he was ready, and had receiv'd the 1000 Purfes, which he
 wanted for that Purpose; and that if the *Porte* would not grant them,
 he must borrow them of some foreign Merchants, or wait their coming
 from his own Territories; the *Bashaw* retir'd, and went to *Cauchan*,
 where the *Han* then was, to give him Notice of this terrible and un-
 expected Declaration, and (which was still worse) of the farther De-
 mand of 1000 Purfes; by which, their Disobedience of their Master's
 Orders would be discovered, in having deliver'd the others. The *Han*
 believ'd himself in no less Danger than the *Bashaw*, at least as to his
 Dignity and Liberty; for (as I have already observ'd) the *Grand Seig-
 nior* seldom or never puts the *Hans* to Death. After some Reproaches
 cast by the *Han* on the *Bashaw*, for his Easiness in suffering himself to
 be perswaded, and the Pains he took to induce him to deliver the Mo-
 ney, contrary to the *Grand Seignior's* Order, seeing that what was done
 could not be undone, they agreed to write to his Highness to accuse
 themselves, and at the same time endeavour to excuse their Impru-
 dence as much as possible, by their good Intentions; alledging the
 same Reasons that Mr. *Grothusen* had given them, and his positively
 assuring them, in the King's Name, of his speedy Departure. Here-
 upon each of them dispatch'd an Express, which reach'd *Adrianople*,
 where the *Grand Seignior* then was, in five Days, tho' it is distant
 thence almost 150 Leagues.

During these Transactions at *Bender*, the *Swedish* Minister was ar-
 rested at *Adrianople*, whither he had follow'd the *Sultan*, for having de-
 manded 1000 Purfes more of the *Porte*; and his Highness having re-
 ceiv'd the Letters from the *Han* and *Bashaw*, did not seem to take any
 Notice of their Faults, nor their Excuses; but, ordering a full *Divan*
 to be assembled, he spoke to them almost in these Terms:

“ I have hardly had any Knowledge of the King of *Sweden*, but
 “ by his Misfortune at *Pultowa*, which threw him upon my Territo-
 “ ries: I never believed, nor do I yet think, that I stand in need of
 “ him, or have any Reason to love or fear him; but, without con-
 “ sulting any thing but the Hospitality of a *Mussulman*, and my Im-
 “ perial Generosity, (accustom'd to shower down an abundant and pre-
 “ cious Dew of Favours both upon great and small, whether my own
 “ Subjects or Strangers,) I have receiv'd, entertain'd, and maintain'd
 “ him almost three Years and a half, with about 6000 Persons, as well
 “ *Swedes* as *Cossacks* and *Poles*, who have follow'd his Fortune. I have
 “ loaded him with Favours and Benefits; I gave him a little after his
 “ Arrival 400 Purfes for particular Occasions, which he made known
 “ to me, besides a Purse of Money * *per Diem*, which I order'd my *Se-
 “ raskier* at *Bender* to furnish him, for his Table; allowing his Officers,
 “ Ministers, and Interpreters, Sums proportionable to their Rank and
 “ Quality, for their Subsistence; with a good Quantity of Provisions
 “ in Kind for them and their Horses. Some Weeks since he demand-
 “ ed by his Minister 1000 Purfes, to defray the Charges of his re-
 “ turning to his own Dominions; I granted him 1200, with
 “ a numerous Convoy, which is ready at *Bender*, with all o-

* One Purse 500 Rix Dollars.

“ ther

“ ther Things necessary for such a Journey, as Waggon, Hor-
 “ ses, &c.

“ Now after having received 200 Purfes more than was de-
 “ manded, when all is in Readiness on the Part of my *Sublime Porte*,
 “ and the Time agreed upon for his Departure is come, he declares
 “ that he is not prepar'd for setting out, and that he will not go with-
 “ out another 1000 Purfes.

“ If (after having notify'd to him that 'tis my Imperial Pleasure he
 “ should depart instantly, according to his Word given) he should re-
 “ fuse, can any of the *Christian* Potentates, the common Friends both
 “ of *Sweden* and my *Sublime Porte*, think it strange or unjust in me to
 “ compel him by Force? The whole *Divan* unanimously answered,
 “ No, unless they are themselves unjust.

“ But (continued his Highness) if he should happen to persist in
 “ his Refusal, even to opposing Force to Force, and should chance to
 “ be kill'd, can these same *Christian* Princes, with any Reason, accuse
 “ my *Sublime Porte*, of having violated the Laws of Hospitality, or
 “ doing any thing but what the Ingratitude of this Prince forced me to?

The whole *Divan* again answered, No. Upon which the *Grand Seignior*
 demanded the *Muphti's* **Fetfa*, which he gave; and on the 23d his High-
 ness dispatch'd Orders to the *Han* and *Bashaw*, the Substance of which
 consisted only in some Threats and Instructions to take such Measures
 as were moderate enough, and yet might oblige the King to depart in
 Friendship: As first, to notify to him, in the *Sultan's* Name, that 'twas
 his Pleasure he should go; and, if he persisted in his Refusal, to let
 him know, that they would proceed from Entreaty to Force; then
 immediately to take away his *Thaim*; and lastly, to deprive him of
 the Guard of *Janizaries*, which were allow'd to attend him for his
 Honour, and the Safety of his Person; and surround and inclose his
 Quarters with Troops to hinder any Provisions from being brought in.
 During these Transactions, the Chancellor Mr. *Mullern* receiv'd the
 Letter in the *Appendix*, from Count *Welling*.

The two Expresses return'd to *Cauchan* the 28th of *December*, but
 we did not immediately know upon what Errand they had been sent.
 On the 29th the *Buiuk Immraour*, or Master of the Horse to the *Otto-*
man Emperor, arrived in the Neighbourhood of *Bender*, where the
Tartar Han was encamped, to whom he brought the Orders afore-
 mentioned from his Master, concerning the Departure of the King of
Sweden, and spent the Night with him. The 30th he came to *Bender*
 to the *Bashaw*, for whom he had likewise Instructions to the same
 Effect. On the 1st of *January* the *Han* took up his Lodging in the
 Houses of the Town of *Bender*, and held a sort of *Divan*, at which
 the *Buiuk Immraour* and the *Chiaous Bashaw* assisted. The latter had
 some Days before brought Orders of the like Nature, but (as they
 said) not so urgent as those above-mentioned. Having consulted to-
 gether, it was resolved that the *Bashaw* should wait upon his Majesty,
 and let him see the *Grand Seignior's* Orders, in which there was a Post-
 script address'd to the King himself; importing, that, without seeking
 any more Delays, he should take the Advantage of the Season, and set
 out freely, and in Safety, and the Convoy of *Tartars* was ready, (which
 had been agreed on to guard him home,) unless he had a Mind, by
 inventing Pretences for his Stay, to have other Measures taken. On

* *Fetfa*, the *Muphti's* Sentence, declaring a Thing to be just, or according to the Law,
 which I have explained in the First Volume.

the 2d of *January*, 1712-13, the *Bashaw*, without any Attendants, went to his Majesty, and represented to him, that the Season which was most convenient for the *Tartars*, being now come, it was the *Grand Seignior's* Intention that he should not let it slip; adding withal, that his Highness had been so surpriz'd at hearing that his Majesty would not go according to his Promise, after having received 200 Purfes more than had at first been asked for his Journey, and at his desiring 1000 Purfes more of the *Porte*, that he had ordered his Envoy to be arrested, who had made the Demand; he conjured therefore his Majesty, that he would go peaceably, and not reduce the *Sublime Porte* to the Necessity of using open Violence. At the Word *Violence*, the King turn'd his Back upon him, saying; "I am not yet ready, I neither fear your Menaces, nor their Effects; and if I am attacked, I will defend my self." The *Bashaw* did not know what to answer, but retired very much confounded. An Hour (at most) after this, the Guard of *Janizaries* were taken from him, whereupon his Majesty gave Orders to his People to be under Arms, barricade his Palace, and make a sort of a Parapet, at V, VI, in the Plan XXXI. at which he work'd himself, and (the Frost not allowing them to dig the Earth, and raise it in due Form) they made it of Waggon, Tables, Chairs, and the Dung and Ruins of Stables, which they pull'd down for that Purpose. Next Day, his Majesty being informed that the *Thaim* was with-held, and that the *Bashaw* had refused to give the customary Money and Provisions to any of the *Swedes*, (but that he continued to allow it the *Cossacks*, and most Part of the *Poles*, who had ranged themselves under the Protection of the *Porte*, and the *Han*) had 19 fine Steeds fetch'd out of his Stable, which had been last presented him, and commanded them to be shot near a little Wood, distant a little more than a Cannon's Shot from the *Royal Camp*, saying, *I will neither have their Provisions nor their Horses*. Those which were design'd for his Majesty's Journey were kept in the neighbouring Villages at the *Sultan's* Expence. Lieutenant-General *Hordb*, (who declared for Resistance with a View (as was said) of supplanting the Royal Favourite Mr. *Grothusen*, who was against it, or at least did not encourage it) kill'd also all his, except two or three. His Example was neither follow'd in this Respect, nor the other, there being Provision still left in the King's Quarters to keep what they had for eight Days. The Day after the King of *Sweden*, who before this Threatning would never enter *Bender*, rode through that Town, as it were in Defiance to the *Bashaw*, and against the Remonstrances of some of his People.

In the mean while the *Tartars*, who advanced by Platoons, and hem'd in the little *Royal Camp*, were not sorry to see these Horses shot, but made very good Cheer of them, they not being usually any better provided than Knights Errants. The *Han* and *Bashaw*, the sooner to reduce his Majesty to consent to go, forbid the Inhabitants of *Bender*, or the Parts adjacent, furnishing the *Swedes* with any Provisions, even for their Money; but this Prohibition did not hinder several *Janizaries* and *Tartars* (who were well paid for it) from doing it, tho' they were the Persons order'd to prevent it. Any *Swedes* that were found straying, were seiz'd and clap'd into the Prisons at *Bender*, about an *English* Mile and an half from the little Village *Warnitza*, on the same Side of the *Nyester*, where they had their Quarters; and I, going out on the 4th from mine, which were in another little Village be-

tween that and the Town, to demand Safeguards of the *Han* and *Bashaw* for Mr. *Fabrice*, Mr. *Jefferies*, and my self, was also arrested on the Way by some *Tartars*. I told them that I was an *English* Subject, and in Amity with the *Porte*, and that they ought not to confound me with the *Swedes*, on Account of their Differences with them, in which I had no Hand, and demanded to be conducted to the *Han*, to whom I was going, which they did; and that Prince (whom I had before waited on several Times, and who the Year before had given me his Passport for my Journey into *Tartary*) recollected me immediately, and received me very graciously. I informed him of the Reason of my coming, and he granted my Request, on Condition that we should not procure any Provisions for the *Swedes*; and gave Orders to two *Tartars* to go instantly to Mr. *Jefferies* and *Fabrice's* Quarters at *Lipkamahanne*, the same Village where I lodged, and to a third to accompany me wherever I would. As soon as these Gentlemen had their Safeguards, they came to the *Han's*, where they found me still drinking Coffee with a *Myrsa*, or noble *Tartar*, call'd *Cepherza Myrsa*, the same whom I was acquainted with in *Crim Tartary*, and the *Han* gave them the same Charge as he had me, and pray'd them to use their utmost Credit and Eloquence to persuade the King not to drive Things to Extremities, which must be fatal to him; and they promised they would do their Endeavours. From thence we went to visit the *Bashaw*, who granted us three *Janizaries* as other Safeguards, and gave us the same Charge as the *Han*.

The next Day we made a Visit to the *Buink Immraour*, and *Chiaous Bashaw*, who had brought his Highness's Orders, and were (as was whispered) commanded to have an Eye upon the Conduct of the *Han* and *Bashaw*, who ('twas said) were suspected at *Adrianople* of being won over by the *Swedes*, and of having too much Complaisance, and being too easy with them. They received us very civilly, and begg'd Mr. *Jefferies* and *Fabrice* also, to try to dispose his Majesty to depart as a Friend, and as soon as possible: Mr. *Jefferies* made no Answer; but Mr. *Fabrice* reply'd, that he had already attempted it, but had Reason to believe that his Majesty had some Distrust upon his Spirits, and had taken it into his Head, that their Design in pressing him so to depart, was to deliver him up into his Enemy's Hands. Upon hearing this, both of them laid one Hand upon their Heads, and the other on their Beards, and swore by each of them, (which is one of the most solemn Ways of Asseveration among the *Turks*) that they were ready to give both to the King, and them who were foreign Ministers, a *Manifesto*, or Declaration in Writing, sign'd by themselves, and to which they would get the *Han* and *Bashaw* to set their Hands, or any one else if desired, that in Case the King would set out, and pass (according to his Highness's Intention) as a Friend through *Poland*, they would be look'd upon and treated by all the Potentates at Amity in common with the *Porte* and his *Swedish* Majesty, as the most perfidious Wretches and Traitors, deserving all manner of Resentment and Punishment, if they suffer'd his Enemies to touch a Hair of his Head; and that they would put this Declaration into their Hands to be made publick, and sent to all the *Christian* Princes who were capable of revenging the King, should they break their Words. "As for the rest, (added they) we have brought our Emperor's Orders, and we have delivered them into the Hands of the *Han* and *Bashaw*, to whom they were directed; our Commission is at an end, 'tis their Business to execute them: " Repre-

“ Represent (continued they) all this to the King, and tell him that both the *Han* and the *Bashaw* will lose their Heads, if they don't see their Orders executed.” Being my self present at all these Visits, I add nothing by Hearsay, or from the Accounts of others.

Mr. *Fabrice* and Mr. *Jefferies* did not fail to represent the whole of this Conversation to his Majesty, excepting the Article of *Poland*, but they cou'd make no Impression upon him; on the contrary, he only laugh'd, and ask'd them who gave them their full Powers, and added, that they set up for voluntary Mediators, as had done the *English* and *Dutch* Ambassadors.

The 7th, they return'd to the *Buirk Immraour* and the *Chiaous Bashaw*, who were always together, and told them that they cou'd not yet induce the King to resolve upon giving the desired Answer; and Mr. *Fabrice* added, that his Majesty naturally loving to be flatter'd, and have Advances made him, and knowing them to be his old Friends, he believ'd that if they wou'd go themselves to his first Minister, and let his Majesty know by him whatever they thought proper, to convince him of the *Porte's* good Intentions, he did not at all doubt but that (if any thing was to be done) they might do it. They said, that they were willing to take all possible Steps for that purpose; and that he had nothing to do but to appoint a Day with the *Bashvekil*, or *First Vicar*, the Name they gave to Baron *Mullern*, first *Swedish* Minister at *Bender*. The 9th was the Day appointed for this Interview, to the no small Joy of Mr. *Mullern*, and the Place was the House of Mr. *Grotthusen*, mark'd F, which they were palisading and barricading, as they had done the King's Palace. After three Quarters of an Hours Conference, Mr. *Mullern* left Mr. *Grotthusen* to keep Company with the *Buirk Immraour* and the *Chiaous Bashaw*, and went to inform his Majesty of what had passed in their Conversation. He was then playing at Chess with one of his Generals, and made an end of the Game which was not much advanced; and tho' Mr. *Mullern*, who was naturally very flegmatick, expressed a great Desire of acquainting him with what the *Turks* had propos'd, he contented himself with looking at him, without saying any thing, and leaving him to his Patience, began another Game, and having finished it, ask'd him, *Well, what say the Turks?* Upon which Mr. *Mullern* explained it to him Point by Point; to which the King reply'd, in Substance, that he was not ready, and that he wou'd not depart till he was, and had receiv'd an Answer from the *Porte* concerning his Demands. Mr. *Mullern* gave the best Turn that he cou'd to this Answer, but he cou'd not set it off in such plausible Terms, as to send the *Turks* away satisfied; and they had proceeded to put the *Sultan's* Orders in Execution, if a Scruple had not made them defer it. The *Tartar Han* and the *Bashaw* judging by the King's Resolution, and the Preparations which he made for his Defence, that he wou'd sooner run the utmost Hazard of his Life, than go contrary to his Inclinations, were apprehensive least in making use of open Force to oblige his Majesty to depart, according to their Orders, the *Grand Seignior* shou'd impute his Death to them as a Crime, if he chanced to be kill'd; whereupon each of them sent a *Tchoadar* on the 10th to *Adrianople* to justify themselves before-hand, and receive new Orders. In the mean while, Messieurs *Fabrice* and *Jefferies* continued their voluntary Mediation several Days, without being able to obtain a more favourable Answer; and as the King had contracted a great many

Debts, the *Han* and *Bashaw* thinking that the Design of paying them before his Departure might detain his Majesty, whose Tenderneſs of Honour they knew well, propoſed not only to oblige his Creditors to have Patience till he ſhould be in his own Dominions, and in a Capacity to ſatisfy them, but knowing they had taken Advantage of the Neceſſity of his Officers, who (as they were well inform'd) had enter'd into Engagements for One hundred Crowns, when they had not received the two Thirds of it, they offered to make them ſwear both the Debtors and Creditors upon the moſt Sacred Books of their reſpective Religions, how much they had lent and borrow'd; ſo that they ſhould not return more than they had receiv'd, the *Alchoran* not allowing to lend upon Uſury: But his Maſteſty made Answer, that if any Officer had received but Ten Crowns, and had given his Note for One Hundred, he ſhould pay them. They repreſented beſides, that they ſhould be ſupplied with all Neceſſaries for his whole Journey, as Proviſions, Waggonſ, Horſes; but that Prince was ſtill immoveable.

During theſe Tranſactions, Things continued in the ſame Poſture, and the King continued working himſelf at the Intrenchments and Palliſades of his Palace. On the 15th, the *Swedes* flattering themſelves by reaſon the *Turks* made no further Motions, publiſhed in the Camp that the Orders afore-mentioned were feigned, and that what had paſſed was the effect of a Faction of King *Augustus* and the *Muſcovites*, who had gain'd over the *Tartar Han* and the *Bashaw* by Preſents. On the 20th, the Chief *Poles* having heard this Report, it had ſo much Influence over them, as to induce them by Night to quit the Suburbs, where they were quartered by the Orders of the *Han* and *Bashaw*, with an Intent to return to his *Swediſh* Maſteſty; but they could not do it ſo ſubtilly, but that the *Janizaries* and *Lipka's*, or *Lithuanian Turks* of that Quarter, ſeiz'd part of their Attendants and Horſes, eſpecially thoſe of Count *Tarlo*, who in this Rencounter loſt all his *Circasſian* and *Arabian* Horſes, (of which he was very curious,) excepting two or three, with which he had eſcaped with ſome of his Officers. On the 21ſt, ſome Horſes for General *Poniatowski* and Mr. *Grothufen* being come from *Conſtantinople*, were ſeiz'd and made Prizes by the *Bashaw*. On the 23d, a ſmall Party of *Swedes* retook from the *Tartars* ſome Proviſions and the Men that were bringing them, whom they had ſeiz'd. On the 24th, the two *Tchoadars* of the *Han* and *Bashaw* return'd from *Adrianople*, with the News, that 'twas reſolved in full *Divan*, at which the *Grand Seignior* had preſided in Perſon, that not only the firſt Orders ſhould be put in Execution, but that if the King of *Sweden* could be taken alive, he ſhould be conducted in a Waggon to *Salonicky*, or ſome other Place; and that if he happen'd to be kill'd, his Death ſhould not be laid to the Charge of any *Muſſulman* as a Crime, but as a Punishment for his Ingratitude and Rebellion againſt the *Sultan* his Benefactor; and that the *Muphty* had given his *Fetfa* even for the Maſſacring him and all his People, if they ſhould be obſtinately bent upon Reſiſtance, and defending themſelves; and that a *Capigi Bashaw* was to bring theſe Orders in Writing with the *Fetfa*. This News was carried to Count *Tarlo*, by a *Tartar* who was his Friend, call'd *Cepherza Myrſa*, and he communicated it to his Maſteſty, who was not at all moved at it. On the 26th Mr. *Fabrice* ſent the Letter in the *Appendix* concerning all this to *Hamburgh*. On the 31ſt, the *Capigi Bashaw* being arrived, a *Myrſa* and *Aga* was ſent to the King, to give him Notice of theſe new Orders, and

know his last Resolution; his Majesty answered, that 'twas the same as the first: Upon which they return'd with this Reply; the Orders were immediately made Publick, and the King gave out his for his Defence. Hereupon some of his Chaplains threw themselves at his Feet, and conjur'd him not to expose the shatter'd Remains of *Pultowa*, to the melancholly Consequences of the Violence of *Turks* and *Tartars*; they told his Majesty, that every one being Master in his own Dominions, it was no Injustice in the *Turks* to bid Strangers, whom they had given Lodging to and maintain'd, to return home, and even to force them to it, if they refused to do it of their own accord; but that on the contrary it was both Unjustice and Ingratitude, which was a great Sin, in these Strangers to fight against their Benefactors, in order to stay amongst them whether they wou'd or no. The King, to whom this Harangue was very displeasing, interrupted them, and said, "If you have a mind to Preach, chuse another Place, and other Auditors;" "our Business here is to Fight;" at the same time turned his Back upon them. All these Attempts were to no purpose, and he remain'd immoveable; and the *Poles* quitted his Majesty a second time, and retired to the Town, from whence the *Fanizaries* a little after began to march out to the Number of 3000, crying out *Alla, Alla, &c.* and the *Topigis*, to the Number of 200, follow'd, with ten little Brass Cannon, two middling Mortar-Pieces, and three Waggons loaden with Ammunition. The *Han* and the *Bashaw*, with the *Buiuk Immraour* and the *Chiaous Bashaw*, and their Retinue, pass'd all in good Order by *Lipkamabanne* in Print XXX. N. III. where we had our Houses about 2000 *Lipkas*, or *Lithuanian* Horse, coasting the *Nyester*, posted themselves at N^o. II. and the *Tartars* at N^o. III. the *Fanizaries* at N^o. IIII. the *Han* encamp'd at I. with the *Seymens* at 2, 2, the *Bashaw* and the Bearers of the *Sultan's* Orders at A in the Plan XXXI *.

All Things being disposed for the Attack, and the Artillery ready to play, they sent once more to ask the King if he pleased to depart as a Friend, and immediately. The Messenger was a Colonel of the *Fanizaries*, who address'd himself to Mr. *Grothusen*, with whom he was acquainted; and he having inform'd his Majesty of it, (who was then on Horse-back visiting the Posts, and commanding every one to defend them well) he knowing the Subject of the Message, wou'd not see him; but bid them tell him, that he was only ready to defend himself if he were assaulted.

Some of the Generals and principal Officers, (who had all declared against Resistance, except General *Hordh*, had endeavour'd to dissuade his Majesty from it) being present at the Delivery of this Message, made one last Effort to prevail on him; they told him, that indeed they were obliged and ready to obey; but that they implor'd him (since Time yet permitted) to have a little more regard to the Glory of *Sweden*, than to expose it after such a manner; that they cou'd neither promise themselves Honour nor Success in this Adventure; that however vigorous and long their Resistance might be, they must at

* CC, the King's House; DD, King's Lifeguard; E, Baron Grothusen's House; F, Baron Mullern's New House; G, the Cossacks Quarter; H, Palatine of Kiow's House; I, a Bridge over a Ditch; K, Baron Fiel's House; L, of Generals Hordh and Cilick; M, that of Prince Witznowitzky; MM, that of the King's Interpreters; N, that of General Crispin; O, that of General Sparre; P, that of General Daldorff; Q, that of Captain Dughwall; VII, Barracks of the Soldiers; VIII, the Swedish Corps de Guard.

last either sink under the Multitude, or yield to Time and the Want of Necessaries ; that if (contrary to all Appearance) they shou'd beat the *Turks*, they cou'd not long enjoy their Victory, but shou'd bring a vast Empire upon their Backs ; besides, that it wou'd be an indelible Blot upon the *Swedish* Name, to have beat not Enemies (against whom they had always been ready, for their Country's Good, to spend the last Drop of their Blood) but their Friends, their Landlords and Benefactors ; at the same time General *Daldorf*, uncovering his Breast, all scar'd and mangled with Wounds he had receiv'd on different Occasions, added, *If your Majesty doubts it, here are still Proofs of it.* All the Answer they cou'd obtain was this, " You have acted formerly like brave Men, but you talk now like Poltroons. Obey since you know 'tis your Duty, and show yourselves still to be such as you used to be." Upon this Mr. *Grothusen*, who knew the King's Humour better than any one, (without amusing himself to employ Arguments which he judged unseasonable) gave his own Turn to the King's Reply, in telling the *Aga* that his Majesty cou'd not depart without they wou'd grant him some longer Time.

The *Aga* had hardly deliver'd this Answer, when the Drums began to beat, the Fifes to play, and the Clarions and other *Turkish* Instruments of War to sound, and the King answer'd with his Drums and Trumpets ; and several Cannon Shot were fired from a Battery rais'd upon an Eminence at B B, which did no other Damage but taking off the Arm of a *Swedish* Dragoon. After which Mr. *Grothusen* went of his own Accord to the *Bashaw* to ask some Respite, but he said that the Emperor's Orders did not allow of any ; and sent to the *Aga* of the *Fanizaries* to begin the Attack, and promise Eight Duccats a Man, in his Name, to each of them who should have a hand in seizing the King's Person, and bringing him Prisoner, without making an Attempt upon his Life : As a Sign of which they were to hold a part of his Cloaths. The *Fanizaries* who were posted at N^o. III. having received the Orders and Promise, marched directly to N^o. V. where Mr. *Grothusen*, (who understood *Turkish* passably well) met them and demanded Audience, which they granted him ; and after having flattered them, upon their glorious Name and Power in the *Ottoman* Empire, he harangued them to this effect in broken *Turkish*, "*Cardasbier*, " or Brethren, (soft Name by which you have always call'd us) you " have given Quarter to the *Muscovites* your Enemies, upon their " asking it ; and will you treat us worse whom you have stil'd Bre- " thren ? We only desire Time, and we are deny'd, &c." Upon which, most part of them who had been loaded with Favours, cry'd out immediately, *You shall have Time, we will do nothing against you.* The most mutinous amongst them turning back, threaten'd to fire upon the *Bashaw*, if he oblig'd them to attack the *Swedes* ; the others said, that his Orders were forged ; upon which the *Fanizar Aga* assuring them that they were genuine, *Well then* (said they) *let us examine them, and give the Swedes Time.* The *Bashaw* on this Occasion chose to bid the *Fanizar Aga* lead them back into the Town in the best Order he could, which he did ; and repassing by *Lipkamahanne*, they discharged their Muskets in the Air. The *Bashaw* decamp'd immediately after him, and the *Han* remained in the Field all Night with the *Tartars* ; and sent to tell the *Bashaw*, that in case the *Fanizaries* wou'd not obey the Orders of their *Aga*, he wou'd send his *Seymens* or Guards, who

who are select Men, and reckon'd well skill'd in wielding the Sabre, and tolerably in managing Fire Arms. The *Bashaw* answer'd, that he wou'd call for the *Aga* of the *Janizaries* to concert with him what shou'd be done to prevent their mutinying, which he did accordingly, and this was their Resolution. They summon'd all the old *Tchorbadgis*, or Captains and Officers of the *Janizaries*, and having convinc'd them that the foresaid Orders were, without Equivocation, directly from the *Grand Seignior*, and that he would not allow any Respite to be granted to the *Swedes*, he propos'd to them to convince, if possible, all the *Janizaries* of it, by going the next Day themselves to *Warnitza*, and desiring the King to trust himself in their Hands, as being Friends to his Majesty, and to break up thence, and only encamp a Mile from *Warnitza*, to the End that they might write to *Adrianople*, that the Orders were executed, and the King was on his March. This Proposal was approv'd of by all the *Janizaries*, as flattering them; and they found it so reasonable, that they declared, if the King would not agree to it, they would not defer attacking him one Minute.

On the 1st of *February* all the *Tchorbadgis*, or Captains and old Officers, taking his Majesty's favourite Interpreter *Marco*, and the *Sellam Agassi*, a great Friend of the *Swedes*, with them, pass'd thro' the Village before-mentioned, in order to go to the King's Quarters; where being arrived, they address'd themselves to Mr. *Grothusen* and Mr. *Mullern*, conjuring them to implore his Majesty not to reduce them to the Necessity of using the Violence they were obliged to by the *Grand Seignior's* Orders, unless they would render themselves guilty of Rebellion; they added, that they were his Majesty's Friends, and begg'd that he wou'd trust himself in their Hands, and they wou'd conduct him where and which Way he pleas'd, even at the Hazard of their Lives; that they wou'd guard him as a Treasure, with the Resolution sooner to lose their Heads, than suffer his Enemies to touch a Hair of his. What seem'd most likely to convince the King of the *Sultan's* Orders being genuine, was, that Mr. *Fabrice* took Care to have a Letter deliver'd to him from Mr. *Funk*, his Envoy, who was arrested at *Adrianople*, wherein he confirm'd the Whole; and that the Bearer of it, *John Baptist Savary*, strengthened it by Word of Mouth, as having been an ocular Witness of what had pass'd there; averring, that it had been resolved in three *Divans*, at which the *Grand Seignior* assisted in Person, to drive the King of *Sweden* thence, as an ungrateful Guest, unworthy of his Highness's good Usage, (as I've already hinted;) and that the *Sultan* had even demanded the *Mupti's Fetfa* in the latter, to massacre him, with his People, if they made the least Resistance. Neither whatever the old *Tchorbadgis* cou'd say, nor the Envoy's Letter, nor the reiterated Prayers of his Generals and Chaplains, cou'd produce any Change in his first Royal and firm Resolution; his Majesty bid them tell the first to retire, or otherwise he would give Orders to fire upon their Beards, and burn them; commanded the second to obey; and repeated it to the last, that the Business then was to fight, not to preach. Mr. *Mullern*, and Mr. *Grothusen*, seeing they cou'd neither prevail upon the King to accept of all these Proposals, nor even to admit the Bearers of them into his Presence; told them, that his Majesty was unalterable in his first Design, of not departing till he was ready, and that he only desired the Time necessary for that;

that; above all, taking Care to hide from them the Article relating to their Beards, which is the greatest Affront that can be offer'd to a *Turk*, as I have already said in the Article of *Astracan*.

The Deputies, nettled at the Refusal, returned immediately to the Town, murmuring, and calling the King *Demirbash*, or *Iron-head*, (a Name given him by, and which has stuck by him amongst the *Turks*, who were no Admirers of his Resolution, as that of *Demir-helhe*, or *Iron-hand*, by King *Augustus*;) they calling him commonly so, because of his Strength, that Prince (as is well known) being able to bend a Silver Plate as if 'twere Wax, and break a Horse-Shoe as easily as an ordinary Man cou'd a little dry Stick; they inform'd the *Bashaw*, *Janizair-Aga*, all the *Janizaries*, and, in short, any one that wou'd hear, what had pass'd. Upon this, they all said, the Case being so, they would not rebel against the Emperor's Orders, but wou'd make themselves ready to put them in Execution instantly, as they did. All drew up, took their Arms, and march'd out of Town, in the same Order and Number, as the Day before, except the *Han*, who had remain'd encamp'd at (I) with his *Seymens*, at (2) (2.) They began with firing Cannon-shots from AA,* which did no more Damage to the King's Palace than those the Day before from BB: This was accompanied with the Noise of Drums, and Sounding of their *Turkish* Instruments of War; after which the *Janizaries* crying *Alla, Alla*, as before, advancing with little Order, and much Precipitation, forced the Intrenchment at V, VI, fell upon the *Swedes* posted at VII, and found no Resistance, excepting from about 60 out of 5 or 600 at the utmost, of which 13 or 14 were kill'd in fighting, above 400 surrender'd themselves Prisoners in less than half an Hour, without even offering to present the Point of their Swords, fire a Musket or Pistol, or even stir out of their Posts. His Majesty, who was on Horseback with some Generals, as Messieurs *Hordb* and *Daldorff*, giving Orders, and had in vain visited almost every Post, seeing that they had not made the Resistance he expected, said, *Let those who have still any Courage left, and are faithful to me, follow me, I'll promote them*. His Majesty being soon join'd by about 26 common Foot-men, among which was a *Valet de Chambre* of Mr. *Grothusen's*, two of his Cooks, one of General *Sparre's*, with several Kitchen Servants arm'd with Spitts, &c. dismounted, leaving his Horse to himself, and made his Retreat Sword in Hand towards his Palace CC, which the *Turks* were plundering, after having forced the Guards posted at DD, and made themselves Masters of all the Apartments excepting that of Marshal *Duben's*, the Colonel *Chambers*, and Mr. *Palmberg* a Corporal of the *Drabants* or King's Guard *du Corps*; the *Drabants* *Wallberg* and *Rose*; the Chamberlain *Clyssendorff*, and Secretary *Erenpreus*, with 22 other Men, had thrown themselves into this Apartment, and still defended it, after having long disputed the Great Hall, and other Rooms, till being overpowered with Numbers, they had been forced to retreat thither, being still twenty three Men remaining out of twenty eight. The King having gain'd the Western Door of it, (his Followers clearing the Way, with a great deal of Bravery) disputed the Enemy to the utmost of his Power, and striving to break thro' the Crowd, fell down; at which Instant a *Janizary* discharg'd a Pistol so

* The *Bashaw* was advis'd to have the Batteries erected that Day at AA, as a more advantageous Place to fire from than BB.

near him, that it sing'd his left Eye-brow, and without doing him any other Harm, than glancing upon, and a little scratching the Tip of his Ear, and slightly marking his Nose, wounded General *Hordb* in the Arm, so that he was taken by the *Janizaries*. The King recovering himself almost as soon as he was down, and being supported without by his little Guard, and within by the Besiegers, who held the Door open, enter'd; and having fasten'd it, and review'd his little Garrison, which, with his Reinforcement, made 41 or 42 fighting Men, he created Officers, making, among others, the Secretary *Erenpreus* a Swords man, under the Title of Captain. This done, encouraging them both by Promises and Example, tho' more by the latter than the former, he had the Door opened that lead into the Great Hall, and made a Sally out upon the *Turks*, with all his People, some arm'd with Swords, some with Pistols, and some with both. At first they met with a vigorous Resistance, especially from the *Janizaries*, who relying on their superior Number,* endeavour'd to break and divide the Royal Battalion; and they had almost gain'd their Ends, with the Loss of twelve of their Comrades, so far that several had surrounded the King, whilst a greater Number kept the rest in play, till his Majesty, having kill'd two, and wounded a third, this, being exasperated at the Sight of his Blood, fell upon him, and clove the Top of a Cap made of Sables, which he then wore, almost like a Grenadier's, with a Cut of his Sabre, and had lifted his Arm in order to give him a second more fatal Blow, but the King put it by with his Sword, and his left Hand, by grasping the Blade of the Cymetre in the middle, which hurt him slightly: In the mean while a *Janizary*, who was desirous only of taking him Prisoner, to obtain the *Bashaw's* Present, rush'd upon that Hero, and pushing him violently against the Wall, which was near him, seiz'd him by the Collar, and call'd to his Companions to help to disarm and carry him off; but his Majesty discovering in the Crowd General *Sparre's* Cook, who had a Pistol in his Hand, wink'd at him to fire, which he did, and shot the *Janizary*, who had hold of the King, dead upon the Spot; whereupon he who would have cloven his Majesty's Scull with his Sabre, pursued the Cook, and another with a Pistol-shot put out one of his Eyes. This Cook afterwards got as a Recompence a Captain's Commission, and he swore (as I was told) he would kill no more Chickens for the future, but renounce Cookery. His Majesty's Arms being thus at Liberty, he sent another *Janizary* that was near him dead to the Ground, and put himself again at the Head of his People, whom he rallied, renew'd the Fight, and made himself Master of the Field, or rather Hall of Battle, in less than an Hour. From thence passing into his own Chamber, he found it full of *Turks* and *Tartars*, who were plundering, and who, for the most part, at his Approach opening (with the Strength that Fear and their present Danger lent them) two Windows that were barricaded, escap'd by leaping thence; but his Majesty seeing two that were squatted in the Corner, and hid one under the other, holding their Pistols cock'd, rather to defend themselves than attack him, ran them both through at the same time with his long Sword, and was going to do the same by a third, who lay skulking under a little Field-Bedstead, which was the only thing (I mean the Wood-work) that was left of it unpillaged; but he flinging down his Cymeter, embracing his Majesty's Boots, and crying, *Amman, Pardon*, the King

* There were then above 300 Men, either *Janizaries*, *Lipkas*, or *Tartars*, in the King's Palace.

granted him Quarter, on Condition that he would go tell the *Bashaw* what he had seen; he promis'd it, and swore by his Head that he would perform it.

His Majesty, with his brave Troop, of which he had lost but eight or nine, clear'd in the same Manner all the other Apartments of *Turks* and *Tartars*, who sav'd themselves, some by Doors, some by Windows, with a Speed and Agility not natural to the *Turks*, leaving at least 20 upon the Spot. This done, the King had all the Doors and Casements made fast, and distributed every one to his Post, placing at each Window Barricades, as many as his little Number wou'd permit, with Muskets, of which there was no want, to fire on the Besiegers; they having even to spare, which belong'd to those who were kill'd, and Powder and Ball in the Loft, where neither the *Janizaries* or *Tartars* had been. The Scene being thus changed, they fired through the Barricades of the Casements upon the Enemy, who were assembled in greater Numbers, and which encreased continually upon the News which was soon spread of the Advantage gain'd by the King, the *Janizary*, who had obtain'd Quarter, being as good as his Word. The Cannon not doing the Execution that was hoped for, both for want of being well pointed, and the Stones being too soft, (the Holes they made being no larger than the Size of the Balls, there were hardly 20 in the Walls that were stav'd, tho' above 200 Shot were fired,) the Besiegers had not the Courage to assault, and make themselves Masters of 32 or 33 Men, shut up in an ordinary House, with weak Walls, tho' there were above 3000 *Turks* and 10000 *Tartars*, and they had already lost more than 200 Men, which were killed by the Besieged from the Windows, inclusive of those slain in the Palace. In the mean while they were resolv'd to take the King alive; above three Hours were already spent in vain in endeavouring it, and they had but lost their Men and their Time; which the *Han* and the *Bashaw*, with the Bearers of the *Sultan's* Orders, seeing, and being ashamed of it, thought of a Stratagem to force them out, which was to set the House on Fire, which (said they) must oblige the King to come out, to avoid being burnt, and the Multitude will be ready at all the Avenues to surround him and his People. Orders being given between Four and Five a Clock, the *Tartars*, fastening Matches and other lighted Things to their Arrows, pour'd them down upon the wooden Roof, so that it seem'd to rain Fire upon it; and the *Janizaries* gathering Straw and Wood, and whatever they cou'd find most combustible, laid it to the largest Door, and in less than a quarter of an Hour the House seem'd all in Flames. Notwithstanding which, the Besieged did not cease firing, and the King sent Messieurs *Wallberg* and *Rose*, with five Men, to try to extinguish the Fire, and himself got upon the Roof, which began to sink in, in some Places; but after some useless Attempts to break it down with *Turkish* Hatches, and Sabres, (Presents of the *Grand Seignior* and *Tartar Han*,) that happen'd very opportunely to be there, the Flames getting too great a Head, his Majesty went down only with two Men to seek for Water, in Marshal *Duben's* Apartment; and finding only Brandy and Wine, they fill'd their Hats with it, and held them to others above to throw upon the Fire, and perceiv'd but too late that 'twas making it rage, instead of extinguishing it, especially the Brandy (a Mistake or Inadvertion rather to be attributed to the Confusion in which one may well imagine he and his People then were, than to the Ignorance of its Nature,)

ture, unless any one will say that his Majesty never drinking any thing but Water, might not know the Effects Brandy wou'd produce, which is not at all likely in so distinguishing a Prince. However, the Scarcity of Water was so great, that the King finding himself excessively thirsty, as well by the Heat of the Fight, as the Flames, and not being able to meet with a Drop, drank a large Bumper of Wine, the only one he had ever tasted since his leaving *Stockholm*. The Fire being now Master, burnt and consumed the whole Roof in less than three Quarters of an Hour, with all the *Grand Seignior* and *Han's* Presents that were in the Loft, which consisted of *Turkish* Bridles and Saddles embellish'd with Jewels, Housings embroider'd with Gold or Silver, and Tents; besides the said Sabres, a Number of other Goods which a Woman who had hid herself in a Corner of it, had saved and concealed there from the Sight of the Plunderers.

The King, seeing no Probability nor Hopes of extinguishing the Flames, took himself a Musket, and was shooting through the Barri- cades, when the Element having seiz'd the Cieling, made it split and sink in like the Roof, without his Majesty being alarm'd, or at least seeming so: On the contrary, as if he was the more animated by his Danger, he braved it, and continued firing, and ordered his People to make a hotter Fire than ever upon the Besiegers; insomuch, that these cried out, with the greatest Astonishment in the World, *Alla, Alla, God, God*; and after their manner, *Will the King let himself be burnt, or is he, and all his Men, naturaliz'd to the Flames like Salamanders?* In fine, the whole Palace was but one burning Pile, in the midst whereof this Hero, this Northern *Hercules*, seem'd resolv'd to consume himself, as is related of the fabulous one; when his Partisans, two of which had already been buried under the flaming Ruins, express'd a Desire either to preserve themselves, or perish more gloriously, the *Drabant Wallberg* was the first who said to the King, *Let us be gone, Sire, the Place is no longer Tenable, we must not be so cruel nor unjust to our selves, to stay to be burnt alive, let us go out.* His Majesty, who did not then discover how displeasing this Compliment was to him, but has since made the Speech-maker sensible of it, answer'd, *Oh no, 'tis better to die here like brave Men, defending our selves to the last Gasps, and so immortalize our Courage and Resistance, than to surrender our selves to our Enemies, the Han and Bashaw, for the sake of a short Life.* The others, especially Col. *Chambers* and the *Drabant Rose*, whom his Majesty created a Colonel at that Instant for his Bravery, perswaded him to it after a manner that flatter'd the King's Temper, and deceiv'd him without his perceiving it. They told him that Mr. *Mullern's* new House, mark'd (F) being without Roof or Cieling, but all of Stone, had nothing to fear from Fire, the most terrible Enemy they had to deal with; that each of them taking a Sword in one Hand and a Pistol in the other, with Powder and Ball in their Pouches, they might make a brave Sally, which wou'd astonish the *Turks* more than ever, and gain that House, where they might again signalize and prolong their Valour by a new and vigorous Defence.

This Project was approv'd of by the King, who made them all swear rather to fight it out to the last Man, than surrender themselves; upon this they sallied out, with his Majesty at their Head, as well arm'd as they cou'd be, after the manner that had been designed, but not with the wish'd for Success; they were immediately over-

whelm'd by the Multitude, who waited for them at all the Avenues, without giving Ground, not doubting but the Fire wou'd drive them out. The King fell, and one of his Party who took him by the Belt fell with him: Hereupon the *Janizaries*, to the Number of 21, seiz'd his Majesty, and strove some to hold, some to touch him, and some to tear a little Piece of his Cloaths, to entitle them to the Eight Ducats promised by the *Bashaw*, to whom they conducted him on Foot. As they were on the Way thither, the *Tartars* wou'd have come in for a Share; upon which a Quarrel arose, and the *Janizaries* drove them away, calling them *Guiaours*, or Infidels. The *Bashaw*, accompanied by his *German* Interpreter, receiv'd the King very respectfully, inviting him to enter into his Tent, and rest himself upon his *Sopha*; but his Majesty seem'd not to give any Attention to what he said, and remain'd standing, only contenting himself with going in. Then the *Bashaw*, who also stood out of Respect, said, *God be thank'd that your Majesty is living; and I am sorry you have reduced us to use you after that manner.* Hereupon the King, looking upon him something haughtily, answer'd, *I never yet fear'd Death; and if all my People had done their Duty, you should not have had us in your Power in Ten Days.* The *Bashaw* reply'd, *We shou'd have had you in Twenty or more:* The King rejoin'd, *That wou'd have been a longer time; and I wish it was to do over again.* To which the *Bashaw* said, sighing, *Alas, 'tis but too much Courage very ill employ'd, wou'd to God it had never happen'd.*

His Majesty had nothing dejected nor melancholly in his Face, and excepting the End of his Nose and Tip of his Ears being mark'd with the Ball afore-mentioned, one Eye-brow being singed, the Top of his Cap cloven, a slight Wound in his Left Hand, and, in short, his Cloaths being bloody and torn in several Places, his Complexion and Look was rather more than less becoming than at another Time; in regard to which I have been assured, that one can't have a better Air than this Prince had always on the Day of Action; and I never saw any one whose Seat on Horse-back pleased me better, or was more graceful.

The *Bashaw* seeing that his Majesty wou'd not sit, and not thinking it proper to engage him in a longer Conversation, order'd one of his Horses to be fetch'd richly caparison'd, and begg'd his Majesty to mount him, which he did instantly without speaking a Word, was conducted to *Bender* directly to the *Bashaw's* Palace, and lodged in one of the handsomest Chambers; where he had no sooner entered than he flung himself upon the *Sopha*, pull'd off his Cap, ask'd for some Water, which was brought with some *Sherbet*; having drank the first, he fell asleep; and a *Tchoadar* who had made a Bed for his Majesty, not daring to wake him, for it contented him to cover him with a Quilt of pink'd Sattin, to which a Sheet was fastened underneath, after the *Turkish* Fashion. Then keeping a Lamp lighted in the Chimney, with a Wax Taper

* I gave some Persons of Note at Stockholm an Account of this Action, as well as of that at Pruth, in the Form of a Letter, not having my Memorandums with me, and it was liked pretty well: At the same time I begg'd they wou'd not let any Copies be taken of it, nor communicate it by halves, not being willing it shou'd appear in the World before I published the whole myself. However, I was not serv'd faithfully, for some ignorant tho' curious Servants have transcribed it, and I have seen it at London, with almost every Word mis-spelt in it, even to my Name; and there is but one Addition, which is, that they have made me say, the King my Master, in speaking of his Swedish Majesty.

in a Candlestick, he staid there, and watched according to the Civility, or rather the Duty of the *Mahometan* Hospitality, to supply him with what he might want, pull off his Boots when he waked, and undress him in order to his going into Bed: So that he did not think fit to touch him any more. His Majesty slept till Three in the Morning, and would not then change his Place; but threw away a Night-Cap, which the *Tchoadar* had put upon his Head whilst he was sleeping.

In the mean while the *Bashaw* commanded the Eight Ducats to be given to the Twenty one *Janizaries*, who had taken his Majesty, as promised; and gave Orders to some of his Men to seek Mr. *Grotbuser* and Major *Ribing*, whom he knew the King particularly loved, to keep him Company; as also Mr. *Mullern* and Mr. *Fief*, his Ministers. The first was found that very Night, redeem'd at the *Bashaw's* Expence, conducted to his Majesty, as soon as he was awake, and he stay'd with him in the same Chamber. Next Morning his Majesty was slightly indisposed with a Fever, caused by his violent Motion the Day before, and was let Blood. Mr. *Fabrice* waited upon him, and was received as usual, that is to say very well; for no body was more welcome to this Prince, who had already ask'd twice or thrice *where is Fabrice?* When he appeared. The violent Exercise of the foregoing Day, which caused his Fever, had made no Alteration in his Face, his Aire, nor his Manners; he ask'd him divers Questions about the Action at *Warnitza*, and the Discourse of the *Turks* thereupon; and begged him when he went away to enquire after some Prisoners whom he named to him, amongst the rest the Chancellor Mr. *Mullern*; but above all Messieurs *Cliffendorff*, *Rose*, and *Erenpreus*, the said Secretary, &c. who had staid with him to the last Extremity. Mr. *Fabrice* having recommended to me, in his Majesty's Name, the Care of searching for these, I went about the Country for that purpose; and in looking for them, I found Mr. *Mullern*, whom the *Bashaw* had ordered also to be sought for. He was Prisoner to a *Janizary*, who, he said, had used him with Humanity enough; he was sitting upon a little *Sopha* eating some Figs and Raisins when I enter'd. I told him, that the *Bashaw* had sent his Men to enquire after him, but he answered that he had seen no body; upon which I immediately carried the News to the Palace, and he was delivered a few Hours after.

I took all the Pains imaginable to discover those I sought at the King's Desire; but no body cou'd give me any Information concerning Mr. *Cliffendorff*, nor was he ever found; he must have been burnt in the King's Palace; he was already advanced in Years and somewhat infirm, and perhaps might have laid himself down to rest in some Chamber, which serv'd as his Funeral Pile. I heard on the 3d; that Mr. *Erenpreus* was Prisoner to Ten *Janizaries*, who had carried him to *Cauchan*, a little Town about three Leagues from *Bender*; I went thither immediately, but his Masters were not then tractable, they demanded Five hundred Ducats for his Ransom. Upon this I bethought my self of having it given out, that there was an Order upon the Road from the *Grand Seignior* to release all the Prisoners without Ransom; this Report being spread, had the desired Effect, as I shall observe in the Sequel.

On the 5th, the King being recover'd of his Fever, was put into a Waggon cover'd with Red Cloth, into which Mr. *Grotbuser* went

went with him. Messieurs *Mullern* and *Fief* had also one for them two, and Horses were given to Sixty *Swedes*, who were allow'd to follow his Majesty to *Adrianople*; where, they said, he was to be carried. He set out on his Journey with Two hundred *Turkish* Horsemen round him; and the *Bashaw*, with his Retinue, accompanied his Majesty with Drums and Kettle-Drums beating, and other Instruments of War sounding, for Eight or Ten Miles. Messieurs *Fabrice*, *Jefferies* and myself assisted at this mournful Convoy, which I can't help calling so, spight of the *Bashaw's* Musick, when I represent to my self this great Hero, who some Years before had made great Potentates tremble at the Head of but 40000 Men, reduced now to Sixty disarm'd and ill mounted, and carried Prisoner in a Waggon; not to mention that I saw several of them shed Tears, especially those who belong'd to the Pen, among the rest the Secretaries *Cederholm* and *Celsing*. Nevertheless, this Prince still preserved his usual Greatness of Soul, and Serenity of Countenance; as an Instance of which, when in the Waggon he was inform'd that King *Stanislaus* was arrested at *Tassi*, in his way to *Bender*, and desired his *Swedish* Majesty to abandon his Interest, and let him make his Peace with King *Augustus*, and not lay his Territories desolate by warring on his Account, he said with some Heat, *Tell him if he won't be King, I'll make another*: And in the Conversation Mr. *Fabrice* had with him from time to time, he express'd no Care nor Disquiet but for the Prisoners that remain'd at *Bender*; whom he recommended again to him, when we separated at *Cauchan*, a little Town afore-mentioned, where he was destined to lie. After our Return to *Bender*, Mr. *Fabrice* went to find the *Bashaw*, and desire his Interests with regard to procuring the Captives Liberty; he not only promis'd it, but offer'd him his Purse, where his Authority was not sufficient for that Purpose; and one cou'd not be more in his Favour than Mr. *Fabrice* was, and with his Assistance he delivered above Two Hundred in less than one Week. On our coming from the *Bashaw's*, we met General *Daldorf*, who was indeed set at Liberty, but without Money. He complained very much of his Usage from his Master, who was a *Janizary*, and had been (as he said) very rude; but, according to the *Janizary's* Report, 'twas his own Fault, he having been very abusive, and given him bad Language. Mr. *Fabrice* accosted him first, and offered him his Service and his Purse, pulling it out at the same time; the General accepting his Proffer, ask'd Pardon for whatsoever was past, assured him of his Friendship for the future, and took 50 Ducats; and afterwards extoll'd Mr. *Fabrice* all over *Germany* for his Generosity and Greatness of Soul. The *Han* also on his part ordered that all the Prisoners in the *Tartars* Hands should be delivered into his, even without Ransom; which, however, did not hinder some Money being given them underhand, for fear they shou'd hide or carry far distant into the Country those they had taken. Mr. *Jefferies* also redeem'd several Prisoners of his Friends. Nevertheless, by this Help of Order, together with the Report above-mention'd, I delivered Baron *Ribbing*, Mr. *Falstrom*, and some *Swedish* Women out of the Hands of the *Tartars* for only Fifty Ducats, which the first alone reimbursed me afterwards very generously. I also redeem'd Mr. *Erenpreus*; but he cost me the more by reason of his Impatience, which he likewise repaid me very handsomely.

When I was enquiring after the *Swedes*, in order to deliver them
accord-

according to the King's Desire, I heard in the Publick Places, or Coffee-houses, some strange Reflections on his Majesty's Conduct, but nothing much disrespectful or abusive against his Person. One would address himself to me in these Terms; "I am a *Mussul-*
 " *man*, or faithful Observer of the Law which God has sent us by his
 " Prophet *Mahomet*; I am cast by some Tempest upon the *Christian*
 " Coast, where you generously receive me, out of the pure Motive of
 " Hospitality, without having Regard to either my Country, or my
 " Religion; and after I have staid some Months, nay even some Years,
 " with you, and been maintain'd as well as I can wish for, I testify
 " a Desire of returning into my own Country, and ask some Money
 " for that Purpose; you grant it me, and even more than I demanded,
 " and after having received it, I tell you I won't go without you give
 " me as much more; shou'd not I deserve to be driven away like an
 " ungrateful Wretch?" I begg'd I might be dispensed with answering
 such Questions, and added, that some might have inspired his Ma-
 jesty with needless Distrust of the *Porte's* good Intentions. Others
 said, that all things rightly considered, it was a Sin to fight against the
 King of *Sweden*, their Law forbidding them to use a Person ill, who
 is deprived of his Reason; but, on the contrary, commanding them
 to support and assist him, and supply with that good Sense which them-
 selves have received from Providence, the Defects of his. I heard a
 hundred such Reflections, which I eluded as well as I could; for, as
 I have already observed concerning Mr. *de Ferriol*, tho' on a quite dif-
 ferent Occasion, as the *Bashaw* shewed sufficiently by his Expressions,
 the *Turks* have no Notion of that Glory to which the *Christians* every
 Day sacrifice their Lives so courageously, and they take that for Mad-
 ness which passes in *Christendom* for Bravery. The King himself was
 not at all concerned at what they thought of him; an Instance of it
 is, that the next Day after the Action, Mr. *Dughwall*, one of his At-
 tendants, being deliver'd by the *Bashaw's* People, and call'd for by his
 Majesty, cou'd not restrain shedding Tears on seeing him. The King
 ask'd him, why he wept; and he being unwilling to inform him, his Ma-
 jesty commanded him absolutely to tell him, whatever it was. Upon
 that, Mr. *Dughwall* said, 'twas on account of the *Turks* saying that
 his Majesty was *Mad*; to which that Prince answer'd immediately,
Pho! you need not cry for that; tell them, I had rather be thought a
Madman, than a Coward. Tho' the *Janizaries* had lost at least 200
 Men, and several of them were wounded, they were never heard to
 call his Majesty, even in the greatest Heat of Action, any Name, but
 what had been before given them by their Deputies, who went on the
 Day of Battle to propose to his Majesty to trust himself in their Hands,
viz. Demirbash, Iron-Head; and on the Arrival of this Prince at *De-*
mirtash, * a Palace built by the *Visier Cara Mehemed*, kill'd before *Vien-*
na, one of the wounded said to an old *Turk* there, *Suetz Demirbash,*
gueldi Demirtash, i. e. the Swedish Iron-head is come to the Iron-stone.

The 6th Mr. *Fabrice* sent Dispatches to Germany, and with them the
 Relation in the *Appendix*; he having desired at first the *Bashaw* to write
 to the *Porte* in favour of King *Stanislaus*, and dispos'd him to use him ho-
 nourably; and hearing the 14th that he had an Answer, he waited on
 him; and the *Bashaw* told him, in Confidence, that he having sent 100
Lapkas for him to *Tassi*, where he was detain'd, this Prince was come

* *Demirtash*, i. e. Iron-stone, a Palace where his Majesty was carried and lodg'd.

to have an Interview *incognito* with the King of *Sweden*, to desire him to give his Assent to an Agreement with King *Augustus*. Mr. *Fabrice* got on Horseback the 15th, and took me with him, in order to go and meet him, which we did about 20 Miles distant, with only a Secretary, a *Valet de Chambre*, and a Footman, for his whole Retinue. He was in the middle of the *Lipkas*, sent by the *Bashaw*, very plainly dress'd after the *French* Mode, and smoaking his Pipe on Horse-back; and tho' Mr. *Fabrice* had been intimately and long acquainted with him, and had even kept a Correspondence with him by Letters, (whether it was the Fault of his Eyes, which, tho' very strong, are but short-sighted, or the Effect of his Disguise,) he enquired of himself, *Where is King Stanislaus?* His Majesty answered, *How! my dear Fabrice, don't you remember me?* And at the same time embraced him, without suffering himself to dismount. Returning back, we approach'd within half a Mile of *Bender*, where the *Bashaw* sent him a Horse richly caparison'd; whereupon he quitted his own, which was remarkably bad, as was all its Furniture, and threw away his Pipe, which he had not ceas'd smoaking all the Way, excepting to drink a *Polish* Bumper, and make us pledge him in another. As he advanc'd a little farther, the *Poles* coming out to meet, and surrounding him, we retired, that they might not take any Umbrage at the Liberty granted Mr. *Fabrice* by the *Bashaw*. He was saluted on his Entrance into the Town with several Cannons, and a Lodging assigned him in a House, which, tho' very little, was more than large enough for him, at least with the Retinue that then attended him.

All the Noble *Poles* went to renew their Homage and Protestations of Fidelity to him, excepting Count *Sapieha*, who had quitted his Party and that of the King of *Sweden*, because his Majesty had depriv'd him (at least Titulary) of the Post of Great General of *Lithuania*, which had always been both (said he) *de Jure & de Facto* in his Family, to give it to Prince *Wisnowisky*, the Capital Enemy both of him and his House, at least as he pretended. This Count had declared so visibly for King *Augustus*, that he left no body any room to doubt of it, and consequently had drawn upon himself the Hatred of all the *Swedes*, and all the *Poles* of their Party; and though they had made their utmost Efforts to retain him on their Side, by offering him the Post of Great-Treasurer of the Crown, in lieu of that which had been taken from him, he had refused it, protesting that he would not hold his Charge, but of the Republick; and that he neither expected it from King *Stanislaus*, the King of *Sweden*, nor even King *Augustus* himself, who (as he said) had no Power authorized by the Laws to give the Employment belonging to the Family of one Noble *Pole*; to that of another.

On the 26th King *Stanislaus* sent a Memorial to the *Porte*, containing his Intentions and Proposals, which were then a Mystery to me, though 'twas whisper'd that 'twas upon his *Swedish* Majesty's obliging him to lay aside all Thoughts of Agreement with King *Augustus*, or of renouncing the Crown of *Poland*; and at the same time representing how favourably the *Poles* were dispos'd to him, and promising *Caminiek* to the *Porte*, on Condition they wou'd send an Army upon the Frontiers to encourage them by their appearing to support them. On the 27th Count *Sapieha* having been advised, either with or without Grounds, that Prince *Wisnowisky* harbour'd in his Mind very evil De-
sign

sign against him, ran away, which he was the more easily perswaded to, in that that Prince had caus'd one of his most faithful Domesticks to be seiz'd, who escaping, inform'd him in the Evening, that one of his Highness's Servants told him, in a threatening manner, and swearing, "That the Count *Sapieha*, sooner or later, must expect no other Treatment than his Cousin met with:" This Cousin was (as the Count himself said) poniarded some Years before in the Prince's Chamber; besides that the *Bashaw* of *Bender* (to whom (it not being in his Power) he had not made his Court after the *Turkish* Manner, as his Enemies Prince *Wisnowisky* and the *Palatine* of *Kiow*, had always taken care to do, by Presents, which is the Wedding-Garment, without which a *Christian* ought not to appear before a *Turk*, and especially before *Ismael Bashaw*) had declared himself his Enemy; however it was, he took the Alarm, disappear'd very inconsiderately, in the Night-time, without being provided even with the Passport of the *Tartar Han*, who had always shown him abundance of Goodwill, and (as he own'd himself) wou'd not have refused him that, for his Security in his Passage to *Poland*, if he had communicated to him his Design, and his Apprehensions. His Gentleman of the Horse, whom he had not taken with him, perceiving that his Master was gone, pursued him, not to join, but betray him, and give Notice of his Flight to some *Swedes*, who were in Quarters some Leagues from *Bender*, upon the Road he had taken, and had no hand in the *Calabalik*.^{*} These lost no Time, but overtook him the next Morning near a Fountain where he was sitting to let his Horse feed, and rest a little. They seiz'd and made him Prisoner, taking from him all his Papers, which they put into the Hands of King *Stanislaus*. Among the rest, there was a Copy of a Letter to King *Augustus*, wherein he made him Protestations of an inviolable Fidelity, and hinted to him to send some Presents to the *Tartar Han*, who seem'd very much dispos'd to serve him, if he would disengage himself from the *Muscovites*, the Alliance with whom gave Umbrage to the *Porte*. He added, that the *Bashaw*, being a very self-interested Man, his Majesty must not expect any good Offices from him, without he gained him over by his Liberality; with other Expressions as little advantageous. This Letter was carried to the *Bashaw* by Prince *Wisnowisky*, accompanied by the *Palatine* of *Kiow*; it was interpreted to him after the most proper manner, to increase his Coolness, or rather Hatred to the Count, telling him, that he represented him as one of the most untractable *Jews*, who wou'd do any thing for Interest, and from whom nothing was to be hoped for without it. Mr. *Fabrice* happening to enter some time after, the *Bashaw* turning the Conversation upon the Count, asked why they had not already beheaded him? He answered, that 'twas not usual among *Christians*, without great Reason, and many Formalities of Justice. *Why so*, (added he) 'twould only be a *Muscovite Spy* less. By which one may judge how much the *Bashaw* was prepossessed against the Count; for the latter had always shewn himself very much against the *Muscovites*, both by his Words and Actions, and I have often heard him inveigh against them, and cry out, in deploring the miserable Condition of *Poland*, *When will it please Heaven to deliver us from our Friends?* 'Tis true, that to give his Wish all the Sense it will bear, it may be said, that perhaps he understood the *Swedes* as well as the *Muscovites*. He told me one Day upon this Head, a Tale of the Great

^{*} Calabalik, a Tumult; so was call'd the Difference that the King had with the Turks, in which these Swedes having no Share, were not troubled or made Prisoners.

General *Seniowisky's* Lady's making, which she wou'd relate maliciously enough to the *Swedes*, when she happen'd in their Company, and which she apply'd to them. It was this:

* *King Augustus with his Saxons,* " A Woman, of a pretty good Temper, tho' naturally a little uneasy, inconstant, and impatient, had some Hares, * which were sent her out of a foreign Country: She took a Pleasure in feeding them in her House, with the Leaves of Cabbages, or some other Greens, to their Taste; and, excepting some Quarrels which they had with Rabbits bred up in the House, they were peaceable enough. But one Day, the Door being left open of a great Garden, where she had taken care to mix the agreeable with the useful, they ran in, and lik'd their Quarters so well, that, forgetting all their Mistress's good Usage, they staid there, without however making any other Havock, than eating some Cabbage Leaves, and of Roots. She in vain made several Attempts to get them to come out and return to her, till her Impatience growing too strong, she went to her Neighbour, a great Sportsman † by Inclination and Profession, and begg'd him to come into her Garden with his Hounds, and deliver her from these ungrateful and mischievous Hares; the Dogs did indeed rid her of them, but in an Instant did her more Damage, and made more Waste, than the Hares could have done during their whole Lives, spoiling her Lillies, and other Flowers in her Parterres, and her Grass and young Trees in her Orchard."

† *The King of Sweden with his Army.*

Whilst I am speaking of this Lady, it may not be amiss to observe, that the *Czar*, after his fortunate Escape at *Pruth*, on his Return into his Dominions, with his Army refresh'd by the *Turks* Provisions, and the Peace in his Pocket, sung *Te Deum*, as if for a Victory (as 'twas reported;) which coming to the Ears of this Lady, she knowing the whole Circumstance of the Affair, said, the *Czar* sings *Vittoria, Vittoria!* like *Harlequin* in the Play, because he had come off for 100 Stripes when he expected 200.

The 29th Mr. *Fabrice* dispatch'd a Courier into *Germany*, with a Packet of King *Stanislaus*, and among other Letters the Relation in the *Appendix*.

To return to the King of *Sweden*: He was conducted a Prisoner to *Demirtash*, by little Journeys of three or four Leagues a Day; and different Reports were spread concerning the *Porte's* Intentions, as to its Treatment of him. At one time 'twas said, that 'twas resolv'd to confine him in the Castle of *Candia*; at another 'twas given out, that he wou'd be sent to supply the late Count *Tekely's* Place at *Nicomedia*; at least this last I was positively assured of by the *Seraskier* of *Bender's Kiaia*. These Reports, whether with or without Grounds, had this Effect, that the *French* Ambassador went to beg the *Caimacan* of *Constantinople*, and the High-Admiral *Ibrahim Bashaw*, to interpose their Credit and good Offices with the *Grand Seignior*, to prevent any such Indignity's being done to a crown'd Head; proposing at the same time to procure a Squadron of Men of War from the King his Master, to reconduct that Prince into his own Dominions, and deliver the *Porte* from the Expences and Trouble that might be caus'd by his Stay there. 'Twas said, the *English* Ambassador, having (as was given out) receiv'd Orders from his Court no more to intermeddle with the *Czar's* Affairs, to the Prejudice of the King of *Sweden*, made the same Offer: This, at least, is certain, that his Excellency did not appear any more in the Accommodation of the *Muscovites* and *Turks*, as the *Dutch* Ambassador continued to do, on the contrary, and that publickly, even to the

the last. The *Caimacan* wrote about it to the *Visier*, and the Captain *Bashaw* went in Person to *Adrianople*; and whether it was through their Intercession, or the *Grand Seignior's* altering the Resolution before-mention'd, his Majesty was carried to *Demotica*, a little City on the Western Side of a small River without Name, which disembogues it self into a larger, call'd *Marissa*, six short Leagues from *Adrianople*, noted in my Map B. This Place, which I saw afterwards, seems to be situated where the Ancients placed *Plotinopolis*, for which I believe the Medal (19) in the Print XXIX. was struck. However, I bought it there of a *Greek*, with the ($\iota\beta$) and two like ($\lambda\epsilon$) in the Print XII. There is now no other Inscription remaining, but the Word $\Delta\text{H}\text{M}\Omega$ (on the Walls of an old Castle) which signifying *To the People*, gives ground to believe it may have been a Free City, and from whence it probably derives its Name. I bought here likewise the Medal of *Abdera*, N^o 13. Print XXVIII. and that of *Trajanopolis*, Print XXIX. N^o (10) with (16) (20). It is a pretty neat Place, tho' it has but few good Houses; that wherein the King lodg'd belong'd to an *Aga*, and was pretty convenient. The *Greeks* live separately in the Old Castle, surrounded with miserable decaying Walls, kept in ill Repair, where they have a Church, sell Wine, get drunk, dance and quarrel at liberty.

The Houses without are all *Turkish*; his Majesty was lodg'd in the best, which was entirely furnished after their manner. The *Seliſtar Aga Ali Bashaw*, Son-in-Law and Favourite to the *Sultan*, and *Visier* in *Petto*; or to explain myself more intellibly, the Governor both of his Highness and the then *Visier Soliman Bashaw*, said to the latter, "Send Word to the King of *Sweden* that he is welcome thither, and that if he pleases he may stay there all his Life; that the *Porte* will supply him with all manner of Necessaries for his Subsistence; and I believe, added he, that by what I have heard of him, I know him well enough to assure you, that he won't remain there above a Year, without asking Permission to be gone; but above all, give him no ready Money." *Soliman Bashaw* indeed sent this Message, but gave it a more civil Turn, and accompanied it with a pretty fine Horse, ordering a *Thaim* to be allowed him accordingly, consisting of Bread, Meat, Oil, Spice, Butter, &c. and this *Thaim*, which was regularly given every Day to the King and his Retinue, was so ample, that several *Swedes* sold the Overplus to the *Greeks*. The *Visier* however went beyond the Counsel of *Ali Bashaw*, in granting him also a small Sum of Twenty-five Crowns a Day for Wine, which the *Turkish* Law does not only forbid them drinking, but even to give it in Kind to their Guests whose Religion allows it them; and that also for Pork, on which the same Injunction or Prohibition is laid. Orders were also sent to the *Seraskier* of *Bender*, to furnish the *Swedes* who were still there with the like, tho' 'twas not in so great a Quantity. In the mean while, Mr. *Fabrice*, with whom I had staid behind, having done all the Service that lay in his Power to the *Swedes*, (besides procuring them their Liberty who were not freed before his Majesty's Departure) we set out from thence the Beginning of *March*, and reach'd *Adrianople* about the Middle of the same.

During these Transactions the *Seraskier* of *Bender Ismael Bashaw*, the *Chiaous Bashaw*, the *Muphty*, and the *Tartar Han*, were almost all deposed at the same time. *Carplan Gherai*, Brother to the last, the same who had met with the like Fate Five Years before, for being

defeated in *Circassia*, succeeded in his Room ; the *Porte* believing that it ought always to be infallible and invincible, when the contrary happens, impute it to the Fault of its Generals and Officers, and so punishes them as if guilty of Treason or Cowardice, as I have already hinted. However it was; the same Galley that was sent to fetch him from *Rhodes*, to set him again at the Head of the *Tartars*, transported *Delvet Gherai* to that Place of Exile. The *Chiaous Bashaw* was strangled; the *Seraskier* of *Bender* banish'd to *Sinope*, and the *Muphty* only depriv'd of that Dignity.

The *Han Delvet Gherai* and *Ismael Bashaw* expected no better Treatment, as soon as they had delivered the 1000 Purfes above-mention'd to the King of *Sweden*, and found that his Majesty wou'd not depart without as much more ; as for the rest, their Fall must be attributed to the Inconstancy of the *Porte*. *Ibrahim Bashaw*, formerly a Waterman, who had ingratiated himself with the *Grand Seignior*, by an Accident which I shall relate immediately, communicated Mr. *Desalleures's* Proposal, concerning his Majesty's Return, to the *Divan*; tho' this was what at that time least disturb'd the *Porte*, which only made it serve as a Pretence for obtaining its Ends of the *Muscovites* and *Poles*. After several secret Audiences, which (twas reported) he had of his Highness, not so much upon that Head, as the Differences with the Potentates afore-mentioned, he was on the 29th of *March* advanced to the Dignity of Prime *Visier*, and complimented generally as such. Hereupon he ordered Mr. *Brue*, who was then become more the Interpreter of *Sweden* than *France*, to write to the Ambassador to come to *Adrianople*. The Court of *Demotica* expressed a great deal of Joy at that Change, for they perceived that this *Visier* was as good a *Swede* as *Frenchman*; but withal, he was of a violent Temper, without any Politeness, and in a word a downright Tarpawlin, understanding nothing but the Sea. The manner of his leaving his Boat to be the Head of the *Ottoman* Fleet, is singular enough to deserve relating, and was thus :

The present *Grand Seignior* at the Beginning of his Reign used to walk about the City of *Constantinople* and the adjacent Villages, sometimes in the Habit of a *Dervish*, sometimes in another Disguise, with two or three of his most faithful Creatures differently dressed, so as not to be known. At one time he wou'd thrust himself among the *Janizaries* to hear what was said of him, or his Government, and send in the Night to strangle, and fling into the Sea, those whom he found by their own Discourse to have had the greatest Share in the deposing his Brother, or who seem'd the most disaffected and likely to serve him after the same manner. At another time he wou'd go into some of the large Boats, that carry Twenty, Thirty or Fifty Persons from *Europe* to *Asia*, or from Village to Village ; and being in one of these, as his Men of War and Gallies were returning from cruising against the *Spaniards*, *Italians* and *Maltese*, our *Ibrahim*, then one of the Watermen, said to his Comrades, loud enough to be heard by all the Passengers, " D'ye see these Vessels, how they return as they
 " went out? They strive to avoid meeting the Infidels as much as
 " they can, sheltering themselves sometimes in one Harbour, some-
 " times in another, and eat the *Grand Seignior's* Bread without doing
 " any thing for it ; I know their Ways, I have been Sailor and Pilot
 " on Board some of them, and when I propos'd to go in search of
 " the Infidels in Places where I was sure they were, they call'd me
 " Fool ;

“ Fool ; but if I had been Commander of one of them, I wou'd never have returned into *Constantinople* Harbour, without some Prize.” The *Grand Seignior* hearing this, had a Curiosity to make Tryal of his Bravery at Sea ; and some Days afterwards ordered the *Captain Bashaw* to take him as Under-Captain, and give him the Command of one of his Men of War as soon as he shou'd put to Sea again ; this was done accordingly, and *Ibrahim* the first time brought in two Prizes, a *Genoese* Vessel, and a *Maltese* Bark ; and no Year passed whilst he was in that Post, but he distinguished himself by some such Action, which so pleased the *Sultan*, that he created him his High Admiral. This Account of his Advancement he gave himself to Mr. *Desalleures*, and several others, but we shall soon see how he was tumbled down when arrived at the highest Post in the *Ottoman* Empire.

On the 30th, the new *Han Carplan Gherai* arriving at *Adrianople*, had a publick and very favourable Audience of the *Grand Seignior*, besides divers secret ones, which made it judged that his Highness put a great deal of Confidence in his Counsels and Conduct. He was very much caress'd by the *Visier*, and complimented as well by all the Ministers of the *Porte*, as those of Foreign Courts. Messieurs *Grotius* and *Poniatowsky*, among the rest, went to wish him Joy in the King of *Sweden*'s Name, and offer him his Majesty's Friendship. He receiv'd them very graciously, promis'd his in return to the King, and said he wou'd do him all the Service that lay in his Power. In short, he gave a favourable Reception to all the Compliments that were made him upon his Restoration, excepting those of the *Muscovite* Ministers, who not being allow'd to stir out of their Houses, sent to congratulate him by Mr. *Thelis*, the *Dutch* Interpreter. He pretended that they shou'd engage themselves to induce the *Czar* to pay the Annual Pension of 80000 Crowns, from which his *Czarian* Majesty had got himself exempted by the Treaty of *Carlowitz* ; and that an Article to that purpose shou'd be inserted expressly in that which they were endeavouring to set again on foot with the *Sublime Porte*. For this End they had obtain'd Liberty of the deposed *Visier Soliman Bashaw*, to come out of the Seven Towers and be at *Adrianople*, where the new *Visier Ibrahim Bashaw* still kept them Prisoners in their own House, (being the same wherein himself had liv'd before his Promotion to the Dignity of *Visier*) giving them more reason to apprehend a War than hope for Peace. The *Han* returned the Presents with which they accompanied their Compliments of Congratulation, ordering them to be told, that when the Article of the Pension shou'd be settled and sign'd, he wou'd accept them. Upon this these Gentlemen sent him Answer, that it shou'd not be their Faults, if he did not obtain his Demand ; that they wou'd write about it to their Master, without whose Permission they begg'd his Highness to consider 'twas not in their Power to regulate such an Article ; that, as for the rest, they had not yet had liberty of the *Sublime Porte*, to enter into Conferences with her Ministers about renewing the Treaty, nor even to send their own Interpreters : And indeed (as I've before observ'd) 'twas the first Interpreter for the *Dutch* Nation ; who being entirely devoted to their Service, took Care of their Affairs, and solicited, intreated, promised and made Presents for them to the *Porte*, meeting with Affronts, Injuries, Reproaches, Complaints, Menaces, but seldom with good Words ; but was said to be very well paid, and promised much more by the *Muscovites* in return for his Trouble.

ble. The *Han*, instead of being satisfy'd with their Reasons, was continually threatening and making as if he had Orders from the *Grand Seignior* to depart and repair to his Troops, with which he gave out he was to begin Hostilities, as in plundering, taking Slaves, &c.

Mr. *Desalleures* reach'd *Adrianople* some Days after the *Han's* Arrival, and this Ambassador with Mr. *Bruë* transacted all Affairs at the *Porte* for the *Swedes*, which they cou'd not do for themselves in Person; endeavouring to induce the *Han* and the *Turks* to persist in their Demands on the *Czar*, and their Thoughts of War, and that with as much Zeal as Mr. *Thelis* used his utmost Efforts to the contrary; and the King's Departure was no longer talked on. On the other hand, the *Palatine* of *Massovia* and Baron *Goltz*, with their Retinue, were almost as closely confined at *Adrianople* as the *Muscovites*, and were in a sort of Inquisition, for they indeed ask'd nothing of them, but seem'd desirous of their offering something of their own accord, so that they shou'd not complain of their Designs, neither wou'd they directly infringe the Treaty of *Carlowitz*.

The new *Visier* made divers Alterations, one of which was the recalling his *Swedish* Majesty from *Demotica* to *Demirtash*, a Village three Quarters of a Mile from *Adrianople*, where his Majesty had his Lodging assign'd him, with several of his Court, in the old Palace of *Cara Mustapha's*, already named, the *Visier* who besieg'd *Vienna* in 1683, and the rest of his Attendants in Houses prepared for them in the Neighbourhood. Some Days afterwards he order'd a magnificent Tent to be set up near it, and came thither himself with the *Tartar Han*, and he desired Mr. *Desalleures* to invite the King to assist at a Conference that was to be there held concerning his Affairs. His Majesty excused himself from going, but sent Mr. *Mullern*, who did not tell the real Reason, (which was plain enough to be seen, viz. that his Majesty thought it below his Dignity to wait upon them,) but said that he was indisposed; and that as for the rest, he had Confidence enough in Mr. *Desalleures* and himself, to give them full Power to act, and have a Share in all that regarded him. The *Visier* answer'd, *Well then, I'll make the French Ambassador come to me*; and immediately the *Han* and he ordering their Horses to be brought, return'd to *Adrianople*, and Mr. *Mullern* to *Demirtash*.

If his Majesty was not then out of Order, the great Rest that had immediately succeeded the violent Motion he had accusom'd himself to before the Action at *Warnitza*, and that yet more violent on that Day, was enough to make him so; for this Prince had lain down or sat ever since, either in a Waggon or on a *Sopha*, with a Covering over his Legs, without going out of his Chamber, or even walking in it, as another wou'd have done; and in a word, without the least Exercise, for want of Horses to take that he lik'd best. He neither shew'd himself, nor dined in publick, not having Conveniences for his Kitchen or Table, as Knives, Chairs, &c. which had been all lost at *Warnitza*; but he eat in his Chamber upon a little *Turkish Sophra*, and mdae generally Messieurs *Grothusen* and *Dubens*, and Chancellor *Mullern* keep him Company; this latter acting the Cook, and taking Care to provide a Fire and necessary Utensils in his own Apartment for that purpose.

Whether the *Visier* did not rightly understand the Respect due to Crown'd Heads, or the Civility to be observ'd by an Inferior to a Superior, which, setting aside the Haughtiness usually inseparable from a

Prime *Vizier*, ought to oblige him to wait upon the King, instead of pretending to expect his Majesty's coming to him, or whether he really believed that he was indisposed, or both, he never express'd any Resentment against the *Swedes* for it. His Inclinations seem'd to be more turn'd to War than Peace, and he appear'd desirous of signalizing himself by Land, as he had already done by Sea; and when the *Muscovites*, whom he always kept confined, demanded, by the Interpreter before-mentioned, to have the Conferences open'd, for which they had been brought from *Constantinople*, he made Answer, that he would carry them into the Field with him, and talk of Peace upon the Frontiers. This amphibious Hero not only threaten'd the *Czar*, but the *Poles*; and he seem'd, by the warlike Preparations for which he had given Orders, to be wholly intent upon renewing the War, when he was seiz'd as he came out of the *Seraglio*, and strangled, and his Body thrown into the River.

Mr. *Fabrice*, who was always welcome to the King, as contributing to his passing his most agreeable Moments, by the Sprightliness of his Wit, had taken a Lodging in a neighbouring Village, call'd *Caragatz*, in order to be nearer the Court, and assist his Majesty to laugh at the Caprices of the *Porte*, instead of being chagrind at them. *Ali Bashaw Cumurgi*, after this, began to exercise the Authority of *Vizier*, but without assuming the Title, till some Months afterwards. He treated the King of *Sweden* after the same Manner he had advis'd *Soliman Bashaw*, without ever mentioning his Departure; and he even sent Mr. *Desalleures* back to *Constantinople* for having done it, or demanded somewhat in his Favour. However, the *Muscovites* and *Poles* did not immediately find their Account in this Change, as they had flattered themselves; the *Han* was inflexible upon the Article before-mentioned, and they continued to keep them in a Cage (to use that Expression) to force them to sing, that is, to bring them to their own Terms; and the first were not released but upon the Promise of 120,000 Crowns, once for all, for the *Han*, and a great deal more for the *Sublime Porte*.

The Change of Air began at this Time visibly to be detrimental to his *Swedish* Majesty, and in spite of his happy and strong Constitution, he was attack'd by a *Tertian* Ague, and that pretty violent. Just at this Juncture, some Affairs calling me to *Christendom*, partly for his Majesty's Service, partly for my own Business, I resolv'd first to make a Tour to *Constantinople*, and set out for that Place the middle of *May*. On the Road I was overtaken by the *Kislar Aga*, who was depos'd, accompanied by six Men Servants, all better mounted than my self, especially the *Aga* himself. A little after I came up with his *Harem*, consisting of two cover'd Waggon; and as I lay at *Ponte Piccolo*, in a *Han* where they took up their Lodging, I had a View of his Women: There were four of them, young, pretty free with their Veils, and not at all scrupulous of showing their Faces, in going in and out of their Room, which was near mine, to take the Air. 'Tis not easy to imagine what Use such mutilated Creatures, as I have represented those of his Colour to be, can make of Women, * having not so much as the least Mark to distinguish of what Sex they are; and 'twould be incredible, if Experience did not daily shew it. 'Tis odd they should take a Pleasure in raising Desires they can't satisfy, neither

* The Turks give for Reason of this, that any Mussulman, who has a sufficient Estate, is obliged by their Laws to maintain four Women.

in themselves nor their *Odalicks*, for they don't take any by Contract, no *Turkish* Women being willing to have such titular Husbands; wherefore they buy Slaves, who are forced by their Condition to a loathed Complaisance for their monstrous Masters. The *Kislar Aga*, leaving them there under the Guard of some Eunuchs of his own Colour, went on that Night for *Constantinople*, where I arriv'd next Day.

After a Stay of about six Weeks, I set out again for *Adrianople*, in order to proceed on my intended Journey. On my Road thither, between *Ponte Piccolo* and *Ponte Grande*, I overtook some *Tchorbadgis*, or *Turkish* Captains, whom I had known at *Bender*; they were going (as they said) with their Companies to *Cotchin*, which the *Porte* was fortifying. I told them that a great many Troops were already march'd that Way; to which they answer'd, "That's true, but we have Orders to form a Body upon the Frontiers of *Poland*. What (said I) to wage War with the *Poles*? No (reply'd they) but to take Possession of *Caminick*, which is offer'd us by King *Stanislaus*, who has most Part of *Poland* in his Interest. But (added I) if the *Poles*, who favour him, should not declare themselves, what will you do then? If they shou'd not (rejoin'd one of them) King *Augustus* will be apprehensive of our entring *Poland*, and declaring War, and therefore will himself offer it; and 'tis no Matter from whom we receive it, provided 'tis deliver'd up. But (continued I) if neither the one nor the other should happen, what then? Then (said they) we shall return; the *Grand Seignior* pays us for both going and coming." I arriv'd at *Adrianople* the 10th of *July*, and went next Day to *Demirtash* to solicit my Dispatches, which were promis'd and got ready the 12th, but not presented to the King to sign, on Account of his having a pretty violent Fit of an Ague. Nevertheless, his Majesty look'd as chearful as if nothing ail'd him, and never made any Complaint, being no more afraid of the Shocks of a Distemper, than the Dangers of War. Having got my Dispatches, I set forward on my Journey with a *Lithuanian* Servant, hiring Horses at *Adrianople* for *Hermanly*, there being no *Menzil-hane*, or Post-House for Horses, at *Mustapha Pacha Cuprul*, or the Bridge of *Mustapha Bashaw*; where I staid some Hours to take a View of the Bridge, which is both long, large, and of Stone; and another Packet was sent me there from the *Swedish* Chancery, by one of his Majesty's Interpreters. I was no longer at *Hermanly* than whilst I cou'd get two Horses for my self and my Servant; 'tis a pretty large Town, and very populous, having two handsome Mosques, a fine *Han*, and another Stone Bridge much lesser, and built by the same.

From hence I pursued my Journey by *Ghenge Mahane*, a little Village, but inconsiderable; *Papassi*, another something larger, with a *Han* and a little *Mosque*; and at Night I reach'd *Philippoli*, where I lay at *Menzil-hane*, or Post-House. The next Morning, before my setting out, I had a Curiosity to see this Town, but I could not discover any Inscriptions in it; it is very long, but not broad, and has several good Stone-Houses, amongst a greater Number of Wooden Ones, with four or five handsome Mosques. I bought here of a Goldsmith the Silver Medal, which was formerly struck of Brass for this City, with this Inscription, MAKEΔONΩN ΠΠΟΤΗ, with two others like (17) in the Print XXIX, and one also of Brass like the first, which I bought of a Brasier. After which I set forwards about nine a Clock,

taking

taking fresh Horses at *Tartar-Bassargic*, I arrived at Night at *Kezillis-sar*, a Castle, which defends the Passage of the *Porta Trajani*, call'd by the *Turks*, *Derwent Capi*, a narrow Passage six or seven Miles long between Mountains; at the bottom of one of which is *Jegni Koi*, or the new Village, where I arriv'd the 15th, and spent good Part of the Night. On the left, between *Philippoli* and this Village, there is a large Plain, bounded on the North by a Ridge of Mountains, in the Shape of a Crescent, where they sow * Rice, which they say thrives there tolerably well, and 'tis the only Place in *Europe* where I ever saw it. Having pass'd the Defile of *Derwent Capi*, I reach'd *Ighteman* before Noon, and *Sophia*, the ancient *Sardica*, or *Triadiza*, towards the beginning of the Night. 'Tis a large City, indifferently well built for the Country wherein it is, with eighteen or twenty *Mosques*, that yield a fine Prospect at a Distance. I enquir'd amongst the Goldsmiths and Brasiers for some Medals, and I found those in the Print XXIX. viz. two Silver ones like N. (25.) three of *Agathocles* the Son of *Lysimachus*; N. (5.) in the Print XII. two of *Philip* the younger with *Serapis*, two of *Macrinus*, as N. (11.) Print XXVIII. four of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, of *Tranquillina*, and *Faustina*, in Brass; with several Silver ones of *Roman* Emperors and Empresses, &c. that are very common, as those of *Geta*, *Dioclesian*, *Trajan*, *Vespasian*, *Julia*, *Lepidus*, *Rome*, *Alexandria*, &c.

A Courier of the Court of *Vienna*, whom Mr. *Talman* the Resident had sent back from *Constantinople*, join'd me here at the Post-House, and we set out in Company for *Belgrade*, and thence to *Vienna*, hardly stopping any where but to change Horses, which we did as follows; the first Time at *Halkhaly*, a miserable little Village; the second at *Saribrood*; the third at *Zardekoy*, a large Town, with three good *Mosques*, and an old Castle; the fourth at *Mustapha Pacha Palanka*, an ancient Castle, with eight Towers half ruin'd, and some Hutts, or miserable Houses; the fifth at *Bagno*; the sixth at *Nissa*, an old City of *Servia*, but kept in ill Repair, and call'd formerly *Naissus*; the seventh at *Kioupmkkay*; the eighth at *Hamamgikoi*; the ninth at *Baracken*; and the tenth at *Zenovizza*: After which he cross'd a Forrest about fifteen Miles in Length, in the midst of which we chang'd Horses, and then at *Hysfargick* for the last Time, till we came to *Belgrade*, the *Alba Græca* of the Ancients, which we reach'd on the 20th.

This City is advantagiously situated, upon an Eminence at the Confluence of the *Save*, and is defended by a good Castle. *Soliman II.* made himself Master of it in 1521, and the Imperialists retook it in 1687, the *Turks* recover'd it from them in 1689, and lost it lastly in 1716, together with a Battle, wherein the *Visier* was kill'd; and it remains in the Imperialists Hands by the Treaty of *Passarowitz*. On our Arrival hither, we were conducted before the *Janissair Aga* to be examined, according to Custom, and afterwards before the *Bashaw*, who had our Passports from the *Porte* read to him, and then gave us Permission to pursue our Journey. Our Examination being over, I took a Turn in the *Ciarchis*, or publick Market, and went to the Greek Goldsmiths and Brasiers, of the first of which I bought two Silver Medals like (13.) in the Print XXVIII. and of the second those of *Nicopolis* on the *Da-*

* The Leaf of the Plant that bears it is like that of a Leek, but narrower and longer; its Stalk is about three Foot in Height, and larger than that of Barley, and has more Knots; the Ear sprouts out in little Branches, and the Husk is yellow; it only grows on low moist Places that are washed with Water, and exposed to the Sun.

nube, of *Perinthus Neocore* for the third time, with the Head of *Mercury*, and those of the *Serdians*, *Milesians*, *Maronitans*, with the Head of a Woman, and a Nudity for the Reverse, being a very scarce one amongst a Number of common ones, most Part of the latter *Roman Emperors*, for which I paid something more than double their Value.

We cross'd the River towards the Evening, and hiring Horses and a Waggon at a forry Village which is on the Northern Side of it, we next Evening, after having pass'd thro' *Carlowitz* * without stopping, reach'd *Peterwaradin*, a little fortify'd Town, where we lay, and found the first regular *German Post*. This expeditious Manner of Travelling allow'd me but to make superficial Remarks on the Places thro' which we pass'd, the Principal whereof were *Fimfkirken*, or the five Churches, *Zigeth*, *Kanisch*, *Weisseburgh*, *Oldenburgh*, and *Neustadt*. The first (according to the most general Opinion of Geographers) is situated upon the Ruins of the ancient *Mursa*, and is very strong both by Art and Nature; its wooden Bridge is one of the longest that ever I saw, being above 8000 Geometrical Paces in length, and about 7 broad, extending it self over the *Drave*, and a *Morass* adjacent from this Town, to Fort *Darda*. The second derives its Name from its five Churches, has a pretty good Fortrefs, and is famous in History for the Defeat of the *Turks* in 1687. The third is the strongest Place in all *Hungary*, being surrounded with three Walls, and is the same before which *Soliman the Magnificent* dy'd in 1566, and the *Turks* say that it was taken by Storm twenty four Hours after his Death; they lost it again in 1687. The fourth was advantageously situated upon a sort of an Island, which is formed by an Eminence in the middle of a large *Morass*, which renders it almost inaccessible; besides which, it has good Walls: However, the *Turks* took it in 1600, and lost it in the same Year, as *Zygeth*, but by Famine; as if a Place which is fortify'd by Nature, cou'd not be conquer'd but by overcoming Nature itself. There are still some of their Mosques remaining, with their Turrets. The fifth at present is but a Village, where (according to some Geographers) the *Lymusa*, (according to others) the *Quadrata* of the Ancients (two little Towns in *Pannonia*) formerly stood. The sixth is tolerably pretty, and has handsome Churches; and the seventh is lesser, but very agreeable and strong, being the usual Prison wherein Prisoners of State are confined. In travelling thus thro' the *Lower Hungary*, I saw here and there Villages, some of which had been burnt by the Malecontents, and (as was said) great Part of them by the *Germans* themselves. As for the rest, the Country, tho' not well cultivated on Account of the War, seemed to me to be extraordinary fertile. Between *Oldenburgh* and *Vienna*, which we reach'd the 26th, I remark'd several Places that were admirable, both for the Pleasantness of their Situation, and the Beauty of their Prospects, being diversify'd with Woods, Meadows, delicious Gardens, and fine Houses, which I took at a Distance for Palaces, and which were (as I was inform'd) some of them religious Communities, and others the Country-Seats of some Ministers of the Imperial Court.

Vienna.

The Plague being at that Time at *Vienna*, I understood that I could not pass through *Breslaw*, nor the Dominions of those Princes of the Empire through which I had propos'd to continue my Journey, without performing Quarantain, or at least an Imperial Passport to exempt

* *Carlowitz* is a pretty well fortify'd Town, famous for the Congress held there in 1699. and the Peace concluded between the Emperor, the Czar, the Poles, the Venerians, and the *Turks*, through the Mediation of England and Holland,

me from it; whereupon Mr. *Morhoff*, the *Holstein* Minister, for whom I had a Letter of Recommendation from Mr. *Fabrice*, as well as a Packet for his Court, solicited one for me; but as all Proceedings go on very slowly at the Court of *Vienna*, it was above Twenty Days before he cou'd obtain it, which was time more than sufficient to view the City and the Parts adjacent.

In the mean while the News of the King's Distemper, and of his not appearing in Publick, having quickly reach'd *Christendom*, it was reported he was dead; and whatever I cou'd say to the contrary, and of my having left him in little or no Danger, avail'd nothing: Nay, many wou'd even have me to be a Courier carrying the News of his Death to *Sweden*, till I received some Letters from *Demotica*, (whither his Majesty had been again remov'd) informing me of his Recovery, which I shew'd to the most Incredulous; adding, that the reason of his Majesty's living so retired was, his having been plunder'd of all his Horses, and Furniture for his Table, even to a Knife and a Chair, at *Warnitza*. To return to *Vienna*; it is a perfect Paradise, being agreeably situated upon a Branch of the *Danube*: It was (as they say) first wall'd in by *Leopold* the Fifth, who expended therein 50000 Gold Marks, which he exacted from *Richard* King of *England*, as a Satisfaction for some Injuries receiv'd during the Holy War. There are some Part of these Walls still to be seen in their primitive State, with their Towers at the Red Gate; but the rest have been repaired and enlarged to great Advantage, and rendred more conformable to the manner of the present Times. They are at present flank'd with twelve large Bastions, and accompanied with Ravelins and Cover'd-ways; in a word, it is in a Condition to sustain a vigorous Siege, as it is well known it did very fortunately against the *Turks*. It has two Imperial Arsenals, very well furnish'd with all sorts of Arms, Instruments and Military Machines; in the first are Muskets, Sabres, Swords, &c. for above 30000 Men, and in the second are Cannons, Mortar-Pieces, Culverins, &c. The City does not contain much above 1000 Houses; but these Houses are generally so large, and so handsome, that four of them often fill up both sides of a spacious Street; its Churches, Convents and Hospitals are magnificent, as well as several Palaces; among the rest that of Prince *Eugene*, that of *Lichtenstein*, *Montecuculi*, *Sundacar*, *Dietrichstein* and *Esterhasi*. The Imperial Palace is a large irregular confus'd Body of Buildings, consisting of divers spacious Apartments, built at different Times, under various Emperors, who have made Additions according to their Fancy and Convenience. What best deserves viewing in it is the Treasury, which contains divers valuable Curiosities, that are not to be seen but for 15 or 20 * Florins; and Travellers, who have sufficient ways for their Money, and are as good Oeconomists as they are curious, generally go four or five together, or more, if they can, in order to see them. 'Tis a sort of a Magazine, where one may find all that is scarce, uncommon or valuable in Jewels, Gold, Silver or Painting; in short, all manner of Antique and Foreign Rarities, of which I shall only mention a few. Among the rest, one may see there a Golden Imperial Crown, embellish'd with Diamonds, Saphirs, and other precious Stones, with a Sceptre, which, they say, is of an Unicorn's Horn, (if ever there were any such Creature but in Heraldry) on the Top of

* A Florin is worth at least half an English Crown.

which is a Saphir exceeding the Bigness of a Partridge's Egg. II. Another Imperial Crown, likewise enriched with Diamonds and other Gems, on the Top of which is a Cross. III. Another with a Golden Sceptre and Globe, not so rich in Jewels as the foregoing ones, which (they say) belong'd to the King of *Bohemia*. IV. Another Regal Crown. An Imperial Globe set with pretious Stones. Several Diamonds, and other valuable Gems above the common Size, which are very much esteem'd. Divers Bucklers, Sabres, Bridles, Caparisons, &c. after the *Turkish* manner, adorn'd with Diamonds and other pretious Stones. A Number of excellent Pictures by the most eminent Hands. The Statues of *Charles the Hardy* the last Duke of *Burgundy*, and *Philip the Fair* King of *Spain*, in Silver, almost as large as the Life. A little Ship of the same Metal gilt, which is made to move very curiously with its Sails, by Springs and little Wheels. They shew there likewise a Number of pretious Vessels of different Figures, of Gold, Silver, Onyx, Agate, *Lapis Lazuli*, Rock Chrystal, with Vials of Amethysts and Turquoises. There are also Medals of several Emperors, most part of them of Gold. One may see there the Figures and Heads of divers *Roman* Emperors cut upon Amethysts, Emeralds, Cornelians, &c. all antique, and an antique Head of *Alexander the Great*, perfectly well cut upon an Onyx. The Alchymists may behold in it with Emulation two Miracles of their great Work, if true ones, viz. two Golden Blades; one whereof they say was of Brass, and the other which they affirm was Lead, and have been Transubstantiated into this Metal; after which Art so many have been so long studying. A Bunch of Grapes, with some Gold, which (as they say) was found in the Vineyard of *Tokay*. A Plate of Agate, whereon are the Words *Christo Nato*, which (they say) were written by the Hand of Nature it self. The Arms of the pious House of *Austria*, done by the same Hand upon a Hyacinth, with a Capital L. A *Roman* Buckler, whereon is the Figure of a Peacock represented, by Emeralds inlaid in it. In another Place, which they call the sacred Treasury of the Imperial Family, they shew a Rag of the Linnen in which they say that Jesus Christ was wrapp'd at his Birth, and another of his Robe without Seam, with a Piece of the Cloth wherein he was buried; as also a Nail, which they affirm to be that wherewith his Right Hand was fasten'd to the Cross, and three large Pieces of the Cross itself. They shew likewise a little Casket shaped like an Altar, and enrich'd with Diamonds, Rubies, and other pretious Stones, wherein they religiously preserve several Drops of his Blood, some Hairs of his Beard, some Thorns of his Crown, with little Pieces of the Spear with which his Side was pierced, and others of the Pillar to which he was fastened, and of the Rods wherewith he was scourged. They make One likewise take Notice there of three Statues of the Same crucify'd, which they shew as the Productions of Nature alone, and which Art cou'd hardly have represented better, being upon the Trunks or Roots of the Trees, or at least they seem'd such. They say, that one of these Statues, which the most resembles a *Crucifix*, spoke formerly to the Emperor *Ferdinand* in these Terms, *Courage Ferdinand, I won't forsake you*. There is also a Statue of the *Virgin Mary*, which (as they pretend) was made by an *Ethiopian*, and is much extoll'd, with divers Silver ones of the Apostles as large as the Life, in which several Parts of their Bodies are inclos'd; with a number of other Relicks in Urns of different Forms, all glittering with pretious Stones, with

with Candlesticks, Lamps and Branches of Gold and Silver. They shew also two Stones, which (they say) were two Loaves, which a Woman was going to bake on the Festival of *St. Anne*; and which, by a Miracle, contrary to that which *Satan* proposed to Jesus Christ in the Desert, were petrify'd; as also one of the Stones with which *St. Stephen* was Martyriz'd. After having seen the Things before mention'd, and this last Stone, which is only remarkable for having (according to their Account of it) given the fatal Blow to this Patron and Protector of *Vienna*, there is nothing better deserves a Traveller's Admiration than the Order and Symmetry of his Church; 'tis a bold Pile of Building, after the manner of the Holy Chappel at *Paris*, but incomparably larger. The Steeple of this vast Edifice is of an extraordinary height, and is all of hard Stone; and the Ornaments and Figures of it are cut out with such Delicacy, as if they were wrought upon Wax.

Upon entring this Church, ones Eyes are entertain'd by Thirty three sumptuous Altars, in as many noble Chappels, that are worthy of and entirely answerable to them for their Architecture and the Painting wherewith they are embellish'd. The Head Altar and the Tabernacle which is above it, and which (they say) came from *Palermo*, are two Master-pieces, and were not brought to the Perfection wherein they are now seen, at a less Expence than above Three Hundred Thousand Florins. In the Church-yard, one is invited to observe a Pulpit of Stone, very plain; whence they pretend, that *St. Capistran*, of the *Franciscan* Order, preached in *Latin* to the People, and that he was understood even by those who were entirely Strangers to that Language. The other Churches, as well without as within the City, are not destitute of their respective Beauties, neither in Architecture, Sculpture, nor Painting, not to mention the Richness of their Sacred Utenfils or Sacerdotal Ornaments. The Monasteries, or Religious Houses, are so many stately and large Palaces; among which they give the Preference to those of the *Jesuits*, the one consecrated to *St. Ignatius* and *St. Francis Xavier*, accompanied with a fine College, and the other the *profess'd House*; and after to those of the *Augustines*, the *Dominicans*, the *Carmelites*, the *Franciscans*, and the *Fathers of the Trinity*, for their Riches and the Quantity of such Ornaments as before-mention'd; and to those of the *Franciscans* on the new Market Place, the *Capuchins*, the Parish Church of the *Virgin Mary*, that of the *Augustine Nuns*, and the Chappel of the Palace of *Trautson*, for the Number and miraculous Holiness of their Images and Relicks. The Emperor *Matthias*, and the Empress his Consort, signaliz'd their Liberality and Piety, in giving to the *Franciscans* several pretious Shrines all crusted over with Jewels; amongst others, the Crown of Jesus Christ, with some Drops of his Blood, and the entire Heads of divers Saints. In that of the *Capuchins*, or *Minorites*, they particularly reverence a Crucifix, wherein (they say) are enclos'd several Pieces of the Wood of the Spear, wherewith the Side of Jesus Christ was pierced, his Crown of Thorns, and *Aaron's Rod*. In that of the *Virgin Mary*, one of her Images, famous for various Miracles that are attributed to it; and in the Chappel of the Palace of *Trautson*, is all that one can desire as to Relicks of Jesus Christ, the *Madona*, the Saints and Innocents; and they aver their being genuine to have been confirm'd by a Number of Miracles. Amongst other Accounts of this Collection of Relicks, they have

have publish'd this Relation in a Book printed at *Vienna*; that after the Reformation of *Saxony*, the Duke of that Country having ordered some *Lutheran* Ministers to lock up in a Chest the Relicks that were in the Churches of Count *Harrach*, they cut off (out of Malice, as 'twas suppos'd) a Piece of one of *Luther's* Buskins, fastening to it a Paper with these Words, *Ex Caligis Divi Lutheri*, as they do to the Relicks to distinguish them, then enclos'd it in one of the Shrines: This done, they carried it to his Highness, who (as the History goes) was wholly ignorant of the Imposture, and he seal'd it with his own Signet, and sent it thus to the Bishop of *Vienna*, who being a Branch of the Family of the Count of *Harrach*, had desired these Relicks, which the Duke in Civility granted. The Chest being come, he had it placed in the Chappel; where they had no sooner been, than they cast forth (as the History adds) an intollerable Stench, and each Piece being thereupon examined by the Bishop, in Presence of his Clergy, and the Fraud discover'd by the Inscription, they threw the Piece of Buskin into the Fire, on which the Stink ceased, and a most agreeable Smell succeeded in lieu thereof.

The Suburbs (between which and the City is a great empty Space forming a very large Crescent) are perfectly handsome, being advantageously set off and diversify'd by a Number of fine Palaces and Monasteries for both Sexes, with delicious Gardens; and they seem to make various little subordinate Cities, among which that call'd *Leopoldstat* deserves more than the Name of a little City, being of a great Extent, and having a great Number of fine Houses.

In the mean while, continual Processions were made, and publick Prayers put up, for the entire extinguishing of the *Plague*, which at that time had almost lost its malignant Force; and each Company of Tradesmen walk'd devoutly under the Standard of the He or She-Saint, whom they acknowledg'd as their Patron or Patroness. One might see here in one Place a perpetual Crowd kneeling at the Foot of a Pillar, whereon there is a fine Brazen Statue of the *Virgin Mary*; and in another, an uninterrupted and successive Throng of People of both Sexes from Morning 'till late at Night kneeling down before, and invoking of, the Statue of a new Saint call'd *Nicopovicenus*, (for whose Canonization there was then, as was said, only 1,100,000 Florins wanting,) and beating their Breasts like the *Greek* or *Armenian* Women at their Funerals; and in a word, excepting the *Spaniards* and *Italians*, I never in all my Travels saw greater Zealots for the *Roman* Catholick Religion, than the People of *Austria*.

On the other hand, they were all generally very much dissatisfy'd with the *English* Ministry, who sacrific'd (as they said) all the Glory and Advantages of a Ten Years War, the most successful that had ever been known, (and which had acquir'd to the Queen the Name of *Anna the Great* throughout *Europe*) to a Party Resentment. Ought not they, said the Politicians, after having perswaded her Majesty to dismiss the Duke of *Marlborough*, by representing him as a Man who only endeavour'd to prolong the War, which lay too heavy upon *England*, to have shown the Truth of those Pretences, by ordering his Successor to reduce at one Blow *France* (which had already offer'd such Honourable Terms) within its just Limits, and prevent her disturbing the Tranquility of *Europe* for the future? It might have been done, added they, "By the Continuance of a good Understanding amongst the Allies, and
" the

“ the Conjunction of their Forces, in one single Campaign, the Supplies
 “ for it being already granted, and which wou'd have acquired her Ma-
 “ jesty the Honour of making a Peace worthy of so glorious a War, the
 “ Success of which the Emperor ascribed to her entirely, drinking her
 “ Health under the Title of *Anna the Great*, even after being forsaken
 “ by her. By such a Conduct her Majesty wou'd justly have deserv'd
 “ the Devices which the *French* had given to their King, on Account
 “ of the fortunate Peace he had concluded, which pass'd for a Mira-
 “ cle in Politicks, after so unfortunate a War; as *Bello Pacique para-*
 “ *tus*, “ *Prepar'd either for Peace or War;*” *Orbem Pacare laborat*, “ *He*
 “ *labours to give Peace to the World:*” And indeed this Prince's Sub-
 jects, being full of Gratitude, and surprized the most agreeably imagi-
 nable, look'd upon him as a God, after that he had the Address to ex-
 tricate himself so happily from his Misfortunes, and reap almost the
 same Fruits as if he had been always successful. The Discourses of
 the *French Academy of Eloquence* were full of Admiration, Astonishment
 and Praises, upon this Subject; and that of *Devices* struck the Medals;
 with the Inscription before mentioned upon it, with several others no
 less honourable; as *Idem post mille Labores*, “ *The same after a thousand*
Toils;” and after the Defeat of the Earl of *Albemarle*, *Arte & Marte*,
 “ *By Policy and Force;*” and after the signing of the Peace, *Deus no-*
bis hæc Otia fecit, “ *A God has procured us this Repose.*”

Having obtain'd the Imperial Passport, I took Post-Horses on the
 20th of *August* for * *Breslaw*, where I arriv'd the 22d, but did not enter Breslaw.
 it, the Magistrates scrupling to receive me, and not respecting the Em-
 peror's Passport so much as they fear'd the Contagion; however, they
 allow'd me to lodge in a sort of a Suburb adjoining to it, where I lay
 that Night, and pursued my Journey the next Day very fortunately,
 till I came to ** *Crossen*, at the Gates of which I was stopped till they Crossen.
 went to shew my Passport to the Magistrate, who returned me a very
 ill-natured Message, even to the telling me, that if I did not retire
 thence, he would order them to fire upon me. I sent a *French* Refu-
 gee, who happen'd to be there, to beg him at least to give me an Ex-
 tra-Post, which he also refused me; and the Post-Boy being good-hu-
 moured, agreed, for a small Present above the regulated Price, to car-
 ry me, with the same Horses, by a round-about Way, as far as † *Guben*. Guben.
 where he procured me fresh ones, without meeting with any Ca-
 vils about my Passport, as far as † *Berlin*, where I arriv'd on the 25th, Berlin.
 in the beginning of the Night. They stopp'd me at the first *Corps de*
Guard, some hundred Paces distant from the City: His *Prussian* Ma-
 jesty was then at one of his Country-Houses, and the Magistrates ha-
 ving read the Imperial Passport, sent to tell me that I could not enter
 the City; whereupon I wrote a little Letter to the Baron *Gortz*, who
 happen'd to be then there, and for whom I had a Packet from Mr.
Fabrice, and another to Mr. *Beton*, the *British* Minister, who in vain
 endeavoured to procure me Entrance, and did me the Honour the

* *Breslaw* is agreeably situated upon the *Oder*, and by what I saw of it seem'd well fortify'd, and is defended by a good Castle. It is well peopled, and govern'd like a Republick; its Inhabitants are partly Roman Catholics, partly Protestants; 'tis the Capital of *Silesia*.

** *Crossen*, a City of the same Province, and dependent on the King of *Prussia*.

† *Guben*, a little Town dependent on the Emperor, on the Frontiers of *Bohemia*.

† *Berlin* is a well built and strong City, very advantageously situated for Commerce on the *River*, whose Communication with the *Oder* is very favourable for that Purpose.

Lunen-
burgh.

next Morning to come and see me in my little Hut, where the Guard had given me some Straw to lie on. They ask'd me several Questions about the King of *Sweden*, whom the News of his Sickness (which was already spread all over *Germany*) had kill'd, in the Opinion of the Publick; I assured them his Life had been in no manner of Danger, and that I had even received a Letter at *Vienna*, which assured me of his being perfectly well recovered. I obtain'd by their Means an Extra-Post, with which I set out from hence towards the Evening, and reach'd * *Lunenburgh* on the 27th, wherein I was suffer'd to enter. An Officer taking my Passport, and sending it without Examination to the Governor, who not finding thereon the Name of *Berlin*, as usual, to testify that I had Admittance there, reprimanded him for giving me Entrance; whereupon he came to me, and desired me not to divulge it in the City; I promised, and did accordingly.

The next Day I went to pay my Respects to the Dutcheſs Dowager of † *Zell*, who had a very pretty Court there handsomely lodg'd and maintain'd: She did me the Honour to keep me at Dinner, and ask'd me a great many Questions about *Turky*, especially concerning the King of *Sweden*, (as did almost every Body that I spoke with.) I had here, as in all Places I paſs'd through, abundance of Viſiters, and Invitations on his Majesty's Account, and was even pointed at in the Streets as a Man that came from him, and had much ado to persuade them that his Majesty was in the Number of the Living, notwithstanding all I cou'd say. After Dinner I went to make a Viſit to Mr. *Fabrice's* Sisters, at a Convent call'd ** *Lune*, a ſmall quarter of a †† *German* Mile from the City; they enquir'd of me very much, not only about the King of *Sweden*, whom they believ'd dead, according to the Accounts of the publick News Papers, but alſo about their Brother, whom the ſame Papers had made turn *Turk*, on Account of being catch'd with ſome *Turkiſh* Women. 'Twas with much ado that I undeceiv'd them upon either of thoſe Articles, by aſſuring them that his Majesty was actually well, as was evident by the Letters which I had receiv'd at *Vienna*, and which were the freſheſt that could be had from his Court, and that he had been in no more Danger of his Life, than Mr. *Fabrice* of being a *Turk*: And as they were deſirous of knowing what had given Riſe to ſuch a Report concerning their Brother, I told them, that an intimate Friend of his, who was named in the News, happening to be one Day deſign'dly, or by Chance, at a *Grecian* Woman's, whither two young *Turkiſh* Women came, the *Turkiſh* Guard had ſeiz'd them as looſe Women, and that he had made his Eſcape very *a-propos* by a Back-door, for that otherwiſe they wou'd not have ſpar'd him; and that Mr. *Fabrice* had no other Share of the Adventure, than in the Letters of

* *Lunenburgh* is a large City, pretty well fortify'd, the Capital of the Dutchy of the ſame Name; the River *Ilmow* runs into its Ditches, and by its Communication with the *Elbe*, favours its Commerce, which conſiſts chiefly in Salt, having Salt-Pits even within the Town.

† The Dutcheſs Dowager of *Zell*, of the Proteſtant Houſe of *Olbreuſe*, Daughter of *Alexander*, Lord of *Olbreuſe* in *Poitou*. *George William*, Duke of *Zell*, when he married her, made her Dutcheſs of *Harburgh*, and the Emperor afterwards made her a Princeſs of the Empire. She died towards the latter End of *January*, 1722, aged 84.

** *Lune*; this Convent remains in the ſame State wherein it was before the Reformation of *Luther*, with Part of its Revenues, for the Maintenance of a certain Number of Maidens of good Family; excepting that they make no Vows, and may come out to marry if they pleaſe. They ſing Divine Service according to the Lutheran Rites; the Church is pretty well lighted, and adorned with the Statues and Images of Saints, like all the others of the ſame ſort.

†† A *German* Mile is above five *Engliſh* ones.

ſome

some malicious Pens gave him. They seem'd something quieted by my Testimony, tho' not entirely satisfy'd; and they detain'd me to sup with them, making me promise likewise to come again the next Day to Dinner, as I did, and almost all the Time during my Abode at *Lunenburg*, which was seven or eight Days. Their Questions upon this Head, with those of the Publick concerning the King of *Sweden*, whom they generally believed dead, gave me Occasion to write to Mr. *Fabrice*, amongst other Things, that I had made great *Debauche de Langue*, by which I meant to express the many long Conversations I had with the young Ladies his Sisters; and that 'twas with a great deal of Difficulty I had *Un-Turk'd* him in their Belief, and rais'd his Majesty again to Life, in that of the Publick; and he sent me Word in his Answer, in the *Appendix*, two Months after, when I was in *England*, that he had shewn my Letter to that Prince, who had put, or seem'd to put, a pleasant Construction upon my *French* Expression.

Being thus purified, or exempt from Quarantain, by having enter'd *Lunenburg*, as I cou'd transact Part of my Business at *Hambourgh* by Letters, I did not think it proper to expose my self to the Performance of one, by offering to enter that Place, where the Plague was still, tho' almost ceas'd: Accordingly I wrote thither, and waited for an Answer; which was, that I shou'd be at the Gates of that City on such a Day with Baron *Gortz*, whom I shou'd find at * *Harburgh*; whereupon I set out from *Lunenburg* in the beginning of *September*, and went to lie at *Harburgh*, where I met the Baron. He took me along with him the next Day in a Boat, which he hired on purpose for *Grassenburgh*, a very agreeable Spot of Ground between the Ramparts of *Hambourgh* and the *Elbe*, where his Highness the Duke Administrator of *Holstein*, Count *Welling*, and some other Persons with whom we had Business, arriv'd in a Minute afterwards. After an Interview of about an Hour, we return'd to *Harburgh*, whence I took Post next Day for *Zell*, which is larger than *Zell*, *Cella*; *Harburgh*, well built, populous, and has a fine Castle, where the late Duke kept his Court. I alighted at my Arrival thither at Mr. *Fabrice's* Father's, who receiv'd me very obligingly; and from thence went for *Hanover*, a pretty large City, formerly Imperial, on the River *Leyne*, *Hanover*; which divides it in two. Its Fortifications are very regular, its Streets large and neat, and the Palace where the Electoral Court resides is noble: Its Furniture in general is very rich, and its Tapistry and Painting by the best Hands. I paid a Visit to the Countess of *La Lippe*, Baroness of *Kilmanseck*, now Lady *Darlington*, for whom I had a Letter of Mr. *Fabrice's*. She is a Person of the first Merit, and of the best Manners; she writes an extraordinary fine Style, and is perfect Mistress of several Languages. I never saw a People love their Sovereign better, and who give greater Praises to the Moderation and Tenderness of his Government, than those in the *Hanoverian* Dominions. I staid but one Day at *Hanover*, and set out the next Morning with the common Post for *Holland*, where I arrived in five or six Days, without passing thro' any Place more considerable than *Osna- Osna-brugh*; *brugh*, the Capital City of the Bishoprick of that Name. This Place is very handsome, its Cathedral is august, tho' after the *Gothick* Archi-

* *Harburgh* is a little Town upon the *Elbe*, well built and fortify'd, and defended by a strong Citadel

ecture; it is famous for the Treaty made there between *Sweden*, the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, and the Empire, at the Time of negotiating a general Peace at *Münster*. By this Treaty the Bishoprick of *Osnabrugh* was render'd alternative between the *Roman Catholics* and the *Lutherans*, as it is at this Day, and his Highness the Duke of *York* is now actually in Possession of it for the latter; and whenever it is in their Turn, the Chapters, who have the Right of Election, must choose one of the House of *Brunswick*, as long as that Line endures.

C H A P. IV.

A few Cursory Remarks on Holland; more on England, its Liberty, Party-Divisions, and Writings; Germany and Turkey, especially on the Parts bordering the Danubius and the Black Sea, from that River's Mouth to Constantinople; on Demotica, &c.

Deventer.

Utrecht.

THE first Town that I reach'd in *Holland* was *Deventer*, which is large and populous, but fortify'd after the old Manner; it is situated on the River *Yssel*, and was taken in 1672 by the *French*, who quit-
ted it two Years afterwards. The second was *Amersfort*, which stands on the River *Ems*; and the third was *Utrecht*, where was his Excellency Dr. *Robinson*, then Bishop of *Bristol*, late of *London*, in Quality of Plenipotentiary from the Queen of *England*. I had a Letter for him from Mr. *Jefferies*, the *British* Minister to his *Swedish* Majesty, which I deliver'd into that Prelate's own Hands, who receiv'd me with a great deal of Kindness, and did me the Honour to keep me to dine with him, asking me Abundance of Questions concerning the King of *Sweden*; as indeed they did every where when they knew whence I came. After this I took a Turn into the City, which is not strong, having but a single Rampart, with a pretty deep Ditch, fill'd by the *Rhine*; but its Houses are well built, its Avenues handsome, and its adjacent Parts full of pleasant Gardens. It is very populous, and was then extraordinarily so, by the vast Concourse of Strangers that were drawn there by the Congress: Its Churches are handsome, and the Steeple of the Cathedral is distinguishable for its Height, which surpasses all those in the *United Provinces*, as it does likewise in Beauty. They shew there to Foreigners the *Tuischenhuis*, or the House wherein the Knights of the *Teutonic* Order lived when it belong'd to the Emperor, and that of Pope *Adrian VI.* a Native of this Place, which has nothing else remarkable in it.

Amsterdam.

From *Utrecht* I went to *Amsterdam*, which may be call'd the Capital of all the *Low Countries*; it is so well known, as well as all the others, and there are so many Accounts of it, that whatever one cou'd say of

of it wou'd be but Repetition ; wherefore, without attempting to describe it, I shall only say, that Art triumphs there over Nature ; that 'tis admirably built, for a great Part upon Piles, especially the *Stadt-House*, which is the most remarkable Building, with the *East-India House* and the *Arsenals*. The first wou'd be an accomplish'd Master-piece of Architecture, if its Front were more worthy of and answerable to the Magnificence and Splendour of its Apartments. It contains besides the publick Treasure, a surprizing Variety of valuable, uncommon and curious Rarities ; and the Carvers and Painters have display'd their utmost Art in contributing to adorn it within. The second is entirely worthy of the Riches which are brought by Commerce out of those Countries, as well as the Arsenal, which depends upon it ; and that of the Admiralty is also very fine. The Churches are very handsome, tho' without the interior Ornaments of Sculpture and Painting, which were banish'd by the *Reformation* ; the *Calvinist* Religion being predominant in that Country. Their Civil Government is such throughout the Seven Provinces, that tho' all sorts of Religions are tolerated there, even Numbers the Names whereof are not known elsewhere, yet one never hears of any Faction or Disorder ; and (which is very uncommon amongst other Nations, if we except the *Turks*) they never persecute each other, or show any manner of Hatred, on account of the Difference of Faith or Opinions : But the Clergy are not allow'd to meddle with Temporal Affairs which concern the State ; and if any one ventures to do it, he is obliged to leave the Country in less than Twenty four Hours ; and there have been Examples of Ministers, who, having digressed from their Text to make some Reflections on that Head, have not had the Liberty on coming out of the Church to go home again to their own Houses.

I staid but three Days at *Amsterdam*, which I spent with a great deal of Satisfaction in viewing it ; I lodg'd at the City of *Lyon*, where I found a number of Foreigners, most part *French* ; and amongst the rest the Marquis de *Langallerie*, who was continually disputing with them about the Times, especially the Peace which was negotiating at *Utrecht*. He was very much inflam'd against the King of *France*, whose Service and Religion he had quitted ; and he endeavoured to sully his Glory in making so fortunate a Peace, after the most unsuccessful War that ever *France* had carried on : He said, that his Majesty had lately taken the same Measures for the obtaining such Terms, as formerly for the Acquisition of so many Places, *viz.* (to make Use of his own Words) by metamorphosing himself into a Golden Shower like another *Jupiter*, in order to gain the *English* Ministry by Presents ; which he averr'd as positively as if he himself had seen them given. A *French* Gentleman answer'd, that such Reflections became him much less than any body else, being himself a Subject of that Prince's ; adding, that it was true that the Peace must cost somewhat, but that the Terms were so good, and so much beyond whatever they had dared hoped for in *France*, that they cou'd not but look upon it as a Miracle of Politicks of that great Prince's working, which wou'd eternize his Wisdom, and increase his Glory, for being thus superior to his Enemies in the Cabinet, after having been conquer'd by them in the Field of Battle. There was in the same Ordinary a great tawny Man, with Black Hair a little curl'd, whom Mr. de *Langallerie* call'd Prince *Mustapha* in speaking of him, and *My Prince* or *Your Highness*, when talking with him : I had the Curiosity one Day,

when he was absent, to ask the Marquis his Origin, and what Prince he was? He answer'd, that 'twas a Cousin or Brother of the *Grand Seigneur's*. I cou'd not help smiling at his Credulity, and telling him that it was impossible; upon which, without hearing my Reasons, he put on a serious Air, and added, that he had been taken by the *Maltese*, with the *Sultane's* his Mother, as they were going to *Mecca*, and that he had been acknowledged in *Italy* and *France* as such; in short, he told just such another Story as that of the Prince at *Morocco*, of whom I've spoken before elsewhere. I reply'd, that they might have been impos'd upon in *France*, and that even he himself might have been deceiv'd in his Birth, if he was young when taken; and that I was so well inform'd of the *Turkish* Customs, with regard to the Princes of the *Ottoman* Blood, that I cou'd assure him they were always kept as Prisoners by the Reigning *Sultan*, near his Person, and in his Power; and that if they were come to the Age of Discretion, and were capable of Ruling, he did not so much as leave them at *Constantinople* or *Adrianople* in his Absence, when he went into the Field, for fear of some Revolution to supplant him; but that they were carried to some strong Place on the Frontiers, where they were neither in Danger of falling into the Enemies Hands, nor in a Condition to take Advantage of the Emperor's Absence, or of the Discontents of the People; tho' it seldom happen'd that they went any farther than *Adrianople*, where the *Grand Seigniors* generally leave the *Sultane's* Mothers, and the best part of their *Harem*, as well as these Princes, under the uncorruptible Guard of Eunuchs within, and a certain Number of *Bostangis* and *Fanizaries* without. Whatever I cou'd say to him, not being able to make him alter his Opinion, I spoke no more about it; and he continued to give this Stranger the Title of Prince, who may have assisted him to form the Project of a Visionary Alliance with the *Grand Seigneur*, of which there has been so much Talk in *Christendom*, and never a Word (as I believe) heard at the *Porte*.

Leyden,
Luydunum
Batavorum.

Hague,
Haga Co-
mitum.

Delf.

From *Amsterdam* I set out for *Rotterdam* passing thro' *Haerlem*, *Leyden*, the *Hague* and *Delf*. The first and second of these Towns are very well fortify'd, and famous in History for their vigorous holding out against the *Spaniards*, who besieged them, and were forced to raise the Siege, and for their Commerce and Manufacturies of Cloth and Linnen; tho' there is great difference in their Extent, *Leyden* being several times as large as the other, its University rendring it very considerable and populous. I paid a Visit here to Mr. *Heyman*, Professor of the Oriental Languages, whom I was acquainted with in *Turky*, and who detained me to sup and lie at his House; and the next Day I went to the *Hague*, which they call a Village; but if 'tis so, 'tis the largest and finest perhaps in the World, and surpasses both in Extent, Magnificence, and the Regularity of its Buildings, a number of Cities even in *Holland*, and is the most agreeable Place of Residence, and (as they say) the best Air in all the Country; and it very well justifies the Choice that the Ancient Counts of *Holland* made of it for their Abode, as do the States at this time for their Assemblies. *Delf* is a pretty little neat Town, with two handsome Churches; in one of which is to be seen the sumptuous Tomb of *William*, surnam'd the *Great Prince of Orange*, who was assassinated by one of *Franche Comte* in 1584; and in the other those of the Admirals *Tromp* and *Peter Hein*, the first for *Holland*, and the second for *Brasil*: It has besides a very fine Arsenal, and

and is famous for its Earthen Ware ; of which there is such a prodigious Quantity made there, and that so good, that it comes nearer the Nature of *China* than any other Composition of this sort in *Europe*.

I arrived at *Rotterdam* on the 22d, which is the most considerable Rotterdam. City next to *Amsterdam* in the Seven Provinces, both for its Extent, the Beauty of its Buildings, and the Greatness of its Commerce ; and it is too well known for me to enlarge any more upon it : I staid there four Days, which I spent very agreeably. From *Rotterdam* I went to the *Brill*, a little Town very well fortify'd, with a good Harbour. It is famous in History for the first Foundations of the Liberty of the United Provinces being laid there in 1572, by some of the Confederates ; who, being headed by *William de Lumay*, and driven thither by a Tempest, by the means of which they escaped the Pursuit of the Duke of *Alva*, surpris'd it. I found here a Vessel for Passengers, call'd the *Marlborough* Sloop, which waited only for a Wind, on board which I embark'd ; and it blowing fair the next Day after my Arrival thither, we reached *London* in two Days and a half. London.

I found the Nation very much divided on account of the Peace newly made ; and the Duke of *Marlborough*, who never fled from above One Hundred Thousand armed Men, now forced to do it by some few well posted ones without any Arms. As for the *Whigs*, they seem'd as dissatisfy'd at this Peace, as the *Tories* were pleas'd with it. I went the next *Sunday* after my Arrival, to see Divine Service perform'd in *St. Paul's Church*, which was almost finished ; and when I was passing thro' the Nave, I saw two *French* Gentlemen of the Duke d' *Aumont's*, then Extraordinary Ambassador from *France*, walking in it after the Example of a great many *English*, who call it the *Sunday Walk* or *Exchange* ; and indeed seldom used it otherwise but as such. One was saying to the other loud enough to be heard, *What an indecent Confusion is here of Men, Women and Children, mixt with the Priests and Chanters in the Choir ?* The other answer'd, *'Tis yet worse at Westminster, I have seen Beggars, and Girls that sell Apples, and clean Shoes, sitting promiscuously with the Choiristers.* Going out of the Church at the Western Gate, I was agreeably detain'd by the Sight of the fine Marble Statue, in the midst of the Church-yard, erected for Queen *Anne*, who is standing on a Pedestal of the same, supported by the Figures of four Women, representing *Great Britain, Ireland, Newfoundland* and *France* ; the Three first with a brisk and chearful, the Fourth with a downcast melancholly Look ; in a word, representing the humble Condition to which the *Whigs*, who were at the Charge of it, wou'd have had the Original reduced. Nothing seem'd to be wanting but an Inscription answerable to the Subject. Upon asking the reason of such an Omission, I was told that the *Whigs* design'd one for it ; that it was already compos'd, extolling her Majesty even above *Lewis le Grand*, for the continual Success of her Arms, and comparing her glorious Reign to that of Queen *Elizabeth*, &c. when the Ministry happen'd to be chang'd, and the new Generalissimo sav'd *France*, (according to the common Talk) by her Orders for not fighting, as the Old one had the Empire by a contrary Conduct. However, 'twas thought the *Tories* would have one of their own engrav'd upon it, on account of the Peace, which eas'd the Nation of its Taxes, made Two Kings instead of the One the *Whigs* intended by the War, viz. one of *Spain*,
and

and the other of *Sicily* and *Sardinia* ; but whether they did not judge that the brightest Part of her History, or they would not praise her other glorious Actions, for the Share the disgraced General had in them, there is none till this Day, nor seems any to be intended : 'Tis pity ; for (besides that the many august Qualities of that great Princess deserved something more than such a Silence from her Subjects) it is an usual Ornament for such Pieces of Sculpture. The Ambassador of *France* before-nam'd made a finer Figure in *London* than any other of that Court had done before, which did not show the low Condition in which the Finances of that Country were given out to be. The Palace of my Lord *Powis*, wherein his Excellency at first lodged, being burnt down, his most *Christian* Majesty had it rebuilt at his own Expence, and that incomparably more magnificently than it was before, and after the best manner of Architecture, sparing no Cost to render it what it is at present, (that is to say) one of the finest in *England*.

Ten or twelve printed Papers, which were published Weekly in *London* for and against the Peace, seem'd to continue at Home a War, which was carried on with the Pen instead of the Sword. The Jealousy and Animosity of both Parties was greater than on my first Arrival in *England* in 1698. (which was now and then not a little perplexing to me.) Several Companies would not enter into any Discourse with me, before they knew of what side I was ; it signify'd but little among the most Violent, saying that I was entirely neutral in respect of both ; that I always esteem'd Persons of Honour and Merit of whatsoever Party, Religion or Nation. I in vain alledged for Example, the good Intelligence and Union which reign'd among the *English* in *Turky*, where they never put such Questions to each other. Among the most celebrated Papers, were the *Englishman* for the *Whigs*, and the *Examiner* for the *Tories* : The first was continually crying out against the separate Peace ; the Publick Faith violated ; the Allies sacrificed to *France*, and the *Catalans* to *Spain* ; the Pretender at the Gates ; the Protestant Religion, Liberty and Property in Danger, &c. On the other hand, the *Examiner*, or other *Tory* Writers, who during the *Whig* Ministry had cry'd the Church and Monarchy in Danger ; or a Foundation laid by the *Whigs* for a Commonwealth, on the Ruins of the Church and of Monarchy, &c. endeavour'd to prove it, and justify the Change, or Turning out of the *Whiggish* Generalissimo and Ministry, by saying, that they had already shook off the due Respect to her Majesty, by using her imperiously, and were for continuing the War to plunder the Nation ; and that the first had aimed at a Protectorship over it, &c. He likewise ridiculed the Alarms and Fears of the *Whigs*, in alledging, that his Antagonist was painting the King of *France* like a Giant, with a Quiver full of Pretenders, always ready at hand to let fly against *England* on any Occasion : And the *Englishman*, and other *Whig* Pens of the same Principles, hinted that there was a secret Scheme laid for setting aside the *Hanoverian* Succession ; that a Prelate, who had a great deal of Influence over the Queen, had made it a Point of Conscience to her Majesty, to restore the Person (who stil'd himself *James* the Third since King *James* the Second's Death) to his Hereditary Right ; that a Sermon preach'd on Passive Obedience, for which the Preacher had been impeach'd by the Parliament, was design'd to pave the Way for his ascending the Throne, and dispose the People to receive him passively as their lawful and irresistible Sovereign ; that as a

Mark

Mark that this Doctrine did not displease the Court, notwithstanding their Impeachment and Remonstrances; the said Preacher was rewarded with one of the best Livings in *London*; his Lay Counsel, for defending it, advanced to the Chancellorship of *Ireland*; and another, a Divine, a great Assertor of it, who assisted in penning his Speech, was invested with Two of the chief Ecclesiastical Dignities in *Great Britain*; that the *Tories* endeavoured to lull the People asleep, by ridiculing these just Fears, that they might not be in readiness to oppose him whenever he shou'd come.

However, both Parties protested against the Aspersions cast on themselves by their Antagonist Pens, as unjust and maliciously contriv'd, and cry'd out equally against all Antimonarchical Principles, saying, that, on the contrary, their chief Aim and Prospect, in regard to War or Peace, was the Good of their Country, the Preservation of their Religion, Property and Liberty, at Home; and the Tranquillity of *Europe* Abroad, by the ballancing of Powers: And indeed, by the Conversation I had with a great many Persons of both Parties, I was inclined to think so; and the least violent said, that this very Opposition kept each of them in awe, and prevented the Execution of all ill Intentions, which some of them might have. In short, the Animosity between the two Parties grew so great, that nothing cou'd exceed it, and Rencounters between the High and Low-Church Mobs were common, as also fatal Duels between Gentlemen, on the same Account: And 'twas owing to these Differences that the famous Duke *Hamilton* and Lord *Mohun*, those brave and noble Peers, lost their Lives. The former of these, a bold enterprizing Man, and great Opposer of the Union of *Scotland*, was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of *France*, to give (said the *Whigs*) the finishing Stroke to the Succession in the House of *Hanover*, by effectually concerting the Scheme for transferring it on the *Chevalier de St. George*; when his Grace happening to have a Law-Suit with the Lord *Mohun*, which occasion'd some Words between them, they were (as the *Tories* said) designedly improved into a Quarrel; and a Challenge ensuing, they met in *Hyde-Park*, and fought with that Resolution, that my Lord was kill'd upon the Spot, and the Duke lived but few Hours, having received six or seven Wounds. However it was, I don't presume to pass any Judgment, or reflect on the good or bad Intentions of either Party. I return to their Writers:

The *Englishman* was a Layman, and the *Examiner* a Clergyman; the first was expell'd the House of Commons, of which he was a Member, for pleading too warmly the Cause of the *Catalans*, and writing too freely on the Proceedings of the new Ministry; the second was in great Favour at Court, and a Man of Wit and Learning; he had written some Years before a Book, entitl'd, *The Tale of a Tub*, which Title answers but the least Part of the Work. It is generally reckon'd a Master-piece of fine Humour, full of Fire and lively Imagination, and a Nonpareil in its Kind. 'Tis an elegantly whimsical Medley of different Subjects, consisting of beautiful Allegories, exquisite Satire, and admirable Criticisms; a Work, of which the Preface, Dedication, and Digressions, make the greatest Part; which nevertheless are so ingeniously and agreeably conducted and interspers'd, that, however long they are, they don't seem tedious. The Design of one Part of his Book is not only to assert the Preheminency of the Antients over the Moderns, but to turn the Productions of the latter into all the Ridicule

dicule imaginable, tho' not those of Persons of solid Merit and Learning, but a sort of *Wou'd-be-Wits*, whom he calls ironically, *true Critics*. I'll insert here an Abstract of that Part, which gives Title to the Work, which passes among many Persons of Sense for a fine Irony, and Raillery on Superstition and Fanaticism, but among the greater Number for a too licentious and prophane Raillery on all manner of *Christian* Worship; they alledging, that the Author, by affecting to appear not scrupulous nor superstitious, seems hardly to have any Religion at all. However, I refer the Reader to the Abstract, and leave him to guess who is in the right.

A * Man had three Sons by one Wife, and all at a Birth, so that the Midwife cou'd not certainly tell which was the eldest; their Names were (*) *Peter*, (†) *Martin*, and (‡) *John*. The Father before his Death made his † Will, wherein he gave each of them a ‡ new Coat, of very good Cloth, and so neatly sew'd, that one wou'd think they had been all of a Piece, but very plain, and with little or no Ornament; to make amends for which, they had these two good Qualities, that with good wearing they wou'd last fresh as long as they liv'd, and that they wou'd grow in Proportion with their Bodies, so as to be always fit. He made them put them on in his Presence, warn'd them to wear them clean, and brush them often, and inform'd them that they wou'd find in his Will all the necessary Instructions concerning them, which they were to follow exactly, under great Penalties; then ordering them to live in Union in the same House, he died. They observ'd these Directions very punctually for the first seven Years; when being arriv'd at the proper Age for making their Appearance in the World, they fell in Love with three celebrated ‡‡ Ladies, the Dutches d' *Argent*, Madam de *Grands Titres*, and the Countess d' *Orgueil*; from whom they met with a thousand Indignities and Mortifications, for want of conforming to the Mode of Worship at that time paid to a sort of Divinity, who daily created and changed the Sons of Men by a kind of mechanical Operation. This ** Deity sat upon an Altar after the Eastern Manner, with his Legs a-cross; and his Orders were entirely contrary to the Rules of their Father, but follow'd most religiously by the Court and Town, whilst this Brotherly *Triumvirate* were every Day hooted at by the little Boys and Mob, and pointed at for the Singularity of their Dress. About this Time the †† Shoulder-Knots came in Fashion, and every Body wore them except our three Brothers, who soon found, by woful Experience, how necessary they were. If they went to the Play-House, the Door-Keeper, seeing their Plainness, wou'd say with a Sneer, *Friends, you would go into the Upper-Gallery, it will cost you Twelve-pence*. If they stepp'd to the Tavern to drink a Bottle, the Drawer wou'd cry, *You're mistaken, we sell no Ale here*. In this mortifying Juncture they had recourse to their Father's Will; but they cou'd not so much as find the Words *Shoulder* and *Knots* separately, nor even in the Syllables; but *Peter*, being more learned and penetrating than the other two, said, 'Tis true that our Father's Will does not mention Shoulder-Knots, *totidem Verbis*, nor *totidem Syllabis*, but it is enough if it contains them, *totidem Litteris*. This Distinction seem'd admirable to them, and they fell to examining it again, and soon found

* J. C.

(*) The Roman Pontiff.

(†) Luther.

(‡) Calvin.

† The New Testament.

‡ The Christian Religion.

‡‡ Covetousness, Ambi-

tion, and Pride.

** A Tailor.

†† Priestly Ornaments, Stoles, &c.

all they wanted, but the Letter, which *Peter* said was a modern one, unknown to the learned World, and quite insignificant; and accordingly they bespoke them as large and flaring as the best. Human Inconstancy, and the Love of Novelty, having introduced the Fashion of Gold Lace, they again consulted the Will; but all was silent, and * Gold Lace seem'd an Alteration of too great Consequence, without a positive Precept, because it in some measure adheres to the Substance of the Cloth. But *Peter* fortunately had just read *Aristotelis Dialectica*, especially that wonderful Piece *de Interpretatione*, which teaches (adds the Author) its Readers to find a Meaning in every thing but it self; and he told them, Brothers, don't trouble your selves; you are to know that there are two sorts of Wills, † *Nuncupatory*, and *Scriptory*. Our Father's Scriptorial Will does not indeed mention Gold Lace, *Conceditur*; but that the same may be said of his last Nuncupatory Will, *Negatur*: For, if you remember, when we were Boys, we heard a Fellow say, that he heard my Father say, that he would advise his Sons to get *Gold Lace* on their Coats, as soon as ever they could get Money to buy it. That is very true indeed, cry'd *Martin*; I remember it perfectly well, said *Jack*. Then, without losing any more Time, they got the largest Gold Lace in the Parish. A while after, came up another Fashion of flame-colour'd Sattin for Linings; and upon examining the Will, they could only find a little Advice of their ‡ Father's to take care of Fire, and put out their Candles before they went to sleep; but *Peter*, ever fertile in Expedients, said, I have read several Wills which mention'd a ** Codicil annex'd, which is reckon'd Part of the Will, and has the same Force and Authority. This of our Father's not having one, I think it deficient in that Point; wherefore I think it very proper to add one, which was written by a Servant of our Grandfather's, and talks of this flame-colour'd Sattin. He had no sooner done speaking, than the Codicil was annex'd *Nemine Contradicente*, and the Lining bought and worn.

Some time after was reviv'd the old Fashion of Embroidery, with *Indian Figures* of †† Men, Women, Children and Beasts: And afterwards it grew a Mode to wear ‡‡ Points, tagg'd with Silver; and *Peter*, with his Subtlety at expounding, remov'd all Difficulties that lay in the Way and oppos'd their Desires of following whatever Fashions came in vogue, to be esteem'd in the World; but this Scholastick Brother, weary of searching new Evasions, bethought himself of a shorter Way, which was to call those Articles, that were most difficult to explain and accommodate to their Father's Intention, Mysteries, which ought not to be over curiously pry'd into by human Reason. At length, for the Ease of his Head for the future, he thought fit to lock up his Father's Will in a †* strong Box, brought out of *Greece* or *Italy*, and not consult or refer to it, but when 'twas for their Interest. This Resolution was no sooner taken than executed, and unanimously agreed to by *Martin* and *Jack*.

* Ecclesiastical Ceremonies.

† Tradition, or the unwritten oral Law.

‡ Allusion to a Passage in St. Peter, whence the Roman Catholics prove Purgatory.

** Apocryphal Books and Legends.

†† Images of the Trinity, and Statues of

Christian Saints, substituted in the Room of the Heathen Deities.

‡‡ Indulgencies.

†* The Scriptures forbidden the Laity, and of which the Clergy reserve the Explication to themselves.

By this time, *Peter*, having acquired a great deal of Reputation by his Learning, was recommended to a Lord, who received him into his House, and allow'd him a good Salary for teaching his Children. A little after the Lord dy'd, and he, by long Practice upon his Father's Will, found the way to contrive a * Deed of Conveyance of that House to himself and his Heirs for ever. Upon which he took Possession, turn'd his Pupils out, and receiv'd his Brothers in their Room.

No sooner had *Peter* taken Possession of the Lord's House, but he tells his Brothers he is their Elder, and that he expects to be call'd My Lord *Peter*; and, to support his new Dignity with the greater Lustre, he turns *Vertuoso*, and Projector. His first Undertaking, of this Nature, was to purchase a large Continent, situated in a Country, call'd † *Terra Australis Incognita*, which he bought for little or nothing of the Discoverers themselves, tho' there is reason to believe that they were never there. This he canton'd out into several Shares to divers Merchants, who carry'd over Colonies, who were all shipwreck'd in the Voyage. Upon which he sold it over again to others, and again and again and again, and always with the same Success.

His second Project was a *Whispering Office* ‡ to sell a sovereign Remedy ** for Worms ††, especially those in the Spleen, by the Means whereof they perspired insensibly through the Brain; for this End an *Ass's Head* †† was placed in that Office so conveniently, that the Patient might easily apply his Mouth to either of the Animal's Ears, and by a fugitive Faculty, peculiar to them, receive immediate Benefit, either by Eructation or Evomition.

A third was another Office of (*) *Fire-Insurance* for preserving Tobacco Pipes, Martyrs of modern Zeal, Shadows, Rivers, &c. from the Element.

A fourth of the universal (†) *Pickle*; for upon observing that the common Pickle was only used by Housewives to preserve dead Flesh and certain Kind of (‡) Vegetables, he invented one proper for Houses, Gardens, Towns, Men, Women, and Children. The Operation was re-perform'd by Sprinkling in a proper Time of the Moon; which done, the Patient, if a House, wou'd be infallibly preserved from Spiders and Rats; if a Dog, from Mange and Hunger; and if a Child, from the Itch or Lice. He was also held the original Author of Puppet-Raree-Shows, the Usefulness whereof is well known.

But of all Lord *Peter's* Rarities, the most valuable were a certain Set of (**) *Bulls*, descended in a direct Line from those of *Jason* at *Chalchos*, famous for their *Brazen Feet*. 'Tis true, these had degenerated in that Particular, for that Metal was now changed into common (**) Lead. However, they preserv'd the Roaring peculiar to their Lineage, and the Faculty of breathing Fire (‡‡) from their Nostrils.

* Allusion to the Fiefs held formerly of the Emperors by the Popes in Italy, which they at last appropriated to themselves, &c.

† The Author means Heaven, which the Protestants accuse the Pope of selling. But those who condemn'd the South-Sea Project will have it, that the Inventer had his first Notion of it from thence; and say that the Money paid for Indulgencies, Masses, &c. and that put into the South-Sea, is upon much the same Bottom.

‡ Confessionary.

** Confession.

†† Remorses of Conscience, or Sins so call'd in the Holy Scriptures.

‡‡ The Confessor.

(*) Purgatory and Masses for the Dead.

(†) Holy Water.

(‡) Statues,

Images, Relicks of Saints, and Miracles.

(**) The Pope's Bulls or Orders.

(††) The Seal which is apply'd to the Foot or Bottom of the Pope's Bulls, is Lead.

(‡‡) The Seal is call'd the Fisher-Ring.

But they had two peculiar Marks which distinguish'd them extremely from those, not to be found together in any other Monster besides that in *Horace*,

*Varias inducere plumas,
Atrum desinit in piscem.*

For they had *Fishes Tails*, yet upon occasion cou'd out-fly any Bird in the Air. *Peter* employ'd these *Bulls* with Success several ways ; sometimes he wou'd make them roar to fright *naughty Boys*, and make them quiet ; and sometimes he wou'd send them upon Errands of great Importance. They always shew'd an insatiable Greediness of Gold, which undoubtedly they derived by Instinct from their noble Ancestors, the Guardians of the Golden Fleece ; for if *Peter* only sent them upon a Compliment, they wou'd roar and spit and snivle out Fire till you flung them a Bit of Gold.

These Projects, and several others, had enrich'd *Peter* prodigiously ; but the Rack to which he had put his Invention, had turn'd his Brain to a strange degree. He had the wildest Fits imaginable, and (as it is usual with those that run mad out of Pride) he wou'd call himself *God Almighty, and Monarch of the Universe*. I have seen him (says my Author) take (a) three old *High-crown'd Hats*, and clap them on his Head three Story high, with a Bunch of (b) *Keys* at his Girdle, and an *Angling Rod* in his Hand : Thus habited, whoever went to shake Hands with him by way of Salutation, *Peter*, like a well educated Spaniel, wou'd present them his (c) *Foot* ; and if they refused his Civility, he wou'd give them a damn'd Kick on the (d) *Chops*, which has ever since been call'd a Salute. Mean while his two Brothers at Home had a sad Time on't, where the first of his exerting his Authority over them, was his kicking both *their Wives* (e) out of Doors one Morning, and his own too ; and giving Orders to pick up the first three Strolers that cou'd be met with. The second was his nailing up the Cellar-Door, and (f) reducing them to dry Bread, instead of Flesh and Wine. For happening to dine one Day at an Alderman's, and hearing him expatiate in praise of a Sir-loin of Beef, saying it comprehended the Quintessence of Partridge, Quail, Venison, &c. *Peter*, when he came home, took a Fancy to feed his Brother on a brown Loaf, by the Application of this Doctrine ; and began thus, *Bread*, says he, *dear Brothers, is the Staff of Life ; it contains the Quintessence of Beef, Mutton, Veal, Venison, Partridge ; and to render all compleat, there is intermingled a due Quantity of Water, whose Crudities are also corrected by Yeast, or Barm ; thro' which means it becomes a wholesome fermented Liquor, diffus'd thro' the Mass of the Bread*. Upon the Strength of these Conclusions, the brown Loaf was served on the Table ; then said, *Come Brothers, fall too and spare not, here is excellent good Mutton ; or hold, now my Hand is in I'll help you ;* at which Word, in much Ceremony with Fork and Knife, he carves out two good Slices of the Loaf to them. *Martin*, not entring into the Conceit of Lord *Peter*, began very civilly to examine the Mystery. *My Lord*, answer'd he, *I doubt, with great Submission, there may be some Mistake ; for, unless I am deceiv'd, your Lordship was pleas'd to let fall a Word about Mutton, and I shou'd*

(a) The Pope's Triple Crown. (b) St. Peter's Keys of Heaven and Hell, which the Pope pretends to have received from him, and Profession of Fishery. (c) Allusion to kissing the Pope's Toe on taking Audience. (d) The Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, upon whose Neck the Pope set his Foot. (e) Celibacy enjoined the Clergy. (f) Transubstantiation, and the Suppression of the liquid Kind in the Communion.

be glad to see it with all my Heart. How, says Peter, I don't comprehend this at all. Whereupon Jack interposing to set Matters right, My Lord, said he, my Brother, I suppose, is hungry, and longs for the Mutton your Lordship promised us to Dinner. Pray, said Peter, take me along with you, either you are both Mad, or disposed to be Merrier than I approve of. If You there don't like your Piece, I'll carve you another, tho' I shou'd take that to be the choice Piece of the whole Shoulder. What then, my Lord, reply'd Martin, it seems this is a Shoulder of Mutton all this while. Pray Sir, says Peter, eat your Victuals, and leave off your Impertinence, if you please; for I am not disposed to relish it at present. But Jack, stark mad at Peter's affected Seriousness, swore, By G—— my Lord, I can only say, that to my Eyes, and Fingers, and Teeth, and Nose, it seems to be nothing but a Crust of Bread. Look ye, Gentlemen, cries Peter, curling in a Rage, To convince you what a Couple of blind, positive, ignorant wilful Puppies you are, I will use but this plain Argument, By G—— it is true good natural Mutton as any in Leadenhall Marker; and (a) G—— confound you both eternally, if you offer to believe any otherwife. Such a thundering Proof left no further room for Objection; and Martin, seeming perswaded, said, Why truly upon more mature Consideration—— Ay, interrupted Jack, Your Lordship seems to have a great deal of Reason. Very well, said Peter, Here Boy, fill me a Beer Glass of Claret. Here's to you both with all my Heart. They return'd him Thanks, and said they shou'd be glad to pledge his Lordship. That you shall, said Peter, I will not refuse you any thing that's reasonable; Wine moderately taken is a Cordial, here's a Glass a-piece for you; true natural Juice of the Grape, none of your damn'd Vintners Brewings. So giving them another Crust, he bid them drink it off, and not be bashful, for it wou'd not get up in their Heads. Whereupon the two Brothers staring, first at Lord Peter, and then at each other, resolved not to contradict him, as thinking it wou'd avail nothing. Besides this, he had an abominable Faculty of telling huge palpable Lies; and not only swearing to the Truth himself, but cursing the whole Company to Hell, if they pretended to make the least Scruple of believing him. Once he swore he had a (b) Cow at Home, which gave as much Milk at a Meal, as wou'd fill Three Thousand Churches; and what was yet more extraordinary, wou'd never turn fower. Another time he told of an old (c) Sign-post of his Father's, with Nails and Timber enough on it to build sixteen large Men of War. Talking one Day of Chinese Waggons, which were so light as to sail over Mountains; Z——nds, said Peter, Where's the Wonder of that? By G—— I saw a large (d) House of Lime and Stone travel over Sea and Land, (granting that it stopt sometimes to bait) above Two Thousand German Leagues. And, which was best of all, he wou'd swear desperately he never told a Lie in his Life; and at every Word, By G—— Gentlemen, I tell you nothing but the Truth, and the (e) D—— broil them eternally that will not believe me.

The Author, having represented Peter as a Rogue and an Impostor, whose Head was turn'd with Pride and Ambition, and whose Tyranny

(a) Thunderings of the Excommunication.
 preserved in many Churches, which is shewed as the Virgin Mary's Milk.
 (c) The Cross to which Jesus Christ was fastened, which is said never to diminish, how much soever is cut off, and the Number of Nails multiply'd.
 (d) The Chappel at Loretto, said to have been transported thither from Palestina.
 (e) Curses of Excommunication, devoting to the Devil those who refuse to believe what the Romish Church prescribes.

was become insupportable, makes *Martin* and *Jack* resolve to examine their Father's Will, in order to conform to it in every Point; wherefore they humbly desired a Copy of it; but he, instead of granting this Request, call'd them *damn'd Sons of Whores and Traitors*, and all the vile Names he cou'd muster up. However, while he was Abroad, they found means to take a *Copia vera*, by which they presently saw how grossly they had been abused; their Father having left them equal Heirs, and strictly charged that whatever they got shou'd be in common. Upon which they broke open the Cellar-Door, and got a little (a) good *Drink* to comfort their Hearts. In reading farther they met with a Precept against Whoring, Divorce, and separate Maintenance; whereupon they discard their Concubines, and send for their (b) *Wives*. During which, *Peter* coming in with a File of Dragoons, after several Millions of Scurrilities and Curses, very fairly kicks them both out of Doors by main Force, and wou'd never let them come under his Roof from that Day to this.

The two Exiles took a Lodging together, where reflecting upon their numberless Misfortunes, they cou'd not at first tell to what to impute them, till recollecting their Transgressions against their Father's Will, they resolv'd, without farther delay, to reduce their future Measures to a strict Obedience thereunto. (c) They both at first unanimously enter'd upon this great Work, looking sometimes on their *Coats*, and sometimes on the *Will*. *Martin* laid the first Hand, and at one Twitch brought off a large handful of Fringe, and with a second stript away ten Dozen Yards of Gold Lace; but having in his first Heat scap'd a swinging Rent in pulling off the Points, which being tagg'd with Silver, the judicious Workman had with much Sagacity double sown, he demurr'd awhile, his Violence began to cool, and he resolv'd to proceed with Moderation in the rest of the Work, especially (d) on the embroider'd *Indian* Figures of Men, Women, Children and Beasts. These, with much Dexterity and Application, were eradicated or defaced; but where the Embroidery was work'd so close, as not to be got away without damaging the Cloth, or where it serv'd to hide or strengthen any Flaw in the Body of the Coat, contracted by the tampering of Workmen upon it, he concluded the wisest Course was to let it remain: But his Brother *Jack* enter'd upon the matter with a quite different Spirit; the Memory of Lord *Peter's* Tyranny produced a great Degree of Hatred and Spite, which seem'd to have a much greater Share in inciting him to set Hands at work, than his Father's Commands; he found a very plausible Name for this Medley of Humour, honouring it with the Title of *Zeal*. Brim-full of this miraculous Compound, he prefaced his Resolution to this purpose: *What*, said he, *a Rogue that locked up his Drink, turn'd away our Wives, cheated us of our Fortunes, paum'd his dry Crusts upon us for Mutton and Wine, and at last kick'd us out of Doors: Must we be in his Fashions and Liveries!* Having thus inflam'd himself as high as possible, and consequently in a delicate Temper for Reformation, he set about the Work immediately, and stripping down a parcel of Gold (e) Lace, he rent the main Body of the Coat from Top to Bottom; and his Talent was not the happiest at taking up a Stitch, he knew no better way than to dern it

(a) Communion of both Kinds re-established.

(b) The Marriage of Priests.

(c) The Reformation.

(d) Romish Ceremonies and Ecclesiastical Ornaments.

(e) Some Statues, Images of Saints, &c. Priestly Vellments and decent Ceremonies left in the Lutheran Churches, and not forbidden in those of England.

again with *Packthread* and a *Skewer*. The Matter was yet infinitely worse when he came to the Embroidery ; for being clumsy by Nature, and so impatient, without considering Millions of Stitches that required the nicest Hand to extricate, in a great Rage he tore off the whole Piece Cloth and all, and flung it into the Kennel, saying, *Ah good Brother Martin, do as I do for the Love of God; strip, tear, pull, rent, flay off all, that we may appear as unlike that Rogue Peter as it is possible, and carry not about us the least Mark that may give occasion to the Neighbours of suspecting we were related to such a Rascal*; and accompanying his Words with Actions, he made more dispatch in four Minutes, than *Martin* had done in as many Hours; for (courteous Reader) you are given to understand, that Zeal is never so highly obliged, as when you set it a rearing. Continuing his Career thus furiously, he rent soon his whole Coat to his Shirt, when that of his Brother was only reduced to its primitive State of Innocence. In the mean while, *Martin*, who was at that time as sedate and flegmatick, as his Brother was violent, pray'd and begg'd him of all Love, *not to damage his Coat by any means, for he would never get such another*; desired him, in vain, to consider, *it was not their Business to form their Actions by any Reflections upon Peter, (a) but by observing the Rules prescrib'd in their Father's Will, who was still their Brother whatever Faults he had committed; but which, as it was very exact in what related to wearing their Coats, was not less so in prescribing Agreement and Friendship between them*. He had still proceeded as gravely, and doubtless had delivered an admirable Lecture of Morality; but (as in Scholastick Disputes, nothing serves to rouse the Spleen of him that opposes, so much as a kind of pedantick affected Calmness) *Jack* fly'd out immediately against his Moderation, and Gravity of his Remonstrances, ran mad with the Spleen, Spite and Contradiction, went to a new Lodging in his ragged Condition, reproaching *Martin* with keeping in *Peter's* Livery, and in a few Days 'twas reported for certain that he was quite out of his Wits; which he confirm'd, by appearing Abroad, and falling into the oddest Whimsies that ever a sick Brain conceived.

And now the little Boys in the Streets began to salute him with several Names; sometimes they would call him *Jack the (b) Bald*; sometimes (c) *Dutch Jack*, sometimes (d) *French Hugh*, sometimes (e) *Tom the Beggar*, and sometimes *Knocking Jack of the North*. And it was under one, or some, or all of these Appellations, that he gave rise to the most Illustrious and Epidemick Sect of the (f) *Æolists*, who maintain the Original of all things to be *Wind*, and that Man brings with him into the World a Grain of *Wind*, which may be call'd a *Quinta Essentia*, extracted from the other four.

From these Reasons they affirm the Gift of *Belching* to be the noblest Act of a Rational Creature; to cultivate which Art, they made

(a) *Luther preserves the Ceremonies which Calvin abolished entirely.*

(b) *Calvin,*

from Calvus Bald. (c) *John of Leyden, who possessed himself of the City of Munster, took the Title of King, and was put to Death with those of his Sect that helped him to it.*

(d) *French Hugonots,*

(e) *Gueux, or Beggars, a Name given to the Revolters who opposed the Introduction of the Inquisition in Brabant, &c. which they bearing took upon 'em to distinguish themselves by it, began to wear a wooden Dish with this Motto, Faithful Servants to the King, to the very Valler; on which the Calvinists sprung out, seiz'd some Towns, and fortify'd in 1572 the Brill against the Duke of Alva, which was the beginning of the Republick of Holland.*

(f) *Æolists, from Æolus, by Name God of the Winds, the Author insinuates, that the Calvinists, Presbyterians, Dissenters and Fanaticks, to whom he seems to pretend that Calvin gave rise*

use of several Methods. At certain Seasons of the Year you might behold the Priests amongst them in vast Numbers, with their (a) *Mouths gaping wide against a Storm*; and at other times were to be seen several Hundreds link'd together in a Circular Chain, with every Man a Pair of Bellows apply'd to his Neighbour's Breech, by which they blew up each other to the Shape and Size of a *Tun*, and for that Reason did usually call their Bodies their *Vessels*.

The Author, after describing more fully the Sect of the *Æolists*, resumes *Jack's* Character, which he represents as the most extravagant imaginable, giving the following Account of some of his pretended Actions.

He wou'd shut his Eyes as he walk'd the Streets; and if he happen'd to bounce his Head against a Post, or fall into the Kennel, as he seldom fail'd of doing either, he wou'd tell the gigling Prentices, who look'd on him, (b) *That he submitted with entire Resignation as to a Trip or Blow of Fate*; and that it was ordained before the Creation, that his Nose and that very Post shou'd have a *Rencounter*.

He was troubled with a Disease reverse to that caused by the Stinging of a *Tarantula*, and wou'd run (c) *Dog-mad* at the Sound of *Musick*, especially a Pair of *Bag-Pipes*. He was a Person that feared no *Colours*, but mortally hated all, and upon that account bore a cruel Aversion to *Painters*; insomuch, that in his Paroxysms, as he walk'd the Streets, he wou'd have his Pockets loaded with Stones to pelt the (d) *Signs*. He wou'd stand in the Turning of a Street, and calling to those who pass'd by, wou'd cry to one, *Worthy Sir, do me the Honour of a good Slap in the Chops*. (e) To another, *Honest Friend, pray favour me with a handsome Kick on the Arse*. *Madam, shall I intreat a small Box on the Ear from your Ladyship's fair Hands*? *Noble Captain, lend a reasonable Thwack, for the Love of God, with that Cane of yours, over these poor Shoulders*. And when he had procured a sufficient basting, wou'd return home full of terrible Accounts of what he had undergone for the *Publick Good*. *Observe this Stroke*, (said he, shewing his bare Shoulders) *a plaguy Janizary gave it me, as I was driving off the great Turk*. (f) *Neighbours, mind, this broken Head deserves a Plaister*; had poor *Jack* been tender of his Noddle, you wou'd e're now have seen the Pope and the French King among your Wives and your Warehouses.

From this Account of the Breach between *Jack* and *Martin*, the Author proceeds to their Travels or Atchievements in foreign Countries, where he makes them open Shop and sell their Drugs, and cry down those of *Peter*, which he had sold at an extravagant Rate, without giving them any Share of the Profit; tho' they, especially (g) *Martin*, had been employ'd by him often in vending them. First, he makes the latter travel into the Country of the *Thuringians*, where he is favourably receiv'd, the People being willing to save their Money, which *Pe-*

(a) Allusion to the Custom of several Ministers preaching in the Church-yard in Scotland, at the time of receiving the Sacrament, which is but once a Year.

(b) A Ridicule of Absolute Predestination.

(c) Presbyterians allow no Musick in their Meeting-Houses.

(d) They allow no Painting in their Churches.

(e) Application of a Passage of the New Testament, viz. If one gives you a Box on the Ear, turn the other, &c.

(f) Allusion to the Persecution of the Hugonots.

(g) *Martin Luther* was an Augustin Fryar, which Order had formerly the Distribution of Indulgencies, till the Pope took it from them, and gave it to the Dominicans.

ter had been very free with; and he assists several Noblemen, in driving away his *Bulls*. Amongst the rest, (b) one of them, who was not satisfy'd with but one Wife, and had an Inclination to marry another, without paying the exorbitant (c) Price demanded by *Peter*, made a Bargain with *Martin*, who pretended to have the same Power of granting Dispensations as Lord *Peter*; who happening about that time to send to *Albion* some of his Drugs, which were Remedies (d) against *Peter's* Remedies, who had several sumptuous Offices erected there to his great Profit, *Herriquez*, (e) the Lord of the Parish, a great Champion in those Days, being inform'd of it, did not only forbid the Parishioners to use any of *Martin's* Drugs, under Pain of Death, but sent him a Challenge to fight in a single Combate, which he accepted; they fought, to the great Diversion of the Spectators, and came off both victorious, at least, each Party ascribing the Conquest to their own Champion; the Partizans of *Martin* congratulating him upon the Advantage he had gain'd, in their Opinion, as those of *Peter* did *Herriquez*, especially my Lord himself, who sent him a fine (f) *Plume of Feathers*, for him and his Successors to wear in their Caps in Memory of this Combat, which they do to to this Day, tho' Enemies to *Peter*. He adds, that *Herriquez* afterwards fell out with *Peter* on Account of a (g) *Damsel*, whom he marry'd against his Consent. *Peter* found himself so much offended, that he sent all his most furious Bulls to roar, spit and snivel Fire (h) &c. against him; but *Herriquez* opposed them with a Parcel of right *English* Dogs, who baited them so terribly, that they felt it ever after, and depriv'd him of his Revenues in *Albion*. He dying, his (i) Successor gave *Martin* free Liberty to settle in the Parish, and sell his Drugs; but he not being long-liv'd, and the Parish falling into the Hands of a (k) Lady, who was passionately in Love with *Peter*, she recall'd him, and joining her Archers and Dragoons to his Bulls, sent them into the Country to look for *Martin* and his Adherents, in order to exterminate them; some of whom were taken, and hang'd or burnt, and the rest ow'd their Safety to their Flight. However, this Lady being also mortal, and the Parish falling by her Death into the Hands of another (l) Lady, a sworn Enemy to *Peter*, she again degraded him, and expelled his Bulls, as *Herriquez* had before done, and allow'd *Martin* again to open Shop. A little (m) *Laird* of the North came afterwards to be Lord of the Parish, and pretended to do great Feats, but was hardly capable of governing one single Village. During his Time, *Peter*, being enrag'd to see *Martin* so well fix'd, had recourse to Art Magick, and had contriv'd an * Earthquake, which was to have vomited Flames, and bury the Laird, with his Senate, in the Ruins; but was discover'd by a White Witch, and the Conjurers burnt. The Laird ever after that was troubled with a continual Looseness, caus'd by Fear, spoke (n) *Latin* grammatically, and dy'd. His (o) Successor

(b) Philip, Landsgrave of Hesse.

(c) Dispensations of the Apostolick Chamber.

(d) Luther preaches against Purgatory, Indulgencies, Masses for the Dead, &c.

(e) Henry VIII. King of England, writes against Luther.

(f) The Title of De-

fender of the Faith granted to King Henry by the Pope, on that Account.

(g) Anne

Bullen.

(h) Henry VIII. excommunicated by the Pope.

Declares himself Head of

the Church.

(i) Edward VI.

(k) Queen Mary persecuted the Protestants,

and restored the Romish Church to its first Splendor.

(l) Queen Elizabeth re-establishes

the Protestants.

(m) James I.

* Gun Powder Treason.

(n) King

James spoke good *Latin*; the Spanish Ambassador speaking that Language very ill, or against all the Rules of Grammar, he reproach'd him with it: To which the Ambassador answered, Your Majesty talks *Latin* like a Subject, and I like a King, nor submitting to Rules, &c.

(o) Charles I. had a mind to establish Episcopacy in Scotland.

was not much abler; and taking it into his Head, by the Advice of some of *Martin's* Adherents, to cause the Drugs which were in Vogue in the Parish of *Albion*, to be sold in the *Northern* Villages, his Project came to nothing, by the Opposition of *Jack*, and his Followers, who had already cry'd up their own in those Parts; and, being allarm'd at the Attempt, were continual Thorns in his Sides, and at last brought him to Destruction; whereupon he pretended to suffer Martyrdom for *Martin*. *Jack*, having gotten an old (a) Fox-Hunter his intimate Friend, set up in his room, fell out again with *Peter* and *Martin*, knock'd down the first, and us'd the latter very ill; till at last his Party being become intolerable, and his Friend dying, a (b) new Lord kick'd them all out of the Parish, and re-establish'd *Martin*, who promis'd to be conformable in every Respect to this Lord's Will, provided that *Jack* was kept under. In vain *Jack* left no Stone unturn'd to get up again, he was still unsuccessful; till this Lord dying also, and (c) another, a great Friend of *Peter's*, succeeding him, and having a mind to humble *Martin*, us'd *Jack* with Lenity. This Preference inflaming *Martin* with Jealousy, he was reconcil'd with *Jack*, and propos'd to him to unite together, and bring in a (d) Stranger. *Jack*, who mortally hated this Lord's Engagements with *Peter*, and look'd upon his Caresses as so many Snares, accepted the Proposal, and the Stranger was brought in; and the Lord, seeing too late his Error, was forc'd to throw himself into *Peter's* Arms. The Stranger, being now Head of the Parish, re-establish'd *Martin* in full Possession of his Rights, but without suffering him to oppress or hurt *Jack*, for whom he had naturally a Value, as having known him abroad, and allow'd him (e) to pick up a Living in the *South*, tho' he had a whole Province in the *North*; at which *Martin* was much dissatisfy'd with the new Head of the Parish, and threaten'd to be reconcil'd again to *Peter*, if he did not at least oblige *Jack*, and his Party, to take (f) a certain Quantity of his Drugs off his Hands.

However extraordinary and disrespectful the Manner may seem, wherewith the *Examiner* has treated a Subject so serious as Religion, it was thought, by the Partisans of the Church of *England*, so ingeniously and wittily invented, and so proper to inspire an Aversion to the *Roman* Catholick Religion, and the utmost Contempt of *Calvin's* Reformation, by representing the one as Imposture and Cheat, and the other as a School of Fanaticism and Divisions, that it gain'd many Admirers amongst Persons of the first Rank. This, join'd with the Moderation and Wisdom he ascribes to the *English* Reformation, which he every where extols under the Name of *Martin*, and his writing for the Government, got him (as is said) recommended to the Queen for a Bishoprick; and 'twas affirm'd that he wou'd have had one, if a certain great Prelate, not believing that any one cou'd be a *Christian*, and ridicule so sharply, and in so prophane a Manner, those who bear that Name, had not dissuaded her Majesty from it, by the scrupulous Delicacy of his Remonstrances; tho' he cou'd not hinder his obtaining another honourable and gainful Dignity in the Church. However, (without pretending to decide whether this Prelate did him Justice or

(a) Oliver Cromwell.
kept under very much.

(b) Charles II. under whose Reign the Presbyterians were
(c) James II. grants Liberty of Conscience to all Dissenters.

(d) The Prince of Orange, afterwards William III.

(e) Toleration Act.

(f) Dissenters obliged to take the Sacrament in the Church of England, to qualify themselves for Places.

* Dr. Ghed-
da.

not) I shall only add, that I have heard Preachers of all these three sorts of Religion inveighing even more bitterly against one another, using worse Expressions, fuller of Passion, and even contrary to what is call'd Christian Charity. Amongst the rest, a * *Lutheran* Priest at *Stockholm*, after having exclaim'd in the most passionate and gross manner in the World against *Calvin's* Reformation, concluded with these Terms, *That if he knew any of his Children that had a mind to embrace that Religion, he would cut their Throats with his own Hands.*

There is no Country in the World where the Liberty of Writing and Talking is greater, and the Danger less, than in *Great Britain*, provided the Manner is not too open and barefaced. As that of a Layman, in respect of the Trinity, which he attempted to ridicule, using this Comparison, among others as insipid; he represented a Person taking three Pippins of an old Apple-Woman, and offering to pay but for one, telling her, that if she were a Christian, she ought to be contented; since, according to the Christian Religion, Three were but One: But his Pippin cost him very dear, for he lost a Place of 6 or 800*l. per Annum*, and his Libel was burnt by the Hangman. So had been that of another before, who having given too great Loose to his Imagination on a Passage of the Holy Scripture, which says, *that they who have true Faith shan't die, but be translated as Enoch and Elijah into the Heavens.* He pretended that he had that true Faith, and consequently should never die, but be thus translated; and insinuating, that if the contrary should happen, 'twas a Sign that the Promise was not divine, or true, since he had all the Faith requir'd for the Translation; he was expell'd the House of Commons, of which he was a Member, for his Insinuation.

They write against the Government with yet less Hazard. A Parliament is no sooner dissolv'd, than Hundreds of the most biting Ballads and Satires are made upon it and the Ministry; and the Licence that is taken between the Dissolution of the Old and choosing a New Parliament, resembles that which is usual in Boats upon the *Thames*, where all manner of Scurrilities and Invectives go for nothing, and even Kings have heard themselves call'd Rogues and Whore-masters, and Queens Strumpets, &c. But one may say, that the Liberty is in some Respects too great for the Common People, who, not having good Sense nor Education to make a right Use of it, commit a thousand Disorders and Insolencies. About which I have heard many *English* Gentlemen abroad, upon observing the different Behaviour of foreign Servants, and those of their own Country, complain, that no People in the World were so unhappy in that Respect, for that none paid greater Wages, or were worse serv'd. Besides, added they, (which is very shameful, and not practis'd even in the poorest Nation that is) *They raise Contributions upon those who come to eat at our Tables, and have made it customary to stand ready at the Door, against the Guests come out, to receive some Gratuity; which they expect as their Due, or else will be even impudent enough to insult them:* And that Things were come to that pass, that a Servant looking for a Master, did not send to his old one for a Character; but that if a Gentleman wanted to hire one, his own Servants must give him a Character before he cou'd get one: *All which* (said he) *is owing to our dear Liberty.*

Whilst I'm upon this Head, I can't forbear mentioning what has happen'd to my self, as I was preparing this for the Press; which is this, I bought on the Frontiers of *Tartary* a She-Slave, a *Cossack* by Nation, and

and consequently a *Greek* by Religion ; and upon her promising Mountains of Gratitude and Fidelity, (to avoid being sold again in *Turky*) had her brought at a considerable Charge to *England* ; where she behaved herself for some Years pretty well : But falling into bad Company, (which I expressly forbid her to keep) she was seduced away in my Absence. As I miss'd several things of Value, especially some Silver Medals, not to be had again for Money, which cou'd not have been taken but by herself, or those she admitted, I advertis'd her three times in the News, without hearing at all of her ; but sometime after, she, by her Seducers Advice, having been Christen'd again, that I might not lay any Claim to her, appear'd publickly, and said to one of my Acquaintance, *I now don't fear my Master ; I've been baptiz'd by the Bishop of London, and am Servant to a Knight, who is a Member of Parliament.* Upon Enquiry, I found the whole, except her being christen'd again, false ; the Bishop being attack'd with a Fit of Sicknes, of which he never recover'd, and she being Servant to a single Woman in a Joyner's House, whose Surname was *Knight*, and the Parson who baptiz'd her being only a simple Priest of the Church of *England*. I had her carried before a Justice of the Peace, whither she was accompany'd by her new Mistress, (whose Character I will not enter into) and a Gang of six other Persons, headed by an Attorney, who not only told me that she was as free as my self, and that I had no Right to claim her, but threaten'd me with a Law-Suit for accusing her of Theft, and some of the Gang then present of inveigling her from my Service. She being thus countenanced, whatever I cou'd say to justify my Charge, avail'd nothing ; three of them swearing voluntarily, that I had declared her Honest, and own'd to them that I had lost nothing. I in vain reply'd, that I had not before she kept them Company. I was single against a Multitude, and a Stranger in the Country ; but the Justice not being so to the Wench or her Mistress, looking compassionately on, undervalu'd my Medals, as not being a Judge of Antiquities, said, *This Girl does not look as if she was capable of such Actions* ; and ask'd her if she cou'd swear to her Innocence, which she did, and a great deal more ; whereupon he discharged her. Finding such Usage, of which I had seen no Example in all my Twenty five Years Travels, I cou'd not help saying aloud, with some Resentment, " I'm sorry the Church of *England* is thus made a Cloak for Villainy ; and that the baptismal Water is apply'd to the same Use as *Mercury's* Fountain in the Days of *Paganism*, to wash away Theft and Perjury." For, I must confess, I was surprized (the *Anglican* Church not re-ordaining the *Romish* Priests who become Converts to her) to find that one of her Clergy shou'd so readily prostitute the Sacrament, without enquiring in the least of her Master, whether the Wench was Christen'd or not ; as he might easily imagine she was, if he understood any thing of Geography, by asking her Country. Some Persons, to whom I complain'd of it, inform'd me of another Abuse, of yet worse Consequence, *viz.* their Easiness in marrying young Couples without making any Enquiry, or asking their Relations Consent, or whether they are before married or engag'd ; whence 'tis not uncommon for a Man to have two Wives, and a Woman as many Husbands, which causes great Confusion in Families. Another Custom of this Country which seems unaccountable, is, that it being Death for a Person of an inferiour Fortune to steal an Heiress, it yet shou'd be lawful to evade that Punishment by her running

ning away with him. A singular Instance of which (as it was credibly related to me) is this : “ A certain eminent Practitioner in the Law, “ had an only Daughter, Heiress to a vast Fortune, who was secretly “ courted by and in Love with a Gentleman much below her in that “ Respect : But as the Danger of marrying her was very great, he was “ advised by her to consult her Father about it, as of an indifferent “ Person. The * Serjeant (for such he was) told him, that if the “ young Lady loved him well enough to get first on Horse-back, and “ take him behind her, he wou’d be safe; for then she stole him, and “ not he her. He desir’d this Opinion under his Hand in Writing, “ which he gave him, and receiv’d his Fee : The Gentleman accord- “ ingly put it in practice; and the Serjeant finding himself so fairly “ out-witted, was forced to be contented with what he cou’d not help;” and this is daily practis’d to the great Disturbance of Families, and Grief of Fathers and Mothers.

Some time after my Arrival, I receiv’d divers Letters from *Turky*, acquainting me amongst other things, that the *Swedish* Court was sent back to *Demotica*, and having found Credit with some *Franks* at *Constantinople*, and borrow’d a pretty good Sum of Mony, had bought (or rather redeem’d from the *Janizaries* and *Tartars*, who had plundered them at *Warnitza*) Horses, Furniture, with Table-Cloths, Knives, &c. *a la Franca*; and that the King rode out every Day, and din’d in publick as at *Bender*, and Mr. *Grothusen* and Marshal *Dubens* kept open Table as formerly. That the *Sublime Porte* had intimated to Mr. *Funck*, the *Swedish* Envoy, that his Majesty had no need of such a Minister, being himself so near; and had taken from him his *Thaim* of Sixteen Rix-dollars a Day, and that he died soon after of a Fever. That the Views of King *Stanislaus* were not seconded by either the *Turks*, *Tartars* or *Poles*, the one looking at the other who shou’d begin, seeming all afraid to be first, and not agreeing to concur in that Undertaking. That they had contented themselves with appearing upon the Frontiers, and were returning back, the first to their *Oddas*, and the second to their *Keddis*; King *Augustus*, nor the Republick, not being so much terrify’d at the Sight of them, as to deliver *Cami-nieck* as they expected. That the Clemency and Moderation of the *Sublime Porte* taking place of her Resentments, the Palatin of *Massovia* and Baron *Goltz* were more civilly used, and had receiv’d a favourable Audience of the *Grand Seignior*, and chief Ministers, who caress’d them; so that all Differences between the *Turks* and *Muscovites* were accommodated, and the Peace which was concluded before my Departure, was confirmed and made publick.

I pass’d the whole Winter and part of the Spring in *London*, where a Month after my Arrival, viz. on the 5th of *November*, (a Day of Thanksgiving for the Discovery of a Plot in the Reign of King *James* the First, to blow up the King and Parliament, by Gun-powder laid under both Houses,) I was surpris’d with a Procession wholly new, at least ’twas so to me. The *Whigs*, to signalize their Zeal for the Protestant Religion, and their Aversion to a *Roman* Catholick King, and to the Head and Priests of that Religion, whom they accused of having been the Contrivers of that execrable Design, (for which several *Jesuits* were executed at *London*, and look’d upon as Martyrs at

* Serjeant Maynard, one of the greatest Counsellors in his Time.

Rome) dress'd three Past-board Figures as large as the Life, one to represent the Pope, a second the Pretender, and the third the Devil: These three, so dress'd at a great Expence by Persons of Distinction, were put on a triumphal Car, and carried thro' all the chief Streets of *London*, preceded by a Mob beating of two Warming-Pans, and Butchers with Marrow Bones and Cleavers; and having thus made a Tour thro' the City, the Pope sitting on a Throne under a Canopy, with the Devil on his Right, and the Pretender on his Left, were thrown into a great Bonfire prepared for that purpose at *Charing-cross*, and burnt, accompanied with the Acclamations of the Mob, who cry'd *No Popery, no Pretender*, and beat the senseless Figures 'till they were consum'd to Ashes. The Queen in vain endeavour'd to abolish this Custom, which the *Tories* never approv'd of, as thinking it indecent in a Protestant Country, where Liberty of Conscience is allow'd, to burn any Body's Effigies, especially a Sovereign Prince's, as the Pope is; and that it looks something like the Inquisition's condemning People to the Flames for Difference of Religion. But the *Whigs*, interpreting these Sentiments of her Majesty and her Ministry as favouring a Popish Successor; and being made sensible by the *Englishman*, that the Protestant Religion was in Danger, were the more earnest for the Execution. However, it is left off since King *George's* Accession to the Throne, his Majesty having, 'tis said, expressed his Dislike to it in the same manner; and the *Whigs* not thinking the Protestant Religion in any Danger under his Reign.

Mr. *Pitt*, who was some time before come back to *London*, from his Government of *Fort St. George* in the *East Indies*, had brought from thence the Diamond represented in the Print IV. N. 5. 5. being the most perfect, and at the same time the largest that was ever suffer'd to come out of the Great *Mogul's* Empire; where the *Armenian*, who gave me the Size of that of the *Grand Seignior's*, N. 7. in the same Print, told me that he had seen the Hole or lawful Measure of those which are permitted to be exported, which hardly exceeds the Size of N. 7. However, by what means N. 5. came into Mr. *Pitt's* Hands is no Matter here, and he would not let it be seen under the Price of 500 *l.* I heard that the Parliament talk'd of buying it in the time of the *Whiggish* Ministry, in order to be made a Present to the Queen; but the Tide turning, it was since sold to the Regent of *France*, whose Name it now bears. The Pieces that were cut off to reduce it to its present Form, were worth some Thousand Pounds; and one may say, that the finest and largest *Diamond* in the *Christian* World is now in *France*, as the greatest *Emerald* is at *Genoa*, and the largest *Grenate* and the *Turquoise* of the most extraordinary Size at *Venice*. Whilst I'm upon this Head of large Jewels, I'll relate what I was told of another, as a thing not to be doubted, and generally believ'd by the Publick, viz. that a *Jew* in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time having offer'd a Pearl of exquisite Beauty and Largeness to Sale to that Princess, for the Price of 20,000 *l.* a vast Sum in those Days; Her Majesty being a good Oeconomist, and thinking it too much Money to bestow upon a thing of no real Use, refus'd to buy it; whereupon the *Jew* was preparing to look for a Chapman elsewhere, saying, the Kingdom was not able to purchase his Jewel: This coming to the Ears of Sir *Thomas Gresham*, then a Merchant in the City, he sent to invite the *Jew* to Breakfast, ordering him to bring his Pearl with him, which he did accordingly; and

and Sir *Thomas* immediately paid him down his Money for it, which, as soon as he had done, he call'd for a Pestle and Mortar, and bruised the Pearl in it ; then taking a Glas of Wine, he put it therein, and drank it off to the Queen's Health, saying, *Now you may see that not only the Kingdom is able to buy it ; but that her Majesty has Subjects who can afford to drink her Health with it.*

1714.
Rotterdam.
Leyden.

Having finish'd the Affairs which detain'd me at *London*, I set out from thence the Middle of *March* 1714, in order to return to *Turky* the shortest way. To this Intent I went again to *Rotterdam*, where I staid but one Day ; from thence to *Leyden*, where I was three with Mr. *Heyman*, who would have me lodge at his House, and entertain'd me handsomely as before. He had the Complaisance to go with me, to shew me the Curiosities which I had not time to see when I pass'd this Way before ; as, amongst others, the Simple or Physick Garden, which is abundantly stock'd with medicinal Plants, and the fine Gallery which looks upon it ; where I was agreeably amused with the Variety of Rarities that are kept therein, such as the *Ape* and the *Cat* born with Wings, the *Priapus Vegetabilis*, the *Pasteboard Money* coin'd during the Time that the City was besieg'd, the *Serpent* upon whose Skin they pretend to find Hieroglyphicks ; with divers Monsters and Insects embalm'd, or preserv'd from Corruption in Bottles, by the means of Oils and Spirits. — In the Physick School, and in the Anatomy Chamber, a Number of Skeletons of Men and Beasts, with Mummies, Urns, Idols, and other Things well enough known by Travellers.

Amsterdam.
Amersfort.
Arnheim.

Nimeguen.

Cleves.

From thence I went to *Amsterdam*, where I remain'd but one Day, and then took a * Post Waggon to *Amersfort* on the 27th ; then striking off to the South East, I pursu'd my Journey by *Arnheim*, a little Town in *Guelderland*, upon a Branch of the *Rhine* ; and so on to *Nimeguen*, a pretty well fortify'd Town something larger, and situated on the greatest Branch of the same River, and in the same Province. It was taken by the *French* in 1672, who were obliged to abandon it two Years after : It is famous for the Treaty begun there in 1678 between *France*, *Holland* and *Germany*, which was concluded in 1679. From hence I went on to *Cleves*, which I reach'd on the 28th ; it is the Capital of the Dutchy of that Name belonging to the King of *Prussia*. This City is very agreeable, being upon an Eminence, accompanied with a fine Castle and a Wood, thro' which are cut several long and regular Allies leading to divers Villages. I made no longer Stay here but to dine and take a fresh Waggon ; and whilst both were getting ready, I walk'd in the City with a *German Lutheran*, whom I found at the Post-House, and who was going to *Vienna* by the same Way as me. Dinner being over, we got into the Waggon, and arrived at *Cologn* the next Day in the Evening. It is a very handsome and large City in the Electoral Circle, to which it gives Name ; it is well peopled, especially by Ecclesiasticks, and has 19 Parishes and 37 Monasteries both of Men and Women, and in all above 370 Churches. Its Fortifications are after the antique manner, but very good in their Kind ; and it is surrounded with a triple Ditch.

Cologn.

The *German*, whom I had met at *Cleves*, was so complaisant as to gratify my Curiosity, by accompanying me about the † City, (which

* The usual way of riding Post in Germany is in Waggon or Chaises.

† Cologn, formerly Colonia Ubiorum, Colonia Agrippina, the Capital of the Archbishoprick of that Name.

he was acquainted with, as having been there before) and showing me what was most rare in it. I was surpris'd at such a Number of Churches in one City, and so many Convents of both Sexes; and these Churches are very handsome, and well stored with sacred Ornaments and Utensils. The Streets indeed swarm with Ecclesiasticks, and the *Roman* Catholick Religion makes a Figure even in the publick Places and Cross-ways, where there are Chappels and Oratories adorned with Statues and Images of Saints, and Crowds of Suppliants on their Knees before them; with Priests in their Surplices and Stoles, holding in one Hand a Book in which they read, and in the other a square Cap to receive the Charity of devout People. Several little Children, at the Doors of the Houses where they lodge, have Imitations of these Oratories, made for the most part by themselves, with Statues, Images, Candlesticks, Crosses, Lamps, and other Ornaments in Miniature and proportionable; and they sing the Litanies, and other *Latin* Prayers, like the Priests, and hold out little Boxes to the Passengers, asking them to give something to the Maintenance of the Chappel of such a He or She Saint. I might also add, that I never saw so many Relicks in one Place as they shew there, a large Chappel being entirely hung, and cover'd with human Bones, which they there give out to be those of 11000 Virgins, who were (as they say) formerly Natives of *Great Britain*, and who accompanying St. *Ursula* to *Rome*, suffer'd all of them Martyrdom on their Return, upon the very Spot where this Church now stands. I have heard, however, the Reality of the Number of these Virgins contradicted even by some good Catholicks, even to the reducing them to only One call'd *Undecimilla*; which Name sounding (as they said) so very much like *Undecim Millia* 11,000, may have caused the Mistake. They wou'd not, however, condemn all the Relicks in the aforementioned Chappel on account of this Error, as believing them to belong to some of those Numbers of Martyrs that have been persecuted for professing Christianity, without knowing their Names.

The fine Figure which Religion makes here, the Number of Priests, Devotees, Relicks, &c. may possibly have acquir'd this City the Name of *Cologn the Holy*, as it is now call'd. The Civil Government is in the Hands of six Burgo-Masters; and extends the Liberty of Conscience so far, as even to allow the *Lutherans* a Church within the Walls, which is refused the *Calvinists*, who are obliged to cross the *Rhine* to serve God after their manner about a Mile from the City. The Authority of the Archbishop there is very great, but he is not Absolute.

Leaving *Cologn* the 1st of *April*, early in the Morning, we dined at * *Bonne*, the Capital of the Electorate of *Cologn*, and the Place where the Elector usually resides, who is also Archbishop of *Cologn*. In the Beginning of the Night we reached † *Coblentz*, where we lay; and I arose early the next Morning, in order to take a View of it whilst the Horses were getting ready; and my Fellow Traveller wou'd also keep me Company in my Curiosity. This City is situated at the Confluence of the *Rhine* and the *Moselle*; for which reason the *Latins* gave it the Name of *Confluentes* or *Confluentia*. It is a pretty handsome and strong Place belonging to the Elector of *Treves*, who has a magni-

* *Bonne*, formerly *Arx Ubiorum*, a City of the Electoral Circle of the *Rhine*.

† *Coblentz*, formerly *Traiano Legio*, according to some Geographers.

ficent Palace there, and a Castle on the other side of the *Rhine*, call'd *Hermanstin*, which is reckon'd one of the strongest in *Germany*.

Francfort.

Having cross'd the broadest Part of the *Rhine*, we went to * *Francfort*, upon the *Mein*, where we arriv'd the 4th; 'tis a City pretty well fortify'd, tho' after an antique Manner, and divided in two Parts by the *Mien*, which we cross'd over upon a very handsome Stone-Bridge. 'Tis a Place of very great Commerce, where the *Golden Bull* of the Emperor *Charles V.* is kept, which regulates the Elections of the Emperors and Kings of the *Romans*. The *Lutheran* Religion is there predominant, and the *Roman* Catholicks have two Churches, with two Convents of Men and Women; but the *Calvinists* are not allow'd any Place of Worship no more than at *Cologne*, and are oblig'd to be marry'd and have their Children baptiz'd by the *Lutheran* Ministers, as they are in all Places where this Religion has the Sway; upon which Account 'tis observable, that it does not grant them so much Liberty even as to the *Roman* Catholicks, as I shall remark elsewhere. There are a Number of *Jews* in *Francfort*, but very few of them rich: Some say, the Reason is, because the *Christians* that are Natives are too cunning for them, or are themselves *Jews* in respect to Trade.

Hainault.

Setting out from this City, we pursued our Journey towards *Ratisbonne*, by (a) *Hainault*, (b) *Wurtzburg*, and (c) *Nurembergh*. The first is the Capital of the County of that Name, where the Counts usually have their Residence; it is handsome, and its Fortifications are good.

Wurtzburg.

The second is the Metropolis of the Archbishoprick of the same Name in *Franconia*; its Churches are fine, and there is one of the most magnificent Hospitals in *Europe*. The Castle wherein the Archbishop resides is perfectly well fortify'd, and its Bridge over the *Mein*, may be rank'd among the finest that are laid over that River; the Country be-

Nuremberg.

tween this City and *Frankfort* is delightful and very fertile. The third is a very large and fine City, of the Circle of *Franconia*, upon the Banks of the *Pregnitz*, which runs through the middle of it, and divides it almost into two equal Parts, which have a Communication with each other by the Means of several beautiful Stone Bridges. Its Churches and Houses are generally magnificent, the Streets broad, and publick Places spacious, with handsome Fountains, most Part of whose Ornaments are Figures in Brass; it is surrounded with three good Walls, and as many Ditches. It is the Place where the Emperors of *Germany* are crown'd, and *Charlemaign's* rich *Diadem*, his pretious (d) *Dalmatick*, embellish'd with a fine Embroidery intermix'd with Pearls, with his *Gloves*, *Belt*, and *Buskins* cover'd with Plates of Gold, are kept there. The *Lutheran* Religion bears the Sway there as well as at *Francfort*, and the *Roman* Catholicks are allow'd the Use of one

* *Francfort*, formerly *Helenopolis*.

(a) *Hainault* is agreeably situated on the River *Kintzing*, which divides it into the New and Old City.

(b) *Wurtzburg*, formerly *Herpipolis*; the Archbishop bears the Title of Duke of *Franconia*, with this Motto, *Herpipolensis Ecclesia sola Judicat Ense & Stola*. That is to say, that the Archbishops of that Dutchy have full Power over their Subjects both in Spirituals and Temporals: It here is as a Mark of it, a naked Sword by the Altar on the Epistle-side, when he celebrates Mass.

(c) *Nurembergh*, *Norricus Mons*, or, according to others, *Noricum Castrum*, so called formerly from a Castle built by the *Norici* upon an Eminence; *Berg* in the German Tongue signifying a Mountain.

(d) The *Dalmatick* is properly an Ecclesiastical Ornament, which the Deacons alone of the Church of Rome were formerly allow'd to wear, but which the others have since wore by an Indult of Pope *Zachary*.

Lutheran

Lutheran Church; but the *Calvinists* have none, and are obliged to go into the Marquisate of *Anspach* to celebrate Divine Service after their Manner, and must make Use of *Lutheran* Ministers to marry them and baptize their Children. As for the *Jews*, they must transact their Affairs there in the Day-time, not being permitted to pass the Night there. The (a) Churches (as I before observ'd) are handsome, and I never yet found any Place where *Lutheranism* has retain'd more of the Ceremonies and Ecclesiastical Vestments of the *Roman* Catholicks.

From hence we continued our Journey with the publick Messenger, agreeing with him to carry us as far as *Vienna*, viz. in a Waggon to *Ratisbonne*, and the rest of the Way by Water.

This City is famous for the Diet of the Empire's being held there; it is comprehended in the Circle of *Bavaria*, and situated upon the *Danube*, at the Mouth of the *Regen*, which discharges itself into that River, and from whence it derives half its German Name of (b) *Regensburgh*. 'Tis an Imperial City, and the Government both temporal and spiritual is *Lutheran*; but the *Roman* Catholicks have several Churches there, and among the rest the Cathedral, with three Abbeys, one of Men, the Abbot whereof takes Place amongst the Prelates of the Empire, and two of Women; the Bishop is Prince of the Empire. It is a large City, well built and fortify'd; its Houses are for the most part of Free-Stone intermix'd, (besides the Churches) with a great many Noblemen's Palaces. It was then very much dispeopled, by Reason of the Plague's having rag'd therein a Year before, and carry'd off Abundance of its Inhabitants. The Messenger of *Nuremberg* procured us here, according to our Agreement, a Boat to go down the *Danube*, for *Vienna*, and we went on Board the 10th; we lay every Night ashore, and had the Satisfaction in our Passage of seeing the Cities of *Straubing*, *Wiltzoven*, *Passaw*, *Lintz*, and *Crems*, with several fine Villages, pleasant Country-Houses, delicious Gardens, and sumptuous Monasteries, as agreeably as commodiously situated upon the *Danube*, which is a staunch Catholick all thereabouts. We were met here and there by Hermits, and other Fryars, who came in Boats, with Images and Statues of Saints, on Board of ours, showing them to us with one Hand, and crying them up for the Guardian Angels and Preservers of those who travel by Sea; and with the other holding out a Box, into which they begg'd us to put something for the Maintenance of their Chappels; which we did, and receiv'd in Return a thousand Blessings.

The (c) first of the Places before-mentioned, is a handsome Town, well walled in, and dependent on the Dutchy of *Bavaria*. The * second is not so large, nor so strong, and dependent on the same Dutchy. The (d) third is a fine large Imperial City, in the Circle of *Bavaria*, and under the Protection of its Bishop. It is divided into four Parts by the *Danube*, the *Inn* and the *Ill*, which meet there, and are swallowed up in the first. These Parts are distinguished by diffe-

(a) The *Lutheran Churches*, which were taken from the *Roman Catholicks* at the Reformation, have retain'd all the same Statues, Images, and other Objects of Devotion and Ornaments which they had formerly; and even those which have been built since are adorned almost after the same manner; but 'tis well known that the Images of Saints, &c. are not attended now therein with any Religious Respects. (b) *Ratisbonne*, or *Regensburgh*, formerly the Capital of *Bavaria*, the *Reginum* and *Augusta Tiberii* of the *Antients*.

(c) *Straubing*, Capital of the District of the same Name. * *Wiltzoven*, a pretty, neat, and well situated Town of *Bavaria*. (d) *Passaw*, formerly *Patava Castra*.

- rent Names; that which is above the Confluence of the *Inn*, is call'd *Passaw*; and that which is below, *Innstadt*, which is believed to be the ancient *Bajodurum*; that above the Influx of the *Ill*, is *Oberhausen*; and that below it, *Illstadt*. It is famous in the *Protestant History* for the Peace in 1552, which restored their Freedom to the Duke of *Saxony* and the *Landsgrave of Hesse*, and gave Liberty of Conscience to *Germany*. The (a) fourth is lesser, but more regularly built, most of its Houses being of Free-Stone, and flat-roof'd, after the *Italian Manner*. It has a fine Imperial Castle, where the Court of *Vienna* took Refuge, when that City was besieged. The fifth is agreeably situated upon the Brow of a Hill, the Roof of which is washed by the *Danube*; it is well walled in with good Trenches.
- Lintz. I arrived at *Vienna* the 15th, where I staid but four Days, which I spent with a great deal of Pleasure by the Means of Mr. *Morhoff* and Mr. *Fury*, and pursued my Course down the *Danube*, for *Buda*; and saw on my Way thither the Cities of (b) *Presbourg*, *Javarin*, (c) *Komoron*, and (d) *Strigonium*. The first is in *Upper Hungary*, and is a large and pretty handsome City; 'tis the Place where the Emperor is crown'd King of *Hungary*, and where the States of that Kingdom assemble. The second is in the Lower *Hungary*, and situated upon the Confluence of the *Raab*, with the *Danube*, where it forms an Oval Isle, call'd *Shut*, as represented upon my Map A. It is only remarkable for being equally strong by Art and Nature; the Country People call it also *Raab*. The third stands upon the Eastern Point of *Shut*, and is call'd the *Virgin*, for having (as they say) never been taken; it has a good Citadel, with all the Advantages both of Art and Nature for its Defence. The *Calvinist* and *Lutheran* Religion bear equally the same Sway there, and it is very well peopled, but its Houses are but ordinarily built. The fourth is a finer City, and as well fortify'd by Art, tho' not so strong by Nature; it has been several times taken, and re-taken, by the *Turks* and *Imperialists*; but the latter have kept it ever since the Year 1683. 'Tis the Residence of the Archbishop, Primate, Chancellor, and President of the Council of State of the Kingdom of *Hungary*.
- Presbourg. Being come to the City of (e) *Buda*, I staid there a whole Day, in order to take a more exact View of it, than I had of the others aforegoing, which I only saw *en passant*, and very superficially. It has been very ill used by the Arms of the *Turks*, *Germans*, and *Hungarians*; and 'twas the Residence of the ancient Sovereigns of that Kingdom, from whom 'twas taken by the *Turks* in 1541, and made the Seat of a *Bashaw*, or *Beglerbeg*; who had under his Government all the Country between the *Teisse* and the *Danube*, inclusive of *Agria* and *Novigrad*, with all the *Lower Hungary*, from *Gran Kanisca*, and the Eastern Part of *Sclavonia*, with a great Part of *Servia*. The Imperial Troops, commanded by Duke *Charles of Lorrain*, re-took it from them by Storm in 1686, and it remain'd and was yielded to the Emperor by the Treaty of *Carlowitz*. The Breaches were not quite repaired when I pass'd through it; and
- Javarin, Ar-rabo.
- Komoron.
- Strigonium,
- Buda.

(a) Lintz, according to some Geographers, the ancient *Gesodunum*.

(b) Presbourg is the Capital of the Earldom of that Name.

(c) Komoron, according to some Geographers the *Brigacium*; according to others the *Crumerum* of the *Antients*.

(d) Strigonium, or Gran, as it is commonly call'd by the People of the Country, from the River *Granus*, which discharges itself there in the *Danube*.

(e) Buda, call'd also *Ofen*, is situated partly upon the Top, partly upon the Side of a Hill, whence it extends down to the Banks of the *Danube*.

they were then at work about them, tho' but slowly. It is very large, and divided into the Higher and Lower Town: The Low Town is entirely open, and well peopled, especially to the East, by *Rascians* and *Servians*; the first Catholicks, and the second *Greeks*; with some *Armenians*, and five or six *Turkish* Families that have turn'd *Christians*. There are still on the West Side of it divers Mosques standing, with *Turkish* Tombs, part of which have been converted into *Christian* Churches and Chappels: There are also on that Side some fine Baths, with Waters naturally hot, which are reckon'd very wholesome.

Not finding at *Buda* any Boat ready for *Peterwaradin*, or rather having the Curiosity to see *Seghedin* and *Temeswaer*, I resolv'd to pursue my Journey by those Places. In order to which I cross'd the *Danube* on the 25th to * *Pest*, another pretty great City on the opposite Side Pest. of this River, which has had the same Fate as *Buda*; but is not so populous, has never been so strong, and is more neglected. The Inhabitants are, as at *Buda*, a Medley of *Germans* and *Servians*, with a few *Hungarians* and *Greeks*. The last have a very pretty Church here; the Priest of which was very obliging, and procured me two good Horses, with a Guide of his own Nation for Post-Boy; with whom I continued my Journey, and took up my Lodging that Night at a large Village call'd *Oftcha*, whose Inhabitants were all *Calvinists*; and, as Oftcha. such, very much alarm'd with a false Report, that some *Imperial* Troops were actually filing off, and on their March to take up their Quarters in *Hungary*, and force all the *Protestants* in that Kingdom to turn *Roman* Catholicks. The Judge of the Place ask'd me, if I had heard any such News, or seen any Appearance of it? I told him No, and that I did not believe the Emperor (however zealous he might be otherwise for the Propagation of his Faith) so bad a Politician to disturb his *Hungarian* Subjects upon that Head. But (answer'd the Priest who was present) the *Jesuits* have so much Influence over him and his Ministry, and are so much our Enemies, that 'tis in their Power to make him alter his most merciful Resolutions. However, at last I said enough to dispel their Fears; and the first provided me two good fresh Horses with another Post-Boy, for I then rode, there being no regular Post Waggon in that Part of the Country. Next Day I went thro' a pretty large Town, but sorrily built, call'd *Keskemetz*, with Keskemetz. three Churches, two *Lutheran*, and one *Roman* Catholick. 'Twas this Place (as I have observed elsewhere) that some *Rascians*, who are naturally *Anti-Hungarians*, plunder'd some Years before, during the Time of a Fair that is held there every Year; and some Merchants, who were Subjects to the *Porte*, having suffer'd in the Pillage, occasion'd the Complaints that were made thereupon to the *Visier*. The Horses being good, I ask'd the Post-Boy if he wou'd go any further; and he consented to carry me as far as *Seghedin*, † where we arrived on the 29th, Seghedin,
Segodunum. meeting only with some Villages miserably built in a very fertile Country. It is an old City of *Dacia*, situated on the *Teisse* or *Tibiscus*, and the *Tebises* of the Ancients, where the little River *Maros* disembogues in it.

Seghedin was then so inconsiderable, and in such a wretched Condition, that it did not seem to me worth the Pains I had taken to see it. Its

* *Pest*, a City in Upper Hungary over against *Buda*.

† *Seghedin* is reckon'd the ancient *Singidava*.

Fortifications (which had suffered a great deal of Damage by the *Germans*, in retaking it from the *Turks*) were no better repair'd than those of the Places before-mention'd ; and they work'd as slowly at them, and with as few Hands. Its principal Inhabitants (excepting the *German* Garrison) were *Rascians*, with some *Hungarian* Catholics, generally poorly lodged. The *Rascians* have great Encouragement to settle there, by the particular Privileges granted them by the Emperor, on account of the Services they have done him in his *Hungarian* Wars, against the Malecontents, join'd with some *French* Auxiliary Forces, whom they harrafs'd very fortunately ; being not at all inferior to the first for Parties and Incursions, and surpassing them in Cunning and Activity in ravaging a Country ; so that one may in a manner call them the Emperor's *Tartars*. I cross'd the *Teisse*, and found on the other Side of this River, in a miserable House, an * *Emin*, who collected the Custom-House Duties for the *Grand Seignior*, of the Merchants, coming from his *Imperial* Majesty's Dominions into those of his *Ottoman* Highness, whose reciprocal Limits met then at that Place. This Officer, contrary to the manner of the *Turks*, who never search a Traveller's Baggage, (or at least who had never done it before to me) had mine searched by one of his Servants after the Christian Example ; and finding therein some *English* Gold Watches, exacted of me at the Rate of 3 *per Cent. ad Valorem*. After which I went to a Village, Tributary to the *Porte*, about two Miles lower, where I hired a Waggon with two Horses for *Temefwaer*, there being (as they told me) no more to be got between this Village and that City ; and accordingly I met with a continual marshy Desert above 20 Leagues over, between this Place, the *Teisse*, and two old Stone Churches, half ruined, without any Houses to accompany them. I ask'd the Master of the Horses, who serv'd me for both Guide and Post-Boy, and understood a little *Turkish*, what was the reason of it ; but he cou'd inform me no more than what I easily perceiv'd at first View, *viz.* That there had formerly been Villages, but he cou'd neither tell me when, nor their Names.

Temefwaer. I arriv'd on the 3d of *May* at *Temefwaer*, which derives its Name from the little River *Temes* whereon it lies. Its Fortifications are a Medley of the Modern and the Antique ; but the vast Quantity of Water, wherewith 'tis supply'd by its Situation in a sort of Morass, and which fills its Ditches that are pretty deep, makes all Approaches difficult, and its Streets very dirty. Its Houses are all wooden, and the publick Market, where the Shops are, is very large ; but that altogether does not make it a fine City, at least it was not then, for I have not seen it since 'twas taken by the *Germans*, to whom the *Turks* yielded it up lately by the Treaty of *Passarowitz*, after having kept it above One hundred and sixty Years. One of the *Fanizaries* of the Garrison conducted me before the *Bashaw*, who, being inform'd who I was, and whither I was going, receiv'd me very civilly ; and I was attack'd with an Ague next Day after my Arrival, almost like that which seiz'd me between *Cyprus* and *Jaffa*, but indeed not so violent ; I told his *Kiaia* of it, and that I was resolved nevertheless to set out forthwith for *Constantinople* ; he advis'd me to go down the *Danube* for *Killia*, where I shou'd not fail of a *Saïque* for that City, as being the easiest way of travelling in my

* *Emin*, a *Turkish* Officer of the Customs.

Condition; and added, that the *Bashaw* was to send several things to *Widdin*, in order to their going by Water to *Ismael*. I answer'd that I wou'd follow his Counsel, and take this Opportunity. The 9th I set out with the Man, who went upon a Waggon loaden with Bales, upon which he offer'd me a Place; but I chose rather to hire another for my own Conveniency; and in a little more than a Day and half we arrived there, having only seen two poor Villages by the Way, that had nothing remarkable in them. *Widdin* is a very large and populous Town, with nine pretty handsome Mosques, two good *Hans*, and a Castle not very strong, garrison'd by Companies of *Janizaries*; but the Houses, like most of the others in *Turky*, are almost all of Wood. I took a Walk into the Market-place, to look (according to my usual Custom) amongst the Goldsmiths and Brasiers for Medals; and bought of the first two large and thick ones of *Alexander the Great*, one thicker of *Athens*, with the Owl on its Reverse; three small of *Septim. Geta*; and of the second, six struck for the Colony known under the Latin Name of that City, viz. four like N. 40 in the Print XII. and two other with a like Reverse, but with the Head of *Gordianus* and A N. III. in the *Exergue*; three like (30) in the Print XXIX. with above twenty of *Trajan*, *Antoninus Pius* and *Adrian*, all in middle-siz'd Brasses, the most part Latin; those of *Trajan* have for Reverse a Gally, or the Goddess of Plenty; a *Hercules* leaning upon his Club; a *Jupiter* sitting and holding in his Right Hand a little Victory, and in his Left a Spear; a *Diana* in the Habit of a Huntress, with a Quiver of Arrows, and a Dog at her Feet; an *Esculapius* standing with a Staff, round which a Serpent is twined; a *Pallas* with a Rudder, and *Rome* in a Helmet.

As the Vessel for *Ismael* was not yet ready to go off, not being willing to be long upon the Way with so bad a Companion as my Ague, I agreed with the Master of another, who was to sail the next Day for *Rustick*; where he gave me hopes of finding several Opportunities of going for *Constantinople*, or at least to *Killia*, and we departed the 14th in the Evening. I was too near the Place where they pretend that the famous Bridge of *Trajan* formerly was, not to take a View of it; wherefore I hired a small Boat for that purpose, during an Intermis-
Pons Tra-
jani.
sion of my Ague, but cou'd only see some little Remnants of well cemented Walls upon the Southern Side of the *Danube*; which may as probably be the Ruins of some Fort built there, as of Arches, the Stones not being of that Bigness which they generally make use of in building of Bridges. As there were no Inscriptions to give me any Informations what it was, I remain'd in the same Incertitude as before about it. As for what the *Turks* call *Dervent Capi*, or *Iron Gate*, which is not far from these Ruins, 'tis a Passage where the Channel
Dervent
Capi.
of the *Danube*, being confin'd between high Rocks, flows with Precipitation and a great Noise; and these Rocks may very likely belong to the Chain of Mountains of the same Name, between *Philippolis* and *Nissa*, where is their other *Dervent Capi*. We arriv'd at *Nicopolis* the 17th; the Master of the Vessel having something to take in in that City,
Nicopolis ad
Istrum.
stopt there long enough to give me Time to see it, and look amongst the Goldsmiths and Brasiers after Medals; and I found a good Number both of Silver and Brasses; among the first were those of *Trajan*, *Antoninus*, *Adrian*, *Rome*, *Lepidus*, *Septimius Geta*, *Alexander Severus*, *Sabina*, *Julia Augusta*, all Latin and common; among the second
were

were the Greek ones, viz. two of *Marcianopolis*, like N. 1. three of *Nicopolis ad Istrum*, like N. (11) in the Print XXVIII.

Russick.

Nicopolis is one of the largest Towns upon the *Turkish* Part of the *Danube*, and is well peopled with *Turks* and *Greeks*, with some *Armenians* and *Jews*. The first have divers Mosques there, the second three Churches, and the others each of them a Place of Religious Worship; but neither the one deserves the Name of a Church, nor the other of a Synagogue. There is also a miserable Castle garrison'd by a Company of *Fanizaries*. My Ague, which prov'd a *Tertian*, not being so severe but that it gave me leave to walk and take a View of the Places I pass'd thro', I had desir'd the *Reys*, when his Affairs were finish'd, to send for me into the Market, having told him I shou'd be amongst the Goldsmiths, which he did; and a small Wind, together with the Current of the *Danube*, carried us in less than Twenty-four Hours to *Russick*. This City is much larger than *Nicopolis*, and more populous, having a Castle with two Companies of *Fanizaries* for its Garrison. There are, besides twenty handsome Mosques, three Churches, two of *Greeks*, and one of *Armenians*, and a Synagogue for the *Jews*; it has also several large *Hans*; and the Country round about is agreeably diversify'd with Gardens, Fruit Trees and Vines. One wou'd think by some Ruins, or Remains of old Walls that are to be seen there, that formerly another City had been thereabouts; but I cou'd not meet with any Inscriptions to give me an Insight into the Name of it. Some will have it to have been *Axiopolis*. I bought from the Goldsmiths and Brasiers the following Medals; that of *Divus Augustus*, with an Eagle, and the Words *Signis Receptis* on the Reverse; that of *Rome*, with a Triumphal Chariot driven by *Victory* on the Reverse, and the Word *Cæsar* in the Exergue; that of *Concordia*, with a Temple on the Reverse; with a Number of other *Latin* ones of *Nero*, *Vespasian*, *Maximus*, and the Emperor *Philip*, and *Julius Cæsar* with a Veil upon his Head, under which one may see a Crown of Laurels, with this Legend, *Divus Cæsar*, on the Reverse, and the same sitting on a triumphal Chariot drawn by four Elephants, with this Inscription, *TRIUMPH. GALL.* that of *Octavianus Cæsar Augustus*; his Bust is represented upon this Medal crown'd with Laurels, with this Legend, *DIVUS AUGUSTUS*, and a Temple on the Reverse. These Medals, with a great many of the latter *Roman* Emperors, as *Constantius*, *Dioclesian*, *Theodosius*, six (like the Gold one mark'd (b) in the Print XIII. found at *Caffa*) of *Constantine*, *Julianus*, *Probus*, of *Julia* and *Flaccilla*, which were mingled with those above-mention'd, were sold me for about a third more than the Value of their Weight by the Owners. Altho' that of *Constantine* (a), &c. in the same Print, is among the most common Ones, I have had it engrav'd on account of its Reverse, and of what History remarks of the Greek X that crosses or is interwoven with the Greek P, and forms a Monogram of Jesus Christ, upon the *Labarum* or Banner; which Monogram the Patriarch's Blessing, in the Print XXII. forms pretty distinctly with his Fingers. Some will have it, that these Characters wherein the X makes a perfect Greek Cross, were first brought in Use at the time of the *Oriflame*, or Vision of *Constantine*, between the *Rhine* and the *Danube*, as they pretend. Others aver, that the Cross was made use of by the *Pagans*; and to prove it, do cite several Sepulchral Lamps, the Tombstones of the ancient *Goths*, some of which are represented on the

Print

Print XXXII, and seem to countenance and support this Opinion; and they answer to the first, who alledge as a Proof of their Assertion, that *Julian* the Apostate had them taken out of the *Roman* Ensigns, and restored to their Places, S. P. Q. R, as represented in his *Labarum*, mark'd (d) or the *Roman* Eagles; that this Emperor did it in Opposition to *Constantine*, who had sanctified or christianized them; and that it was not a Consequence of their having not been in Use before the Time of *Constantine*, but was rather a Sign of *Julian's* inveterate Hatred for a thing which *Constantine* had render'd *Christian*, and deem'd miraculous, and which he did not think so. That of *Maxentius*, mark'd (C), which I have join'd to that of *Constantine* in Memory of his Rout, must not be very common, since it is the only one which I found in all my Travels. I found there also Medals of *Adrianople*, with the *Crescent* like (xç) in the Print XII, and like (15) in XXIX. Those who pretend to the best Knowledge of *Pagan* Antiquities say, that the *Crescent*, or New Moon, was a Deity of *Bizantine's*, whose Worship *Constantine* extirpated, in changing the Name of *Bizantium* into that of *New Rome*, and *Constantinople*, now call'd *Stamboll* by the *Turks*, to whose *Crescent* it obeys; tho' there is not, that I know of, any such thing represented on the Medals struck by its ancient Inhabitants, (not even on my fine Medallion of that City, N. (16) in the Print XXVIII.) as there is on the aforesaid ones, and many more. However, it is a pretty common Opinion among the Medallists, that the Moon was a He-God, call'd *Lunus*, not a She-one, *Luna*; and Mr. *Spanheim*, with others, asserts (if I remember well,) that he was chiefly worship'd in *Syria* or *Mesopotamia*, and is represented in the Medals of the *Magnesiens*, *Nysæens*, &c. with an *Armenian* Cap on his Head. I dare not affirm this, tho' the Reverse of my *Galba*, N. (15) in the last Print, answers to the Description. But, without a further Digression about these Antiquities, I'll proceed on my Voyage.

There being at that Time no Boat nor Vessel at *Russick*, that was going farther than *Silistria*, I hired one for that Place at a little Town on the opposite Side of the River, in *Walachia*, call'd *Yorgou*, with a Castle flank'd with seven Towers, and garrison'd by three Companies of *Janizaries*. I arrived at *Silistria* next Morning, viz. the 20th, and staid there till Evening; it is something lesser than *Russick*, but as populous in Proportion; its Inhabitants are like those of the Towns before-mentioned: Its Castle is as defenceless and as poorly garrison'd as *Russick*, with six handsome *Mosques*, two good *Hans*, three *Greek* Churches, and one for the *Armenians*. The *Jews* have their Assemblies in the *Cacan's* House, not having any fix'd Synagogue, no more than at *Nicopolis*. I found here the Silver Medals of *C. Clodius*, with a Woman sitting, and holding in one Hand a Lamp, and carrying the other in the End of her Veil, as it were in a Scarf, with this Legend, *Vestalis*; that of *Adrian*, with *Romulus* on the Reverse, and this Legend, *Romulo Conditore*; that of *Vespasian*, with a naked Woman sitting, and the Word *Vesta*; that of *Diva Faustina*, with a *Vestal's* Veil, with several others of *Rome*; those of the *Latin* Emperors *Antoninus Pius*, *Domitian*, *Trajan*, the Emperor *Alexander Severus*, and of *Constans*. Finding no Boats at *Silistria* ready, and fit to go farther, the Wind being too high for small ones, I accepted of a *Walachian* Merchant's Company, who propos'd to me the Conveniency of Horses to be hir'd on the other Side of the River, to go by Land to *Ismael*: We cross'd the *Danube*, and the next Day, viz. the 21st, very early in the Morning, we mounted, and reach'd

Silistria Du-
rostrorum.
Yorgou.

Ibraeli. reach'd *Ibraeli* in the Evening, after having pass'd over a rich and agreeable Variety of Fields ripe for Harvest, Meadows, Vineyards, Woods, &c. *Ibraeli* is a little Town in *Walachia*, situated on the *Danube*, the same that I mention'd in my Account of the *Pruth*, to have been burnt by the *Muscovites* in 1711; but it was already half rebuilt. It has a little Castle, with seven Towers, which (as they told me) was garrison'd only by 100 *Fanizaries* when General *Rhenne* took Possession of it, and the like Number had re-enter'd it since. There was then a new *Hospedar*, or Prince of *Walachia*, called *Stephen Cantacuzenes*, in the room of *Constantine Basseraba*; who being accused of having sent the *Muscovites* thither, was, upon the Complaints of the Inhabitants, condemned by the *Porte* to rebuild the Town, or at least fined a Sum of Money more than sufficient for that Purpose. The *Porte* not satisfied with this, had him arrested and deposed, and he was at that time actually a Prisoner, with his whole Family, at the *Bostangi Bashaw's* at *Constantinople*: His Enemies had a long time render'd him suspected to the *Visier*, representing him as intending to withdraw himself from any Dependence on it; adding, that he had deposited most Part of the ready Money he had hoarded up in *Turky*, in the Bank of *Venice*, where he reserv'd it for a favourable Opportunity; that he had bought Land in *Transylvania*, and only waited for a Rupture with the Emperor to go over to him, or better Success on the *Muscovites* Side to declare himself openly for them, provided they would support him in an absolute Independency of the *Gr. Seignior*, as (they pretended) he had been promised; but that their Defeat at *Pruth*, and the Example of *Cantemir*, former *Vaivod* of *Moldavia*, who had deserted the *Turkish* Party, and was forced to share in the *Czar's* ill Fortune, had retain'd him in a seeming Fidelity; in a word, that he was reckon'd only loyal for want of a favourable and sure Opportunity of being otherwise. The Circumstances of his being arrested and clap'd into Prison, were told me thus by my Fellow-Traveller, and many other Persons: *Ali Bashaw Cumurgi*, the *Grand Seignior's* Son in-Law, having at last accepted of the Office of *Prime Visier*, seem'd to have reserv'd to himself the Advantage of ruining him to all Intents and Purposes, in order to make the *Sultan* amends, by his Spoils, for the Charges of the War just finish'd; but having first drawn a good Number of Presents from him, for preserving him in his Principality, by his Credit with his Highness; for at the same time that he was giving him the most authentick Proofs of his Favour, he sent a *Capigi*, in the *Grand Seignior's* Name, to make him Prisoner; but whether or no the Prince saw clear enough through the Dissimulation of this Minister, to look upon all his Cares as Presages of Danger, I can't tell, but he retir'd to *Tergowitz*, (a little Town the nearest to the *Christian* Frontiers, and the strongest in *Walachia*), with his Guard of chosen trusty Men, in order to be ready to make his Escape into *Transylvania*, as soon as he should hear, from some faithful Emissaries whom he kept in Pay, the dangerous News of a *Capigi Bashaw's* being dispatch'd for him; tho' several were of Opinion, that this Precaution, and the Fear he shew'd, wou'd hasten his Ruin, out of an Apprehension the *Porte* wou'd be in of his escaping, with all his Money and Jewels. However it was, a *Capigi Bashaw* was sent so secretly, and disguis'd, into *Walachia*, that he was there three Weeks without the Prince's having the least Notice of it; 'twas *Usuff Bashaw*, one of the most subtle and cunning amongst them; he convers'd first *incognito*, like

like a private Man, with the *Boyars*, or principal *Walachian* Noblemen, to sound their Inclinations towards their Prince ; then he tempted them, by their Ambition, to succeed him ; and, finding them not contrary to his Designs, dispos'd them to assist him in deposing him : And this sly Fox, not to allarm those who might be the Prince's real Friends, as to the Treatment destin'd him by the *Porte*, insinuated that there was no Design upon his Life, nor even on any more of his Effects than he had already given for the rebuilding of *Ibraeli*, but made them look upon his being dispossest'd of his Principality, to be upon the same Foot as the dethroning the Emperor *Mahomet IV. viz.* only for having reign'd too long : He added, that *Bessarabla* had govern'd *Walachia* longer than any of his Predecessors, and was old and rich enough to take his Rest ; that the Principality not being hereditary, nor even for Life, but a Dignity which the *Grand Seignior* conferr'd on any of his Subjects as he pleas'd, he did him no Injustice if he remov'd him from the Helm, to invest any of them with that Honour ; and he took care to flatter each of them in particular with Hopes of being the Man, offering his Service to procure it him. The *Boyars* hugg'd themselves at the Thought ; whereupon he declar'd his Commission ; and having represented to them that their Prince kept always at *Tergowitz*, where he seem'd with his Guards and *Walachians*, as if he design'd to render himself independent of the *Porte*, which would not make Use of any Violence, but, on the contrary, of the gentlest Means imaginable to depose him. The *Boyars*, thus flatter'd and persuaded, answered, that they would assist him in case of need ; but added, that 'twas his Custom to pass the *Easter* Holidays at *Bucharest*, in order to be assistant at the Ceremonies of their Religion, and that they shou'd all be there themselves ; and as for the *Walachians*, most part of whom follow'd their Orders, they would take care that they shou'd not attempt any thing in his Favour ; besides that, they were dissatisfy'd with the Prince, who had oppress'd them with Taxes. All Things being thus disposed, the Holidays coming on, and the Prince, as had been foretold, arriving at *Buccarest*, *Usuff Bashaw* threw off the Mask ; and having, for his greater Security, sent an Order of the *Porte* to the *Janizaries* of *Torgou*, and *Ibraeli*, to be in the Neighbourhood on *Easter-day*, to give him Assistance on the least Signal in Case of Need, he went to the Prince's Palace with a Retinue of 20 *Turks*, and accosting him, as he was coming out of Church, presented him with the *Grand Seignior's* Order, which was to deliver himself up into the Hands of the Bearer, and suffer himself to be conducted to *Constantinople*, with all his Family, Money, and Jewels. The Prince ask'd a Day to prepare himself for it ; but *Usuff Bashaw* answer'd, that he cou'd not allow him so much as to lie there, without infringing the *Porte's* particular Instruction : Whereupon having deliver'd him up to a Company of *Janizaries* to be guarded, he assembled the *Boyars*, and delivered them an Order, sealed with the Imperial Signet, to take the Reins of Government during the *Interregnum*. In the mean while, two other Companies of *Janizaries*, who surrounded the Palace, guarding all its Avenues or Doors, the *Sellam Agassi*, who had been given by the *Porte* to the Prince for his constant Attendance, or *Guard ad Honores*, but rather and more truly for a Spy to observe his Behaviour, remain'd therein with some trusty Officers of *Usuff Bashaw*, to take Possession of what was most valuable in it, and sell its Furniture to the

highest Bidder ; and that *Capigi Bashaw* carry'd off the Prince, with the Princess his Spouse, and the rest of his Family, under the Guard of the said Company of *Janizaries*, without meeting with any other Resistance than Tears. Whatever Care was taken that none of the Prince's Domesticks shou'd escape, two of them got off with some Jewels, one of which made the best of his Way to *Adrianople*, and lay hid at an *English* Merchant's, with his light but valuable Booty ; but being discovered, the Merchant was seiz'd as well as him, and cast into Prison by the *Bostangi Bashaw* of that City, where he pass'd a Night very unpleasantly, and perhaps wou'd have spent some others worse, if some Friends had not effectually interceded for him with the *Bostangi Bashaw*, representing to him, that this Merchant did not so much as know that there was such a Man in his House, as the fugitive Domestick, who had insinuated himself with his *Greek* Servants ; which the said Domestick having confess'd himself, the Merchant was releas'd.

The Prince and Princess, &c. were no sooner arriv'd at *Constantinople*, where the *Capigi Bashaw* conducted them, than they were put under the *Bostangi Bashaw* of that Place's Custody, to squeeze them. I'll leave them there to their tragical End ; which I'll mention in its proper Time.

Galatz.

Pruth, the
ancient Hie-
rasys.

Baba.

We lay at *Ibraeli*, and left it the 22d by Break of Day to continue our Journey through as rich Variety of Objects as before ; and passing a little rapid River, three Leagues from thence, called by the People of that Country *Arguez*, we went to lie at *Galatz*, a great open Town in *Moldavia*, without any Castle, having five large Monasteries ; that of St. George, called by the *Greeks*, 1. Μεγάλω Μοναστήρι ; 2. Αγίου Νικόλαου ; 3. Παναγία ; 4. Αγίου Δημήτριου ; 5. Μιχαήλ Αρχάγγελου ; wherein there are but five or six *Coloieros*, or Monks, who subsist by the Charity of foreign Merchants, who generally lodge and put their Merchandize there. The 25th we pass'd the *Pruth*, at a little Village call'd *Gurguliz*, and at Night reach'd *Timorum*, a large one of 600 Houses, surrounded with great Gardens, abounding with all sorts of Fruit Trees, and Vineyards. Happening to lodge at a Priest's, who treated us very civilly, I ask'd him if he did not know any one who had old Coins ; he carry'd me to a Vine-Dresser's, who sold me five *Latin* ones of *Gordianus Pius*, and three *Greek* ones, as N. (28.) in the Print XXIX. and two like (c) in the Print XIV. which he found (as he said) in digging his Garden ; they were so black and dirty, that he did not so much as know they were Silver. As he left the Price to my Generosity, I gave him more than the Value of the Silver ; and made a small Present to the Priest, as an Acknowledgment for his Hospitality. After which, hearing of another *Greek*, that there were several Vessels at *Kustangi*, bound for *Constantinople*, I left my Fellow-Traveller, and cross'd the *Danube*, some Miles lower, at *Saccia*, in order to take the Advantage of them. From hence I went on to *Baba*, where I made no Stay, nor farther Remarks worth adding to my first Passage thro' this Place.

A *Greek* Merchant, who was come from *Kustangi*, happening to call at a House where we stopt, inform'd me, that all the Ships were sail'd for *Constantinople* the Day before, with a fair Wind ; and added, that I could not find any others but at *Ismael* and *Killia*. My Ague continuing its Visits by Fits, tho' pretty moderate, I resolv'd for one of those Places, in order to go thence by Sea to *Constantinople*, lest the Fatigues

rigues I shou'd meet with by Land shou'd occasion a Relapse ; upon which I went on to *Tulcia*, and thence to *Ismael*, where finding no Vessel ready, I fell down the River to *Killia*, distant from thence about Eight Leagues, whither I order'd my Things to be carried to a Greek Priest's, with whom I had lodged Three Years before.

I begg'd of him to enquire if there was any *Saigue* ready to sail for *Constantinople*, and he brought me to a *Turkish* Captain who was to set out for that Place as soon as the Weather wou'd permit, and promised me a Cabbin in his Vessel, and to send me word what time I shou'd be ready, as he 'did at Break of Day on the 30th ; the Wind and the Current favouring us, we found our selves before Noon beyond the Mouth of the *Danube*, which was Ten or Twelves Leagues lower, having first pass'd by several Islands abounding in Fruit and Wine, which it washes with its Waters, before its disem-boguing itself into the *Black Sea* ; but it falling towards Evening, and even changing for one that was contrary, then blowing hard, we made for *Kustangi*, the ancient *Constantia*, about Fifty Miles below the *Danube's* Mouth, where we cast Anchor before Midnight ; and the Wind continuing against us, I went ashore the next Day to view it. It is very little, and the Houses are generally low, and worthier of a Village than of a Town, if one excepts those of a few *Turks* ; neither are there any Trees, nor hardly any Verdure, and consequently 'tis not very agreeable. It is built upon the Ruins of the ancient *Constantia*, as is apparent from some Remains of its Walls and Corruption of its Name, but is not at present above a Mile in Circumference ; whereas, by what is still visible of the former, it must have been four Miles round. I found amongst these Ruins divers Pieces of Marble ; some of them with *Greek* Inscriptions, but so much defaced, that I cou'd not make any Sense of them. I bought there of a *Greek* Goldsmith Thirteen Silver and Fifteen Brass Medals, most part of *Constans*, *Constantius*, *Constantine*, and others as common, except three of *Tomi* like N. (4) in the Print XIV. and that of the *Kallatians* N. (2) in the Print XXVIII. The Wind being still contrary, fearing it wou'd continue so too long, and my Ague being pretty much abated, I resolv'd upon going by Land ; and was the more incited to it by the Desire of seeing the Remains of some of the formerly famous Cities, situated on the Coasts of the *Black Sea*, as they are represented in my Map (B), viz. *Tomis*, *Kallati*, *Bizone*, *Dionisyopolis*, *Apollonia*, *Marcianopolis*, *Messembria*, &c. Accordingly I took a Horse with a Guide the 2d of June early in the Morning, and reach'd *Tomi*, call'd by the *Turks* *Pangulae*, and *Tomiswaro* by the *Greeks*, about Nine in the Evening ; and having often experienced the Hospitality of the *Greek* Priests, went to lodge with one of them, who by his Reception did well answer the Experience. I ask'd him many Questions about the Place and Ruins, which he call'd *Pagli Cora*, the Old Town ; but the Answers he gave me were not at all satisfactory, whatever he might himself think them. Happening to name *Ovid*, the famous *Latin* Poet, who, according to History, was banish'd hither by the Emperor *Augustus* ; he reply'd, with a smiling Aire, as if well appris'd of his Misfortunes, " I know what you mean, he was a *Roman* Catholick Saint, who suffer'd Death for his Religion : I'll shew you to Morrow some Remains of the Tower where he was confin'd." In a word, he seem'd to pity my Ignorance, and I did not care to be at the Trouble of curing him of his,

Kustangi or
Constantia.

but left him in his pleasing Error. Next Morning I rose about Break of Day ; and as soon as he was up also, we went together to see the said Remains, which were but very inconsiderable, as well as some others, which I took to be the Ruins of the Walls of the ancient *Tomis*, but without the least Inscription. I desired him to send some Children to enquire among the Inhabitants if they had any antique Coins, promising to reward them for their Pains, and pay well for such as shou'd be found. He ask'd me what I intended to do with such old Brass Pieces, and whether I was a Goldsmith ; for, said he, *no body keeps the Gold or Silver Mony, but carries it immediately to the Goldsmiths of Baba or Varna*. I told him, 'twas not the Metal which I valued ; but that I wou'd buy them whatever they were, and wou'd give a better Price for them than either the Brasiers or Goldsmiths. I perceiv'd that he pitied my Fancy, tho' he comply'd with my Desire ; and in a little while some Boys brought me a good Number, amongst which were several *Latin* ones of *Constantine* and *Eliogabal*. of *Julia Mammea*, *Julia Sabina*, of *Alexander Severus*, of *Hadrianus*, &c. too common to be inserted ; and ten *Greek* ones, viz. two coin'd for the City of *Tomis* like N. (34), three of the *Kallatians* like N. (24) in the Print XXVIII. two of the *Bizonians* like N. (41), and three of the *Messembrians* like N. (9) in the Print XII. all Brasses ; for which they demanded but as many *Paras*, and I gave them six more than they ask'd. Finding my Strength too much impaired by my Illness, to continue my Journey on Horseback, I hir'd a Waggon with two Horses as far as *Varna*, where I arrived the next Night, and took up also my Lodging at a Priest's, to whom my Host at *Tomis* recommended me ; and not being able to proceed by Land, resolv'd to go by Sea ; and there being several *Saiques* in the Harbour, I agreed with the Master of one which was to sail with the first fair Wind. In the mean while I walk'd up and down to view the Place, which is pretty populous, and inhabited both by *Turks* and *Greeks*, tho' mostly by the latter. I found there also some Ruins, and pretty considerable, but without Inscriptions as well as those aforementioned. Upon enquiring, as usual, after Medals, I bought of two *Greeks* three Medals of the *Dyonisiopolitans* like N. (7.) four like N. (21), and (37) in the Print XXIX. with many *Latin* ones of *Annia Faustina*, of *Julia Augusta*, two Medallions of *Agrippina* like N. (42.) in the Print XII. all of Brasses, and none of Silver or Gold, because the Goldsmiths had melted all such which they had of these pretious Metals.

The Wind continuing contrary, I took a Waggon for *Kallati*, but met there only with a few Ruins not worthy Observation, nor the Pains I had been at to see them, and returned back the same Evening to *Varna* ; when some *Greek* Boys, whom my Landlord had sent to seek after Medals, brought me among other very common ones, four of the *Marcianopolitans*, like the four mention'd, one of *Kallati* like (2), and three of the *Messembrians* like (12) in the Print XXVIII. On the 8th, it blowing fair I went aboard, and we set Sail, and on the * 10th arriv'd in the Mouth of the Channel, where being becalm'd, I hired a Boat for *Constantinople* ; when, my Ague increasing, I took the Jesuits Bark, which in less than eight Days freed me from such a troublesome Companion. We heard about twelve Days after the News of her Royal

* I have followed the New Stile from Holland, and will keep it all the while, even in Turkey.

Highness the Princess *Sophia's* Death. She was descended from *James* the First of *England*, by the Princess *Elizabeth*, his Daughter, married to the late King of *Bohemia*, and was Mother to his Majesty the present King of *England*, and a Princess famous for her unparallel'd Vertue and Wit.

C H A P. V.

*The King of Sweden resolves to leave Turkey;
Sends an Ambassador from Demotica to the
Grand Seignior. His Departure and Journey.
With Cursory Remarks on Walachia, Transyl-
vania, Hungary, Germany, &c.*

MR. *Fabrice* being at *Tartarkoi*, a Village about nine Miles distant from *Demotica*, I inform'd him of my Arrival and Recovery; and heard for *Swedish* News, that the Generals *Leven* and *Rank* were come to *Demotica*; the first with Letters from the Princess *Ulrica* the King's Sister, and the States of *Sweden*, to invite his Majesty to return to his Dominions, who had already taken that Resolution; and the second, to demand her Royal Highness in Marriage for the Hereditary Prince of *Hesse Cassel*, unto which his Majesty had given his Consent.

The Reasons of the King's being mov'd to depart, and the *Swedish*, or rather *French*, Transactions at the *Porte*, for the Court at *Demotica*, were related thus: His Majesty seeing no farther Prospect, and being weary of depending on the *Turks* for the Re-establishment of his Affairs with the *Muscovites*, sent word to Mr. *Desalleures*, the *French* Ambassador, who since Mr. *Funk's* being dismiss'd took care of his Interest at the *Porte*, to let the *Grand Seignior* know that he intended to set out for his own Dominions, and was desirous of returning Thanks to his Highness, by a Minister for that purpose, for all the Favours he had receiv'd from him during his Stay in the *Ottoman* Empire. His Excellency, in Compliance with the King's Desire, went with Mr. *Brue*, who was become more a *Swedish* than a *French* Interpreter, to acquaint the *Visier*, then *Ali Bashaw Cumurgi*, with it. The *Visier* made no Objection; but only ask'd Mr. *Brue*, how long it was since his Majesty had been remov'd from *Demirtash* to *Demotica*; to which he (after recollecting himself a little) answer'd, About Eleven Months. "Well then, return'd the *Visier*, I guess'd pretty well in advising *Soliman Bashaw* to invite his Majesty to stay; and telling him that if he did, he wou'd go away before a Year was expir'd. Well, well, added he, the King is at Liberty to stay or depart; but I must know for certain and positively which, that he may not disappoint us in our Preparations, as at *Bender*; and I will acquaint the *Grand Seignior* with it."

All which Circumstances, with what follows, I had from Mr. *Brue's* own Mouth. Two Days after this Interpreter went to desire an Answer,

swer, and the *Visier* gave him this, " The King may send what Officer he pleases, but must fix the Day of his Departure, and the Road he intends to take:" His Majesty being inform'd of this at *Demotica*, comply'd with the Demands of the *Porte*. In the mean while Money was excessive scarce at that Court, and no Stone was left unturn'd to procure some at any rate, not only for the Embassy, but (which was more necessary) for his Majesty's Journey; there being little or no hopes of getting any of the *Porte*, after the Counsel of the *Visier* was known to have been given to *Soliman*. Mr. *Desalleures* and Mr. *Brue* had indeed induced some Merchants of their Nation to advance a little; but 'twas but a Trifle, tho' they might make their own Conditions, for his Majesty wou'd not suffer them to be disputed. The *English* Treasurer, (who had already before the Catastrophe at *Bender*, supply'd him with very considerable Sums, great part of which had been paid) was the boldest; but they had as yet only his Promises, at least he lent but little at a time. On the other hand, Mr. *Grothusen*, who (as was said) had advis'd the King to the Embassy, represented it to his Majesty (contrary to the general Opinion) as a means to obtain some of the *Porte*, either as a Present or a Loan; and the King looking on him as the fittest for both, nam'd him in his Chancery as the Person whom he design'd for his Envoy; upon which Mr. *Mullern* strove to prevail on the King to alter his Resolution, remonstrating to his Majesty how necessary Oeconomy was, at a Time when they had no ready Money, and but small hopes of any; as also how little Mr. *Grothusen* was capable of Management, he naturally loving to be profuse and make a Figure, without troubling himself about the Consequence: But these Reasons, with some others of the like Stamp, instead of dissuading his Majesty from his Choice, only serv'd to confirm him in it; and Mr. *Fabrice*, being acquainted by Mr. *Mullern* with it, advis'd him not to insist upon a thing that was resolv'd; adding, that if there was any Money to be had from the *Porte*, Mr. *Grothusen* was the fittest Person to obtain it. Mr. *Fabrice* promised besides to use all his Interest and Credit with the *British* Treasurer, who might more properly be term'd the *Swedish*, to get some new Supplies for his Majesty's Service; and I may say, that this Gentleman contributed not a little to it: However, Mr. *Grothusen*, being thus vested with the Character of Ambassador Extraordinary of his *Swedish* Majesty, left *Demotica* to go to the *Grand Seignior* on the 12th of *July*, and arriv'd on the 17th at *Pera*, with a Retinue of seventy Persons, both Officers and Domesticks, and two Secretaries to the Embassy. He dismounted at the *English* Treasurer's, who yielded up his House to him, whither the *Porte* sent Velvet Cushions and other Furniture belonging to a *Sopha*, according to Custom. Next Day he notified his Arrival to the Publick Ministers of all the Potentates at Peace with the King his Master, excepting those of *England* and *Holland*, which was by his Master's Orders; who look'd upon these Ministers as his Enemies, for the Share he thought they had in renewing the Peace with the *Czar*. Mr. *Grothusen*, having equip'd all his Retinue magnificently, had his first Audience of the *Visier* on the 26th with the usual Ceremonies, where only the King's Departure, which was fix'd on the Beginning of *October*, was talk'd of; and the *Visier* promised to furnish Horses and Waggon, with some Companies of *Janizaries* and *Zebedgis*, to accompany his Majesty with his People to the Frontiers of *Transylvania*; but did not so much as

name

name the Word *Money*. Some Days afterwards, the new Ambassador order'd Mr. *Brue* to beat the *Visier*'s Pulse about lending a Sum for their Journey; he did so, but was answer'd, that 'twas to no purpose to speak of it, since it was both beneath the Majesty of the Emperor his Master, and contrary to the *Mahometan* Law, to lend Money. Mr. *Grothusen*, not satisfy'd with this Repulse, desired a private Audience himself of this Minister, or rather Vice-Emperor, in order to make the same Demand in Person, taking with him the same Interpreter; but could obtain no other Answer, only the *Visier* added, that perhaps the *Grand Seignior* might send some Present to the King, on the Day of his setting out, either in Gold or other Things; however, he could not positively promise that his Highness wou'd even do that. Upon this Mr. *Brue* advised Mr. *Grothusen* not to insist any longer upon so delicate a Point. On the 30th, his Excellency was admitted to Audience of the *Sultan*, and the following Days were spent in receiving and returning the Visits of the Embassadors of *France*, *Venice*, and *Genoa*. He was every Day in Company with Mr. *Desalleures*, who procured 20000 Crowns for his Majesty from his Nation; but whatever Offers he made himself during his Stay at *Constantinople*, he could not treat with the Merchants for any Sums, nor would the *English* Treasurer enter into any Negotiation with him upon that Head, but directly with the Chancery at *Demotica*, who gave him Obligations, signed with the King's own Hand, for what he then advanced, and what was not yet paid, with two Bailiwicks in *Bremen* as a Security for the Payment of it. I sent Mr. *Fabrice* an Account of his Excellency's Magnificence, &c. he shew'd my Letter to his Majesty, and wrote me the Answer in the *Appendix*.

His Excellency took his Audience of Leave of the *Grand Visier* on the 8th of *August*, and of the *Grand Seignior* on the 15th; and the same Day immediately his Highness went to one of his *Kiosks* on the Seaside; and having order'd the Prince of *Walachia*, with his two Sons, his Daughter's Husband and his Steward, who had been detain'd in Prison two Months on the Accusations before-mentioned, to be brought thither, commanded them to be beheaded on a little Place before the *Kiosk*; which was done accordingly in less than half a quarter of an Hour, whilst he look'd on, after the following Manner:

The Executioner, having made them all kneel down at a certain Distance from each other, ordering them to take off themselves their Caps, and giving them Leave to say a short Prayer, first cut off the Steward's Head, with one Stroke of his Sabre, then the Daughter's Husband, and the eldest Son underwent the same Fate; and he was lifting up his Scymeter to behead the youngest, who was about 16 Years old, when being intimidated, or seiz'd with Fear, he begg'd his Life, and offer'd to turn *Mussulman*; but his Father, reprehending him for his Cowardice, and exhorting him rather to die a thousand times (if 'twere possible) than to deny *Jesus Christ*, for the sake of living a few Years longer upon Earth, he said to the Executioner, *I'll die a Christian, strike*; he did so, and serv'd him in the same Manner as the others, and after him the Father; which done, their Bodies were thrown into the Sea, and their Heads expos'd for three Days before the Great Gate of the *Seraglio*. Thus this unfortunate Prince ended his Life, after having governed *Walachia* twenty six Years. The same Day Messieurs *Comentowsky* and *Goltz* set out for *Poland*, after having had favourable

vousable Audiences of the *Grand Seignior*, and regulated all Things amicably with the *Sublime Porte*.

Mr. *Grothusen* staid yet ten or twelve Days at *Constantinople*, where I left him, to make a Visit to Mr. *Fabrice*, who had invited me to his Country-Seat, two Leagues from *Adrianople*, where he liv'd like a Prince. I found the Place and the Way of Living there as agreeable and delicious, as he had represented it to me in his Letter. Ten or twelve Days after my Arrival, we heard from the Governor of *Peterwaradin* the News of the Death of Queen *Anne*, and his Rôyal Highness the Elector of *Brunswick's* being declar'd her Successor. Mr. *Grothusen* return'd to *Demotica* a little after, and the Expences of his Embassy amounted to above 25000 Crowns, besides 20 Crowns a Day, and Forage for his Horses, which was allow'd by the *Porte*, which made the Chancery murmur, and pleas'd the King. About that time there arriv'd at *Demotica* a Servant of *Ismael Bashaw* of *Bender*, who had been banished to *Sinope*, who said, he had himself counted out 70 Purfes; which his Master had lent to Mr. *Grothusen*, and had never been repaid. His Errand was, to beg him to send him some Supply of Money; assuring him, that the *Grand Seignior*, when he deposed him, had taken all he had in the World, and allow'd him but 20 *Paras* a Day for his Subsistence in his Exile. Mr. *Grothusen* answered, that he had no Money; that he had been in hopes of some from the *Porte*, but was deceived, so gave him 20 Ducats, and dismiss'd him. At that Juncture his Majesty ordered the Letter in the *Appendix* to be wrote to *Carplan Gherai*, the *Tartar-Han*.

The first of *October*, being the Day fix'd for his Departure, a *Capigi Bashaw*, the same who had taken up the Prince of *Walachia* at *Bucarest*, and conducted him to *Constantinople*, having caused a very handsome Tent to be pitched near *Demirtash*, for the King's first *Conack*, or Stage, came with six *Chiaouz* to *Demotica*, where were 300 Horses and 60 Waggons, all ready for his Majesty's Service: He propos'd to his Majesty, as had been done at *Bender* on Account of his Debts, to change the Contracts given to several *Janizaries* and others, who, having taken Advantage of the Necessities of the *Swedes*, both at *Demotica* and *Bender*, had lent them but a Trifle, and afterwards exacted Notes of them for six times as much: He represented to him (as had been done there) that the *Mahometan* Law expressly forbidding the lending Money upon Interest, whatever Impositions had been extorted from them should be disallowed, and the Debts reduced into their real State, by making both the Lender and the Borrower take an Oath upon their respective Laws, how much the one had advanced, and the other receiv'd; and that the Accounts, being so liquidated, would be so very little, that it would not be worth the Creditor's while to follow his Majesty into *Sweden*, as several were preparing to do; but that the Merchants, who had disburs'd the Money for the Expences of his Majesty's Journey, might, by the Assistance of the *French* Ambassador, take upon themselves the Charge of clearing them. The King, ever generous and great, answer'd to this Offer, *If any of my Officers have given a Note for a hundred Crowns, tho' they have receiv'd but ten, I'll have the Whole paid in Sweden*; and order'd a Horse and fifty Crowns to be given each of the Creditors, that they might follow him. All Things being in Readiness, they got on Horseback about Ten in the Morning, and arriv'd at the Tent aforementioned about Four in the Afternoon.

In the mean while, *Apti Bashaw*, *Seraskier* of *Bender* in the room of *Ismael*, had Orders to provide the same Things for the *Swedes*, who were there, as at *Demotica*; that is to say, to furnish them with Waggon and Horses for their Return, and to bear their Expences as far as the Frontiers, and they were then actually upon their March to join his Majesty in *Walachia*; but King *Stanislaus*, with some *Poles*, had taken a By-Road some Months before to *Deux Ponts*, which was assign'd him for his Residence and Subsistence by his *Swedish* Majesty, till he should be in a Condition to render him more effectual Services.

The King, being arriv'd one of the first at the Tent pitch'd for him, dismounted and went into it; he was scarcely enter'd, when the *Capigi Bashaw* made him a Compliment in the Emperor his Master's Name, who wish'd him a good Journey, and sent him the Tent, with a Sabre whose Hilt was embellish'd with Jewels, and eight Horses. His Majesty bow'd his Head, and said that he thank'd his Highness for all his Civilities; then came out of the Tent to view the Horses, which were all *Arabians*, and amongst which there were two as fine Mares as one could desire. Mr. *Grothusen*, having, amongst other rich Goods, redeem'd or saved out of the Pillage at *Warnitza*, a rich Fur of Sables, gave it, by the King's Order, to the *Capigi Bashaw*. His Majesty pass'd the Night under this Tent, and next Morning early they continued their March towards *Russick*, which was the Road agreed on. Mr. *Fabrice* having still some little Affairs to set in Order, we staid at *Adrianople* till the 4th, when we set out in the Afternoon to join his Majesty, which did not cost us much Time, since they did not travel above three or four Leagues a Day; which might be interpreted as a Piece of Civility in the *Turks*, they not thinking it suitable to the Respect due to their Royal Guest, to urge his leaving the *Grand Seignior's* Territories, by taking long Journeys. That very Night we reach'd the Camp; for most part of the King's Retinue lay in the Fields, near a little Village call'd *Bacchikoi*, much too small to contain all the People. Every *Conack*, or Place where they were to lodge, was mark'd out before-hand; and a *Chiaouz*, with one of his Majesty's Quarter-Masters, and an Interpreter, took care to ride foremost, and provide all Things necessary, as well for the refreshing as lodging both of Men and Horses. As 'twas the Quarter-Master's Business to assign Quarters to every one, according to his Rank, I gave him Notice of our Arrival at *Bacchikoi*, that he might get us one; and he being very willing and ready to serve Mr. *Fabrice*, (as indeed most were) answered, *You shall have one of the best, have only a little Patience*. In the mean while, Mr. *Fabrice* was waiting on his Majesty; and half an Hour after the Quarter-Master meeting me, said, *The Village is full, but General Hordh will give you part of his Quarters*, and conducted me thither, where I found two Waggon in a Field, one for the General's Baggage, and another wherein he travell'd, being somewhat indispos'd. I thank'd him with a Smile for his Care in providing for us, but told him I had no Occasion to give him any Trouble for a Lodging *sub Dio*, or in the open Air, under General *Hordh's* Waggon, since there was no other cover'd Place; however, he was a good honest Man, and meant it for the best. I went from thence to look for Mr. *Fabrice*, whom I found walking with the King; wherefore I kept at a Distance, out of Respect; but he no sooner saw me, but he call'd me by his Majesty's Order, asking me if the Quarter-Master had look'd out a Lodg-

ing for us, and where it was; I answer'd, yes, and that it was under General *Hordb's* Waggon, or in the open Air; that the General wou'd take the first Pair of Stairs as his Right, and lie in the Waggon, and favour us with the inferior Apartments, which the Quarter-Master had taken upon himself to obtain for us. The King laughed very heartily; however we got Tents from the *Turks*. Afterwards his Majesty mounted on Horseback, and rode about some time; then went home to Supper, and so to Rest for four or five Hours.

On the 6th, the King, always extraordinary, seem'd to take Pleasure in putting the *Turkish* Gravity into Confusion; for at One in the Morning he order'd the Trumpets to sound to Horse, as a Signal for Marching. The *Capigi Bashaw*, the *Chiaouz*, and other *Turks* awaking, were surpriz'd to hear that his Majesty would get on Horseback at that Time, but durst not contradict it, as knowing generally that they wou'd get nothing by it. The Night was very dark, every one mounted, and they began their March by Torch-light, to find out the right Road, among several Defiles form'd by Mountains and Woods, wherewith *Bulgaria* abounds, which made Travelling, especially in the dark, very difficult. We arriv'd at *Commorava*, the Village design'd for the next *Conack*, before Day; which his Majesty, always an Enemy to Repose, and despising Fatigues, no sooner saw break, than he got again on Horseback to take the Air, in which he spent five or six Hours with the voluntary Companions of his Toils, who chose to accompany him, for he never commanded any one to do it, as I have said somewhere else. At his Return, Mr. *Fabrice*, who had heard what had happen'd in the Nocturnal March, inform'd the King, in his merry Way, that several Waggon's were broken in the Defiles, and the rest not yet come up; and that the *Turks*, who were but little used to this *Metamorphosis*, or Transposition of Night into Day, look'd very grave and sleepy. *Ah*, says his Majesty, 'tis good to rouse them, and teach them to be watchful sometimes. The King being told that Dinner was ready, sat down to Table with Messieurs *Grothusen*, *Mullern*, General *Hordb*, Mr. *Fabrice*, and some other Persons of the first Rank. Dinner being over, the King walk'd out for an Hour, and rode for five more with a greater Retinue than in the Morning, all those who had eaten with his Majesty accompanying him, besides several others. His Majesty eat a light Supper, and went to Bed pretty early; and at Two in the Morning, being pleas'd with his Journey of the Night before, order'd the same Signal to be given for Marching, and so continued Travelling sometimes earlier, sometimes later in the Night; as far as *Russick*, where we got on the 12th; and the Number of Waggon's broken, and left behind, amounted to upwards of twenty; which being told the King, he laugh'd and said, *We have more than we want*. I found nothing remarkable upon the Road from *Adrianople* to *Russick*, but the Ruins of an ancient Town, call'd by the *Turks* (who knew not its right Name) *Esky Stambol*, which (as I have observ'd elsewhere) signifies an old City; neither are the *Greeks* a jot less ignorant. These Ruins are beyond *Tchalickava* and *Ruscarat*; the first a very small Village, where we lodg'd after leaving *Commorava*; and the second a little, but very agreeable Town, with two fine *Mosques*, and a handsome *Han*, inhabited partly by *Turks*, partly by * *Bulgarians*. They are above four

* The Bulgarian Men and Women are dress'd, the first as the Fig. (9) in the Print XIX, the second as (4) and (6) in the Print XI, which are but one and the same Figure in two different Postures:

Miles in Circumference, as near as I cou'd judge by some considerable Remains of Walls and noble Vaults, that lie straggling up and down; and to the East, upon a neighbouring Eminence, (the Bottom of which is wash'd by a little Rivulet) are the Remnants of an old Castle. I saw neither any Inscriptions, nor *Basso Relievos*; but happening, as usual, to ask some Peasants thereabouts, if they had not found any antique Pieces or Coins, I bought several *Latin* Medals of *Trajan*, and others as common, with three like (23) in the Print XXVIII, two like (f) in the Print XIV, which seem struck for *Nicopolis ad He-mum*, which the ancient Geographers place thereabout, and the Ruins may be those of the old City.

The King, hearing at *Russick* that the Emperor was making great Preparations to receive him, after a Manner suitable to his Royal Dignity, and according to his Imperial Majesty's Offers, and that Baron *Golrtz* was on the Road to meet him in *Transylvania*, desired Mr. *Fabrice* to ride before and give out that he would pass *Incognito*, and have no Notice taken of him, even if he shou'd be known; that in so doing they wou'd oblige him, and he shou'd esteem himself as much indebted to his Imperial Majesty, for his Intention of doing him so much Honour, as if he had actually received it. Hereupon Mr. *Fabrice* making use of his accusom'd Familiarity, which seem'd agreeable to this Prince, by the Pleasure he took in listening to him, said, *Since 'tis your Majesty's absolute Desire to pass Incognito, I'll presume to tell you of an infallible Way to it. What is it, answers the King? Why, rejoin'd Mr. Fabrice, 'tis to take one of Mr. Grothusen's Black Peruques, to buy a Night Cap and Gown, or borrow them of Mr. Mullern, Dubens, or some other, if none can be had in Walachia; and when your Majesty passes thro' any Town, to lodge always at the best Inn, call immediately for Wine, be often thirsty, and make Love to the Landlady, if she's young and handsome, or to some of the Maids that are so; to order your Boots to be pull'd off, ask for your Night-Gown and Slippers; and after having eat and drank heartily to go to Bed, and sleep 'till late in the Morning, and I will defy any One than to know the King of Sweden.* The King finding, this Counsel contrary to what he had practis'd ever since his leaving *Stockholm*, smil'd, (his Majesty being used often to say to those who wondered that he did not use any of these Things, *I left my Night Cap, Gown, Slippers and Shoes at Stockholm; and I won't be at the Charge of buying new Ones till I return thither;*) and answer'd, *Well, well, I'll follow your Advice in part, if not wholly.*

Mr. *Fabrice*, in Compliance with the King's Desire, left all his Attendants but three behind; and we set out the same Day from *Russick* for *Turgou*, a little Town that I've mention'd elsewhere, on the other side the *Danube*, where we lay that Night, because it was late, and there were no Horses ready for us to go farther. On the 14th, before Day, having got good fresh ones, we pursued our Journey towards *Bucharest*, where we arrived about Three in the Afternoon; but made no longer Stay than to change our Horses, and procure an Order from the new Prince, for furnishing us with them throughout his Territories as far as the first City in *Transylvania*: He granted it us very civilly, and sent one of his Servants to see it put in Execution.

Bucharest is a large open City, at present the Capital of *Walachia*; *Bucharest*; 'tis pretty populous, but dirty and irregularly built: The Prince's Palace is spacious and convenient, and that's all. The Mens Dress is little different from that of the *Greeks*; and that of the Women is generally

Tergovitz,
Tergovif-
cum.

Rouca.

Carpates
Mo.

like that of the Figure N. (6) in the Print XIX. Those of the first Rank, as the Wives and Daughters of the Prince and *Boyars*, wear long Furs after the manner of the *Turks*, and a *Calpa* or Cap of Sables. The *Moldavians* of Condition do the same; and the Habits of the meaner sort among the latter are also like that of the sixth Figure in the same Print, only that their Head-dress resembles that which the ancient Painters and Christians in the East give to the Virgin *Mary*. We left this City about Five in the Evening, and at Seven passed by a pretty spacious and magnificent Edifice; whereupon we ask'd our Guide what it was; who inform'd us, that 'twas a Palace call'd *Mogochon*, founded by the last Prince of *Walachia*, and we had the Curiosity to take a View of it. 'Twas a large Pile of Building very regularly and handsomely contriv'd after the *European* manner, adorn'd with good Paintings and well fancied Cielings; but the Furniture had been taken away by the Officers of the *Porte*, at the deposing of its unfortunate Master. It has a fine Garden belonging to it, and lies near a little Rivulet, and a Pond that abounds with Fish. 'Twas then converted into a *Han* for the Entertainment of Travellers; and Mr. *Fabrice* having taken a Cook along with him, who had bought some wild Fowl, of which the Country has great Plenty every where, we staid to sup and rest our selves some Hours; after which we got again on Horseback, and travell'd all the Night, which was very serene. We went thro' several Villages remarkable for nothing but their Populousness; the Houses being only miserable Huts, made of Branches interwoven one within the other, and plaister'd over with Mortar and Cow-dung intermixt; and without stopping but to change Horses, which were very good every where; and passing over a fertile Country agreeably diversify'd with Fruits and other Trees, we reached *Tergovitz* the next Day early in the Afternoon, where we dined. 'Tis a very ancient Town, and was, as may be seen by its old Walls, formerly larger than at present; its Houses are generally small and ill built. The Structure of this Castle is antique, but not so large as the Palace before mention'd, and is very irregular, having been repair'd at different times, and some Apartments added to it for the Convenience of the late Prince's Family; who, as I before hinted, resided there for the most part. The Town's greatest Ornament is a Church, whose Paintings (contrary to the usual Custom of the *Greeks*) are pretty good. As we only staid to take fresh Horses, and have a transient View of these Things, we mounted again, and immediately began to enter amongst Mountains, where we only met with four large Villages, *viz.* *Crisoulitz*, *Scala*, *Rosnau* and *Rouca*,* at the last of which we lay, and sent back the Prince's Servant, Mr. *Fabrice* having first made him a Present, according to his usual Generosity, after he had procured us Horses to carry us as far as *Cronstat*, the first Town in *Transylvania* on that side. Before our Arrival there, we passed over a Chain of prodigious steep Mountains, call'd in the *Turkish* *Demir Capi*, the *Iron Gate*,† which may seem to them the same that is between *Philopoli* and *Nissa*, and is divided into two Parts by the *Danube*. We met only with a *Roman* Catholick Hermit, in a little Hut, upon the Top of the highest of them, which startles those who look down from it, with its dreadful Precipice: Nevertheless, one must go

* I put *Rouca* among the Villages, because it does not look better than one; but it passes for a Town, and is the last of *Walachia* on that Side.

† I rather believe those Mountains to be part of Mount *Carpack*, which is call'd *Bies-Secaldi*.

over the very Summit of it, there being no other beaten Road. We also passed by a little Fort garrison'd by *Germans*, which separates the Principalities of *Walachia* and *Transylvania*, where we shewed our Passports. Thence we entered into an agreeable Plain, which led to * *Cronstat* *Cronstat* where we arriv'd the 17th in the Morning, after having taken up our Lodging in a Village some Leagues from it. This City is well fortify'd, and inhabited partly by some of *Saxon* Original, partly by *Germans*, and partly by *Hungarians*, and a few *Walachian* and *Bulgarian* Families. The Governour and Magistrates, who had Orders from *Vienna* to pay his Majesty Imperial Honours, (to use their own Terms) that is to say, to receive him with as much Respect as if the Emperor were to come that way in Person, were much surpris'd to hear that he intended to pass *Incognito*, and wou'd dispense with it. Mr. *Fabrice* had a Number of Visitants of the best Fashion on that account; and as we went thro' the Streets we were surrounded with Multitudes of the Common People, to which a young *Greek*, who serv'd that Gentleman as *Valet de Chambre*, and was dress'd after the Eastern Fashion, did not a little contribute. We left the Town dissatisfy'd at the King's Resolution, and took the Road for *Hermanstadt* next Morning early.

At the second Post-House we met an Officer dispatched by General *Steinville*, Governour of the Country, to enquire about the King's March, and what time his Majesty wou'd arrive at the Imperial Frontiers. This Officer, taking us for *Swedes*, ask'd us Questions suitable to his Orders; and Mr. *Fabrice* told him, that he might spare himself the Trouble of going farther, since no one wou'd know when, nor which Way the King wou'd pass: He bid him also inform his Excellency, that 'twas his Majesty's Desire they shou'd not take the least Notice of him, even if they shou'd discover him. He answer'd, with Surprize, that Orders were every where distributed, and Dispositions made for his Reception, and for bearing the Expences of him and his Retinue, thro' all the Emperor's Dominions. Mr. *Fabrice* reply'd, that the King did not at all doubt of the Emperor's Generosity; and that he shou'd think himself as much oblig'd, and set as great a Value upon the Honours design'd him, as if he had actually receiv'd them. Upon this the Officer return'd back, and we continued our Journey the same Road. Towards Evening we reach'd † *Hermanstadt*, where he had *Hermanstadt* got before us, and had already spread the News of the King's Intention. One of the Magistrates took the pains to come himself to the Inn where we dismounted, to be inform'd of the Truth of it from Mr. *Fabrice*'s own Mouth, who had been represented to him as one of the first *Swedish* Generals. He receiv'd also several other Visits from some of the Heads of the City, who express'd a great deal of Dissatisfaction, to see themselves depriv'd of an Opportunity of shewing (to use their own Terms) their Veneration for a Prince, whom they look'd upon as another *Gustavus Adolphus*, and one of the main Pillars of the Protestant Religion. Some of them having afterwards taken a Fancy, that either Mr. *Fabrice* might be King, or that his Majesty might be in his Retinue, our Inn was besieged by Numbers of People, who star'd as if they wou'd devour us with their Eyes, whenever we

* *Cronstat* Ol. *Corona*, and *Stephanopolis*, call'd by the *Germans* *Cronstat*, by the *Transylvanians*, *Brassow*.

† *Hermanstadt*, call'd by the *Latins* *Hermannopolis* and *Zebinium*.

appear'd at the Windows, or went out. This City is large, well built, and strongly walled in, and is situated upon the River *Zeben*, whence it deriv'd its Name *Zebinium*, which it still retains amongst the *Transylvanians*. It is a sort of Colony of *Saxons*. We spent the Night there, and next Morning Mr. *Fabrice* went to make a Visit to the Head Burgomaster, and carried me with him, and were receiv'd with all the Civility imaginable. A *Jesuit* dropp'd in whilst we were there, and we soon discover'd by his Questions, that his Curiosity to enquire concerning the King of *Sweden* had the greatest Share in his coming. He made but a short Visit, and left us with the Burgomaster, who told us, that the *Roman* Catholicks, and even the *Jesuits*, lived in better Intelligence with the Protestants there, than in any other part of *Transylvania* and *Hungary*; and that they convers'd with one another, and their Clergy abstained from inveighing in their Pulpits, and writing against each other. His Imperial Majesty, far from disturbing the Protestant Inhabitants on Account of their Religion, not only allows them freely to profess it, but also leaves the Civil Government of the City to them, being satisfy'd with having there an Under-Governour, who is a *Roman* Catholick, and has but the Shadow of Authority. One must also do them the Justice to own, that they are very Loyal Subjects to the Emperor; and don't, like several others of the same Religion, intermeddle or join with the Malecontents of that Country.

We were scarcely got to our Inn, when we saw a Messenger enter, who had been dispatched by Baron *Goltz*, to enquire what Rout his *Swedish* Majesty wou'd take, and was to carry back an Answer to his Excellency, who was desirous of meeting him: But Mr. *Fabrice*, who knew him, having inform'd him of the King's Resolution to pass *Incognito*, and not give Audience to any one upon the Road, not even the first of his Subjects, this Courier returned to his Master, who was but three Stages from *Hermanstadt*, whither we followed and overtook him. As soon as we arrived the Baron embrac'd Mr. *Fabrice*, and was locked up with him for almost two Hours and a half, during which a good Dinner was dress'd for them; and when 'twas ready they were call'd, came out, and we sat down to it. The whole Discourse was upon *Turky*, and especially of the King, till the Cloth was taken away; and his Excellency, contrary to his natural Temper, laugh'd heartily at the Counsel Mr. *Fabrice* had given his Majesty, that he might not be known whilst on the Way to *Sweden*; and ordered his Servants, who had dined before, not to lose Time, but to get all things in Readiness for departing immediately. A Quarter of an Hour after the Horses were put to his Chaise; which done, he took Mr. *Fabrice* in it with him, and his Secretary and I went in a Post Waggon; and we reached * *Weisssemburgh* the Beginning of next Night, being the 19th. This City stands very agreeably upon a little rising Ground, is water'd by the River *Ompay*, and looks upon a vast and charming Plain, diversify'd by plough'd Fields and Meadows. Its Fortifications are good, and they were then at Work to enlarge and make them more regular; its Extent it not so great as *Hermanstadt*, nor is it so handsome, but it is stronger: It was before that the Residence of the Princes of the Country, as it is now of the Governours. We only staid here

Weisssemburgh.

* *Weisssemburgh*, so call'd by the Germans, or *Gulaseirwar* by the Natives, formerly *Alba Julia* and *Zernigherusa*.

to change Horses, and went to lie, or rather rest some Hours, at the first Post beyond it; after which we again set forwards and travell'd as fast as the Horses would go, without over-straining them. We din'd the 21st at (a) *Clausenburgh*; which Place is large enough, but in-^{Clausen-} differently peopled, and its Houses are very old-fashioned, and for the-^{burgh.} most part kept but in ill Repair. There are four Churches built in the Form of a *Latin* Cross, and the greatest is *Arian*, one *Lutheran*, one Reformed, and the least for the *Roman* Catholicks; by which it appears that the Liberty of Conscience is not so much disturbed by the Emperor, as is complained of by the *Hungarian* and *Transylvanian* Malecontents. These Churches are not at all remarkable. That belonging to the *Roman* Catholicks having been the last built, is the most regular; it will easily be judged that the others were also originally in their Possession, but have changed Masters by the Prevalence of the Reformation. The Country is every where fruitful and pleasant, and (if one excepts some Towns and Villages here and there destroyed in the Heat of Wars) entertains the Sight with an agreeable Landskip of Plains, Meadows, little Hills, arable Fields and Woods.

Pursuing our Journey by *Conod*, *Perund*, *Sonber*, *Majir*, *Egni*, *Bred*, *Siliy*, *Kerma*, *Deda*, *Shombro*, *Stzale*, *Margita*, and *Lethapally*, we reach'd on the 23d in the Evening (b) *Debrezzin*, a City of the *Upper Hungary*, in the Earldom of *Kalo*, more populous and not so ill built as *Clausenburgh*. Its Civil Government is in the Hands of the *Calvinists*, who very prudently held neuter during the Revolutions in Times past; but after the reducing of *Zolmac* and *Cashow* or *Cassovia*, put itself under his Imperial Majesty's Protection. We spent the whole Night here, and the next Day we pursued our Road on the S.W. and within few Miles from the Dependences of *Tokay*. This is a pretty strong ^{Tokay.} Place, most pleasantly situated on the Confluence of the *Teisse* and *Bodroch*, according to all the Accounts I heard of it; for I never went to see it, tho' I pass'd twice so near; and I have been reproach'd with my Negligence by several Travellers, who said, that had they been in my room, they would at least have gone and tasted the famous *Nectar* of that Name on the very Spot: To which I answer'd, that they might be disappointed in this Respect, if what I have been told by credible Persons, that there is none of the right *Tokay Wine* to be got for Money, is still fact; for I remember Prince *Tekely*, who had once the Place and the Country in his Possession, assur'd me, that the Soil which produces it is of so small a Compass, that the whole Product was reserved for the Use of its Sovereigns, and esteem'd a Present worthy of crown'd Heads. The same has been confirm'd to me by others, who added, that that small Spot of Ground encloses several rich Veins of Gold; that the Bunch of Grapes, with some Particles of this precious Metal which is in the *Imperial* Treasury, was found there; and that it was propos'd to the Court of *Vienna*, to open those Veins; but the Proposals were rejected, not to lose so delicious and certain a Present of Nature as that Wine, for an uncertain one. And that, as for the other sort of Wine, which grows in the neighbouring Parts, under the same Name, and is also very much esteem'd, it was sold off before-hand to

(a) *Clausenburgh*, formerly *Patrovissa* according to some Geographers, and afterwards call'd *Claudiopolis*, from having been repaired or rebuilt by the Emperor *Claudius*.

(b) *Debrezzin*, *Debrecinum*, situated between Great *Waradin* and *Tokay*.

foreign Merchants, and almost as soon exported as made; so that there is none, even of that sort, or but very little good to be found in the whole Country.

We pass'd through *Trewardi*, *Wirwary*, *Hordona*, little Villages situated upon continued Pasture Lands, where I observed as fine and as large Cattle grazing, as in *England*. Afterwards, leaving behind us *Borosto*, *Tcheiga*, *Arogolatz*, *Haduari*, *Arrad*, and *Kerwoa*, large Villages, lying in a very rich and fat Soil, we arriv'd at *Buda* the 27th, where we lay, and I found nothing new to add to my former Remarks upon it. Setting out from hence, we reach'd *Vienna* the 29th, after having pass'd by *Warefwar*, *Doraek*, *Neydorff*, *Neismall*, *Congo*, *Raab*, *Hochsträßen*, *Jarendorst*, *Altensburg*, and *Fischia*, most of them Villages; of which I shall say, as of *Buda*, having seen them all in my former Journey this Way, except (a) *Altensburg*, which I had left on one side to see *Presburgh*; nor did I lose any thing by the Change, it not being near so handsome nor so considerable.

Vienna. Mr. *Fabrice* went to the Imperial Court of *Vienna* to make an Excuse for the King of *Sweden*'s Resolution of travelling *incognito*, and return Thanks for the Honours design'd him; and Baron *Goltz*, having some Reasons for taking *Breslaw* and *Berlin* in his Way, set out on the 2d of *November* with the Secretary before-mention'd, whom I found to be properly one of the Duke-Administrator of *Holstein*'s. Mr. *Fabrice* and my self also left this City the next Morning, in order to cross *Bohemia* and *Saxony*, in our Road to *Hamburg*, where we hoped to hear News of the King. On the 7th we reach'd *Prague*, a City well enough known by the several Sieges it has sustained, the different Masters it has had, its Beauty, and its Extent. It may be call'd *Tripolis*, being divided into the *Old*, the *New*, and the *Little Cities*. The first is situated on the River *Moldau*, and is join'd (together with *Little Prague*, which is on the Western Side of it) to the New One (which is on the Eastern Side of the River) by a magnificent Stone-Bridge with twenty four Arches, adorned with divers fine Statues. Among these they desire one to observe that of *St. Nicepovicenus*, like that of which I took Notice at *Vienna*, near *Leopoldstadt*, which (as they say) is but a Copy of this at *Prague*. They pretend, that it is set up on the same Spot whence that Saint, by Order of a King of that Country, was formerly thrown off and drowned in the River, for having preach'd too boldly against his Amours. The Things most worthy Observation at *Prague*, are in this Part of it; there is the Cathedral, a fine and bold Structure; and the old Palace Royal, become Imperial since by the deposing the last King of *Bohemia*. This Palace is set off with all the Beauties of the Time in which 'twas built, and of the *Gothick Order*, which principally reigns therein. There is likewise a Citadel, which passes for one of the best in *Germany*; as does also another, situated on an Eminence without the City, whence it almost entirely commands it. Nor is the University to be omitted, where *John Huss* and *Jerom* of *Prague* taught, tho' it is little frequented now to what it was formerly. Our Stay in this City was but three or four Hours, one at least of which was spent at Dinner, and the rest I made use of to see the Place as superficially as I describe it. We met there at our

(a) *Altensburg*, the ancient *Flexum*, situated on the Southern Side of the Danube in Lower Hungary, S. W. of *Presburgh*.

Inn General *Daldorff*; or rather he, hearing that we were there, came to find us, and gave Mr. *Fabrice* all manner of grateful Demonstrations of that Friendship which had succeeded his former Aversion already mention'd. He was waiting for a Passport from the Court at *Dresden*, which he had desired his Friends in *Saxony* to solicit for him, in order to go through that Country to *Hamburg*.

Having left *Prague*, we met at the second or third Stage (if I remember right) the Princess of *Tuscany*, or at least the Lady that was married to Prince *Gaston*, of that Name. Our Post-Boy told us it was her, for otherwise we should not have taken her for a Princess, nor even a Woman, by her Equipage, which was partly that of a Hunter. She had a Coat very close, with Boots, a Fur Cap, and wide Breeches like a *Dutch* Sailor, walking in a Fenny Ground with one of her Attendants, who held a Piece loaded, ready to present her on the first Occasion that should offer; the rest were waiting near her Calash, which was but three or four Paces from the Road by which we pass'd, nor the Mistress above twenty. I remember that my Fellow-Traveller in 1710, from *Florence* to *Rome*, told me, (in speaking of Prince *Gaston's* Marriage with this Princess) of their sudden Separation; that this Prince was hardly two Hours a Bed with her (some others say not at all) e'er he took Post to fly away, and has never seen her since. I don't know whether ever their Highnesses gave any Reasons for it, at least I never heard them; or whether it be one of the Effects of human Antipathy, for which none can account. The People of the Country said, that her Highness made her chief Delight in Sporting and Fishing; the Country is most inviting to both, by the vast Plenty of Game of all sorts wherewith it swarms, as well as by the great Quantities of Fish with which Rivers, Lakes, Ponds, &c. are stored; which, with the arable Fields, Meadows, Fens, Woods, &c. make a rich and beautiful Variety. We pass'd by no other Town till the 9th, when we came to *Aussig*, only considerable for its Situation on the Eastern Side of the *Elbe*; and at *Peterswalda* we enter'd into the *Upper Saxony*, which I found to be such as the *Swedes*, who had made there a Golden Campaign, (to use their own Terms,) described it, that is to say, a delicious Country, inhabited by a People generally worthy of it, by their natural Beauty. As we approach'd (a) *Dresden*, or at least within a Mile or more of it, I counted to the Number of forty four fine Villages, and never less than fifteen or sixteen at a time within Sight. We arriv'd at the City on the 11th, which is worthy of that rich Neighbourhood; it is strongly wall'd or fortify'd, and defended by a good Citadel, and divided by the *Elbe* into two Parts, under the Names of *New* and *Old Cities*; its Churches, Palaces, Houses, &c. are fine, and regularly built; the Electoral Palace is a well design'd and magnificent Structure, sumptuously adorn'd with rich Furniture, and good Paintings. The same may be said of the Stables, whose Stalls are divided by fine Pillars, and fill'd (at least were then so) with a curious Choice of Horses of a foreign Breed. There is another Palace, a good Walk from the City, not near so large as this, but built more after the modern, and adorned with fine Paintings, besides a Number of Curiosities, that are Amusements worthy of *Virtuosos*. However, this may more justly be stiled

(a) *Dresden*, the Capital of Higher Saxony.

a Pleasure-House than a Palace, being accompanied with a beautiful Garden, by the happy Distribution of and Order that reigns throughout its Parterres, Labyrinths, Grottos, Fountains, &c. To return to the City; some Officers told me at *Bender*, that his *Swedish* Majesty, after having reduced the present King of *Poland* to sign the Treaty of *Travendal*, by which he was only permitted to keep the Title of King, Baron *Stralheim*, a Gentleman known by his witty Expressions, thinking this Visit both dangerous and rash, and having in vain endeavour'd to dissuade his Master from it, told him at his Return, that a great Council of War was held in the City: His Majesty ask'd if he knew upon what Account? He answer'd, *I am not certain of it, but I believe it is upon what they should do when your Majesty was there. And what should they have done, rejoind the King? Have kept your Majesty there till you had broken off the Treaty of Renunciation of the Crown of Poland. Ah, King Augustus durst not do that, said his Majesty. He never so much as thought of it,* added Mr. *Stralheim*, as your Majesty's good Luck would have it. The Arsenal is abundantly stored with Arms of all Kinds, the most part taken from their Enemies, especially the *Turks*, at the Siege of *Buda*, not to mention several other sorts of Spoils, as Coats of Mail, Saddles, Bridles, *Topouz*, &c.

Leipsick.

Having staid two Days in this City, we again took Post the 13th to continue our Journey towards *Hamburgh*, whither we design'd to go, expecting there to hear News of the King of *Sweden*. We took up our Lodging that Night at (a) *Leipsick*, where we arriv'd time enough in the Afternoon to see it before we departed, which we did the next Day in the Morning. This City is advantageously situated upon the *Pleiss*, and is large, populous, and defended by a strong Citadel. Being so near *Lutzen*, my Curiosity would have carried me to view, in a Plain adjacent to this little City, the Bed of Honour, where the great *Gustavus Adolphus* breath'd his last, it being mark'd (as they told me) by a Stone set up on the very Spot, where he was found lifeless; but, Mr. *Fabrice* being desirous of departing the next Morning before Day, I was obliged to curb my Inclinations. Whilst I'm upon this Subject, we were inform'd that the *Northern Hero Charles XII*, after his Visit to King *Augustus*, made another to the said Stone, thus immortalized, and that he found that glorious Bed so much to his liking, that he express'd a sort of Desire of having as handsome an Occasion of lying there.

Hall.

Leaving *Leipsick* at the Time before-mentioned, we got about Nine a Clock to (b) *Hall*, which is but two ordinary Stages from thence; but we only staid to change Horses, and had but just Time to see it very superficially. This City is very populous, and defended by a good Castle; it has from Time to Time furnished the Common-wealth of Letters with able Men, and annually trades in a good Quantity of Salt, made of the Water of the four Fountains, that are by Nature salt, and lie within its Walls.

(a) *Leipsick*, the Capital of the Circle of the same Name, comprehending the Dutchy of Hall and the Earldom of Wettin; it is famous for its University, the Purity of the German Tongue, which is there spoken, and taught, and its Strength.

(b) Hall, *Halla Saxonum*, situated on the River *Sala*.

We dined three Miles from thence, and towards Evening arriv'd at *Quedlingburgh*, chiefly famous for an old Abby of the same Name, *Quedlingburgh* which embraced the Confession of *Ausburg* in 1539. The Nuns of this Place (who are call'd Canonesses) are oblig'd to prove their Nobility for eight Descents. The King of *Poland* had just then procured a Canonship for the Countess of *Koningmark*, for whom his Majesty was known to have Esteem enough. History observes, that in Imitation of an old Custom of the *Druids*, (who were Judges both in Spirituals and Temporals, and used to determine Causes under high Trees, generally Oaks) the * Abbess of *Quedlingburgh* had decided Causes in Civil Matters, and pronounced Sentence under a very high One, which was between this City and *Halberstadt* in the Year 1652. We lay that Night at † *Halberstadt*, which is only remarkable in History for being built by the *Cherusci*, and for having a Column of one single Stone, which I believe is Granite Marble, and call'd ** *Rolands's Pillar*; such a Monument was, they say, formerly a Sign of Liberty in divers *German* Cities. If Curiosity had been the Motive of my Journey, or I had travell'd alone, I had not fail'd going to see *Baumanhol*, which is at most but a Mile distant from thence; but as it was, I was forced to be contented with hearing a Description of it from my Landlord, or rather from his Son, a Student, who told me that the Entrance is so narrow, that only one Person can go in at a time; and that 'tis a real Labyrinth, where some People were lost for want of a good Guide, or buried alive, by the falling in of the Earth; for, added he, entire Skeletons were found there of Persons, who were believ'd to have wander'd without being able to find their way back, or to have been overwhelm'd by the sinking in of the Ground; but I rather concluded by this Picture of it, that it was nothing else but *Casatombs* like those at *Rome*, *Maltha*, &c.

Halberstadt

Baumanni
Specus.

Setting out from *Halberstadt*, at Break of Day, we reach'd on the 15th †† *Wolfenbuttel* between 10 and 11 a-Clock, where Mr. *Fabrice* went directly to the Ducal Palace, to pay his Respects to the Duke; but he was disappointed, for his Highness was at *Brunswick*. I took the Opportunity to go and see the Library, which I had before heard extoll'd as one of the finest in *Germany*; and had not been long there, e'er one of Mr. *Fabrice's* Servants came to tell me, that we must depart for *Brunswick* immediately after Dinner. Hereupon I made the best use I cou'd of the little Time allow'd me, to take a View of the most considerable Rarities in it; and the Under-Library Keeper, who was then there, shew'd me a great deal of Complaisance. The Apartment which contains them is finely contrived and illuminated, the Books well chosen and taken care of, and the Manuscripts very uncommon, in great Number, and ranged in excellent Order. 'Tis enough to say,

Wolfenbuttel

* Factum est hoc an. M. CCLI Abbatissam Quedlinburgensem eodem Saculo & Loco jus dixisse. Venerabili in Christo Dominae suae Abbatissae in Quedlingburg Olricus D. G. major comes Regensem paratam ad servitia voluntatem recognoscimus & testamur tenore praesentium nos saepius audivisse quod AD ALTAM ARBOREM in principum & nobilium hujus Terrae praesentia multoties justiciam exhibuistis dat. Regenstein An. M. CC. LXIV. in die SS. Apostol. Simonis & Petri Leuchfeld Antiq. &c. p 53.

† Halberstadt, the Pheugarum of the Antients.

** Roland, a Nephew of Charlemaign.

†† Wolfenbuttel, Capital of the Principality of the same Name, situated upon the Oker, the usual Residence of the Princes to whom it belongs. It was formerly call'd in Latin Gulphorbyhum.

that this Library was built by *Adolphus Augustus*, Duke of *Brunswick*, a Prince, who (to all his other fine Qualities worthy of the Lustre of his Family,) join'd the Love of Literature. Amongst the Manuscripts there are all *Luther's* Writings from 1517 to his Death, with divers Additions and Corrections added by that Dr. in reviewing his Works. The Ducal Palace (of which I only saw the Outside, and two of its Apartments) is a tolerable Piece of Architecture, and makes a fine Figure. The Furniture (if one may judge by what I had a View of) is rich; and I was inform'd, that 'tis adorn'd with a Number of fine Paintings, and indeed, some of those in the Chappel belonging to it are excellent; nor is the Chappel itself without its singular Beauties. As to the City, it is not large, but well fortify'd.

Brunswick.

Leaving this Place betwixt Two and Three, we arriv'd before Four at † *Brunswick*, and dismounted at Mr. *Augustus Fabrice's*, Privy-Councillor and Plenipotentiary to the King of *Great Britain*, at the Congress for the Affairs of the Electorate. The Reception he gave a Brother he dearly loved, after an Absence of Five Years, may be easily imagin'd, and we staid here five Days. This City is pretty large, and its Fortifications are good, tho' neglected and antique: It is situated on the *Oker* as well as *Wolfenbuttel*, whence it is distant but a *German* Mile. 'Tis divided into Five Parts, whence it has been surnam'd *Pentapolis*, or the *Five Cities*; its Government is wholly *Lutheran*, and at such Enmity with the *Jews*, that none of that Nation may pass one Night there without paying a Ducat Fine. No other Religion was allow'd to be freely profess'd within its Jurisdiction, till the late Duke *Anthony* (who turn'd *Roman* Catholick some few Years before his Death) built a very pretty Church there, and had Mass said in it; but since his Decease it has been converted by the *Lutherans* to their own Use. The Plenipotentiaries of the Congress at *Brunswick*, for settling the Affairs in the North, passed their Time in this City, much after the same manner as those now at *Cambray* have since done for about Two Years, and had as little Business as the latter seem to have as yet. Their most agreeable Hours were spent in Assemblies, Balls, &c. and one Night, when there was one at the Duke of *Wolfenbuttel's*, where Mr. *Fabrice* happen'd to be, with those Gentlemen, playing at Cards with some Ladies, Word was brought to his Highness, that two *Swedish* Officers, (who said they had Passports and Letters from the King of *Sweden*) were at the Gates in great haste, and begg'd that they might be open'd, in order to their changing Horses, and pursuing their Journey; and his Highness commanded they shou'd suffer them to go on. An Hour after, Cards being over, a splendid Supper was served up, and all the Company sat down to Table: His Highness told Mr. *Fabrice*, that he had order'd the Gates to be open'd for two *Swedish* Officers, who seem'd very impatient of going forwards. Mr. *Fabrice* said, "I am sorry that I was not told of it then; I know all the *Swedish* Officers personally, or by Name, I would have enquired of them where they had left the King:" Upon which, his Highness sent to the Post-house, to see whether they persevered in their hasty Resolution of going further that Night, or at least what Names they had given in at the Gates; but Word was brought back, that they only staid to have fresh Horses bridled and saddled; and by the Description which

* Brunswick, Brunopolis or Brunonis Vicus, so call'd from having been built by Bruno Son of Adolphus Duke of Saxony.

was made of them, and the strange Names they had assum'd, quite unknown to Mr. *Fabrice*, as well as to any body else, he concluded in his Mind that one might be the King of *Sweden*; and in effect it was so, as we heard it Four or Five Days afterwards, and his Majesty own'd himself at *Stralsund*, with these Circumstances, that, hearing at the Post-House, that he, Mr. *Fabrice*, had been some Days at *Brunswick*, his Majesty was afraid lest the Duke shou'd desire him to examine the *Swedes* who happen'd to pass that way; and in that case he had ordered Colonel *During*, who attended him, to stand all the Time upon the Threshold of the Door, to make a Sign to him not to discover them; but to make as if he only remembred them as Officers whom he had seen, without speaking to, or taking any farther Notice of them.

The next Morning Mr. *Fabrice* told me his Thoughts, and resolved to set out the very same Day for *Zell*; where we arrived in the Evening, *Zell* and took our Lodging at the President his Father's House, who received him with all the Marks of Tenderness and Affection imaginable; and hardly two Days were elapsed since our Arrival, that we heard that of the King of *Sweden* at *Stralsund*; and the same was confirm'd in less than two more with the following Circumstances, That his Majesty disguised himself by putting on a black Wig, an old laced Hat, and a brown Coat with a blue Cloak, left in the Night of the 7th *Peddesty*, a small Place in *Walachia*, passed on that of the 21st thro' *Brunswick*, and arrived next Morning at the Gates of *Stralsund*, having rode about * 150 German Miles in 14 Days; (and had not Col. *During*, who accompany'd his Majesty, fallen Sick by hard Riding, would have been there a Day at least sooner;) That the usual Question at the Gates of *Stralsund*, Who they were, what their Names and Characters, and whence they came, being put to them; Mr. *During* answer'd, that they were Captains in the King of *Sweden*'s Service, who had Dispatches for General *Ducker*; that their Passports being demanded confirm'd the same. Hereupon they were conducted to the General by a Centinel; to whom the King, when he came to the Palace Gates, threw his Cloak, saying, *Here, take that for your self*: That having made himself known, on his Arrival thither, his Excellency receiv'd him with the Respect and Submission due from a Subject to his Sovereign, and excused his not having waited on his Majesty without the City, to give him a Reception suitable to his Royal Dignity, and the Duty of his Subjects, by his Majesty's coming thus *Incognito*: That the King answer'd, *'Tis better as it is, I had a mind to be Incognito till now, and am satisfy'd*: That his Majesty was afterwards complimented by the Nobility and Clergy, &c. and tho' he had ridden the said 150 German Leagues in so short a time, was continually on Horseback, either reviewing his Troops, or visiting the Fortifications, and look'd as fresh and as well as if he had indulged himself, and suffer'd no Fatigue at all.

We no sooner heard this Account of the King of *Sweden*, but we prepar'd to set out for *Hamburg*, (Mr. *Fabrice* to have a Conference with the Duke Administrator of *Holstein*, and afterwards join his Majesty) and my self for some private Affairs that required my Presence in that City. When we came to *Harburg*, we were there inform'd that his Highness had passed by, and design'd, as was believ'd, for *Stralsund*; whereupon Mr. *Fabrice* sent to the Post-house, in order to follow by the same Rout; and I took leave of him to set out for *Hamburg*,

* Above 750 English Miles.

promising to rejoin him as soon as my Business was finish'd. Some Days after he wrote me Word, that he had overtaken his Highness two Stages from *Stralsund*, and that they had been receiv'd the most graciously in the World by his Majesty ; that Baron *Goltz* was on his Way from *Berlin*, and expected there every Hour.

C H A P. VI.

Some few Remarks on Hamburgh and Kiel. The King of Denmark's reviewing his Army at Trittow. The Siege of Stralsund. The Duke of Mecklenburgh's Difference with his Nobility ; he imprisons the Council of Rostock. Some Account of that City, Lubeck, &c.

Hamburgh.

AS I can make no new Observations upon *Hamburgh*, I shall say little of it, but only for the Connexion of my Travels. 'Tis a handsome large *Hans* Town, situated 30 or 40 *English* Miles from the Mouth of the *Elbe*, on its Northern Side; and divided into the new and old Cities, as *Dresden*. It is strongly walled in, and its Fortifications are regularly and agreeably lined with Turf. Its Churches are generally large and fine, or at least have all the Beauties of their Times; the Statues and Images of Saints, &c. which were reverenc'd in them by the *Roman* Catholicks, are still for the most part preserved therein, as Ornaments, by the *Lutheran* Reformation. I'll name the *Domo* first, as the former Cathedral, tho' not the finest; its Bishoprick was re-united to that of *Bremen* in 850, whose Bishops also continu'd to be stil'd so of *Hamburgh*: And when even the Archbishoprick of *Bremen* was seculariz'd in 1678 to the *Swedish* Crown, the *Swedish* Kings and Queens were acknowledged Titular Archbishops of the first, as well as of the second; till that in 1720, by a Treaty concluded between the King of *England* and the Queen of *Sweden*, the Dukedom of *Bremen* was yielded to his *British* Majesty with all its Revenues, and consequently the same Titles and Rights. St. *Nicholas* and St. *Catherines* may claim the first Rank of Beauty, and St. *Peter's* take place after them. St. *James's* is pretty well, and is especially recorded in History, and distinguish'd by the Sirname of *Meyer's* Church; from the Doctor's Seditious Sermons, as they are call'd to this Day, preach'd in it; or the Troubles and Divisions ascrib'd to him. The Government, who allow and grant all manner of Privileges and Liberties in *Temporals* to Strangers, of whatsoever Nation and Religion for Encouragement of Commerce, is not so generous in respect of *Spirituals*; for only the Courts of *Vienna* and of *England* have Chappels within the Walls of the City, for the free Exercise of their respective Religions; nay, even this Liberty has been violated of late in the House and Chappel of the Emperor's Minister, which have been pull'd down or abused, at the rate sufficiently known, by the Populace, who have been

set

set at work (as several Persons would have it) by some new *Meyers*, (to use their Expressions.) His Imperial Majesty has resented this so much the higher, that this Commonwealth enjoys his Protection; and his Imperial Majesty left but two Ways open to Pardon for such a rebellious and audacious Attempt; the first, *That two or more Senators should go to beg that Pardon at the Foot of his Throne at Vienna*; and the second, *That another more magnificent House, with a Chappel, should be rebuilt in Hamburgh for his Minister, at the Expence of the City.* Others, tho' they disapprove indeed the Action, say that it has been chiefly occasion'd by the *Jesuits* and other Catholick Priests, who cannot be quiet where they find the less Protection, but will meddle not only with other People's Religion, even in their own Homes, to make Protestants, but too much with State Affairs; it is the general Complaint of the Protestants against the Zeal of those Fathers for the Propagation of the Catholick Faith, &c. Those who accuse them with having given Occasion to that Tumult, add, for Instance of their Charge, that the *English* have never been molested nor disturb'd in their Chappel, or in the Exercise of their Religion, (tho' not look'd better upon than the *Roman Catholicks*) because their Priests disturb no Body abroad in this nor any other Respect; which puts me in mind of a Message which *Visier Ali Bashaw Chiorlouly* sent to Mr. *Ferriol* by the French Interpreter Mr. *Brue*, upon the repeated Complaints of several *Anti-catholick Armenians* against these Fathers, on Account of their Conversions. "Tell your Embassador, that if his *Cara Papas*, or Black Priests, won't imitate our *Immams*, or the *English* and *Dutch* Priests who live among us, viz. to let every Body enjoy in Peace the Liberty of his Belief, but will excite further Troubles and Divisions among our Christian Subjects, they shall be all put on Board of your Vessels, and sent out of the *Ottoman Territories*."

The *British* Merchants in *Hamburgh* make a very handsome Figure, and live up to the Character of Persons of Condition, no way derogating by their Actions, any more than by their trading Profession, from the genteel Blood that runs in the Veins of the most part. I was recommended particularly to Messieurs *Charles Gore* and *John Hanbury*, who, with their Friends, loaded me with Civilities: They kept a fine Stable well stor'd with *English* Horses, and a Pack of Hounds of the same Nation; they gave me the Pleasure of hunting the Hare, as well as that of Bowling, for the Company has a fine Bowling-Green in the new City, which is a spacious Spot of Ground pleasantly surrounded with Walls and Trees, and accompany'd with a pretty House for eating and drinking, &c. The Houses, both in the new and old City, are for the Generality after the old Fashion; but there are a pretty many others after the modern ones, which please very much: That of Baron *Gorltz* is of Free-stone, and one of the finest; nay, some give it the Precedence over all, for the Order and Magnificence of its Structure. The Town Cellar is famous for its old *Rhenish* Wine, preserv'd in it, as they say, for above an Age, as also that of the *Nekar* and *Mosell*.

Some time after my Arrival at *Hamburgh*, I went to (a) *Altena*, distant but a Quarter of a Mile thence upon the Southern Side of the *Elbe*, where I took up my Lodging. It had not as yet recovered the Damages done it by the *Swedes*, who set fire to and burnt it to Ashes,

Altena.

(a) *Altena*, a little open Town dependent on the King of Denmark.

after the Victory of *Gradbusch*, but they were rebuilding it. The Inhabitants were to the last deeply incensed against them, they having hardly spared the Reformed Churches of the *French* and *Dutch*, where Divine Service is perform'd for those of these two Nations after their own Manner. (a) The *Jews*, not being able to obtain the same Favour of their Synagogue, were then rebuilding it after a handsomer Model (as was said) than before, and it was almost finished, and was the finest Edifice of the sort that I have seen in *Christendom*; for the *Roman Catholic* Church was burnt rather accidentally, by its being too contiguous to the Houses which the *Swedes* set fire to, than by any Design, they not being willing for its sake to spare those Buildings. My Landlady, a Widow, was one of the most exasperated against them, and greatest Sufferer, as she told me, with the utmost Resentment; and here is the Substance of her melancholy Account.

"Count *Steinbock* left here, whilst he was pursuing his Victory into
 " *Holstein*, a Lieutenant-General to burn and plunder us; having been
 " offer'd 300,000 Crowns to save our Houses from the Flames, he or-
 " der'd a Candle to be lighted, and said to the Bearers of the Proposal,
 " *The 300,000 Crowns must be brought me before this Candle is burnt out,*
 " *or the Town set on Fire.*" In vain they represented to him, "That
 " the Gates of *Hamburgh* being shut, where every one kept his princi-
 " pal Stock, and Night coming on, it was impossible to lay down the
 " whole Sum before they were opened; but that they would pay
 " 100,000 Crowns upon the Spot, give Hostages, and the rest next Day
 " before Noon. All these Remonstrances were of no Effect, (added she) for
 " he immediately sent Soldiers, with Officers at the Head of them, and
 " Torches in their Hands, into every House; and I my self, said she,
 " had then just been delivered of a Child, and lost my Husband about
 " three Months, in vain implored and conjured the Incendiaries to have
 " some Regard to my Condition; but all Supplications and Tears on-
 " ly mov'd them so far, as to take my Bed and my Quilt, and carry
 " them into the middle of a neighbouring Garden, whilst my Maid,
 " who had sav'd what she could of my best Things, help'd me to crawl
 " thither with my new-born Infant, more likely to have been both
 " kill'd by the Cold than to have escap'd with Life. I lay thus in the
 " open Air, and saw, with a Terror easier to be imagin'd than describ'd,
 " the Town all in one continued Flame.

The Inhabitants said generally that the *Hamburghers*, being jealous of their Neighbourhood in respect of Commerce, had given underhand a great Sum of Money for this tragical Expedition; which seems to have been founded more upon Conjecture than Truth. But tho' they did think by this Means to destroy *Altena* for ever, they were very much deceiv'd, and bought very dear the Pleasure of Revenge, and the short Advantages they reap'd in the Interim, by the Suspension of its Commerce; since the Town began to be rebuilt more handsomely than before, as soon as the Inhabitants saw themselves out of Danger of their Enemies, whose Victory prov'd most fatal to themselves; for it seem'd to be an *ignis fatuus*, which led them in this Precipice. *Tonninghen*, by its Complaisance in opening them its Gates, became their Prison, and lost his Master. Fortune, which began to declare against

(a) *The Roman Catholics, the Reform'd, and the Jews of Hamburgh, go to Altena to Prayers.*

the *Swedes* at *Pultowa*, had not yet done persecuting them; their Hero, whose Courage she could not shake, fought alone, or almost alone, against some thousands of *Turks* and *Tartars*, ran the greatest Danger imaginable of being burnt alive in and with his House near *Bender*, by the same Element that reduced *Altena* to Ashes, and almost at the same Time, and was carry'd Prisoner in a *Turkish* Chariot from the Field of Battle to *Demotica*. But let us draw the Curtain over this melancholy Scene; the Series of Misfortunes which *Sweden* has been afflicted with are still too fresh.

In the middle of *February* 1715, I took a little Turn into *Holstein*, as far as *Kiel*, with Mr. *Francis Strafford*, a famous *English* Merchant, almost ruin'd by the too late Conclusion of the Peace at *Utrecht*; he having engag'd himself in giving *Premiums*, upon the Assurances of one of Queen *Anne's* Ministry, that it would be proclaimed, and that an entire Liberty of Commerce would be allow'd with *France*, &c. before the Month of *July* 1712. We set out from *Altena*, and pursued our Journey by *Elmesborn* and *Itzehoa*; the first belongs to the House of *Rantzau*, *Elmesborn*, and is only remarkable for being pretty well peopled. We had likewise a View of the Castle belonging to the Count of that Name (tho' above a Mile out of our Road) by Reason of an Eminence whereon it stands; it is his most usual Residence, and makes a fine Figure, and its Situation being in the midst of great Variety of Woods and arable Lands, must make it a delicious Place of Abode. The Count is a petty Sovereign of the District, which comprehends the Town above mention'd, which is as it were the Capital. *Itzehoa*, which belongs to *Itzehoa*, the King of *Denmark*, was something out of our Way, and we had not gone to it, but for some Business Mr. *Strafford* had there; it stands on the East of the River *Stor*, whence the Province is called *Stormaria*. From hence we passed thro' the *Pretze*, a large Village, and *Pretze Closter*, a Town adjoining to it, which I should have taken for only *Pretze-Closter*, one and the same Town, being distinguish'd but by the Addition of the Name *Closter*, which it derives from Priest and Cloyster, a great and disagreeable Pile of Buildings, that now lies neglected, and was formerly a Monastery. We next enter'd the Country call'd *Chersonesus Cimmerius* by the Ancients, against whom *Olaus Rudbeck*, (a) a famous Doctor and Professor at the University of *Upsal* in *Sweden*, will have it to have been in *Scandinavia*, of which I shall take Notice elsewhere. The Soil, which the Snow cover'd then, is (according to the Account of the Inhabitants) every where rich and fertile, but lies low, and consequently is subject to Inundations, which do a great deal of Damage, and are caused by extraordinary Tempests, such as that I shall mention in my Return from *Sweden*. Horses are there in great Plenty, and either proper for War or Coaches; and both the large and small Cattle are very good; besides which there is abundance of Game. Just before we arriv'd at *Kiel*, we met with a little Town call'd (b) *Christian-peries*, *Christian-peries*, accompany'd with a Fort at the Entrance of *Kiel* Harbour, which seem'd to me at first to have been built for the Security of the Commerce of that City. But it was represented by some *Holsteiners* as placed there by the *Danes*, for a Bridle to keep them in awe, in Case of a Rupture between the King of *Denmark* and the Duke of

(a) Mr. Ol. Rudbeck sen. Botanick Professor at *Upsal*, as his Son is at this Time, wrote, among other learned Tracts, one entitled *Atlantica*, where he treats amply of this Matter, as well as of the Origin and Antiquity of the Goths, and their Excursions, from whom he makes almost all the Southern and Eastern Nations to be descended, as well as their Gods and the fabulous Account of them.

(b) *Christian-peries*, built by *Christian V.* King of *Denmark*.

Holstein ; Experience (as they said) having already shewn, that the Fort was not only intended for this End, but to facilitate the Reduction of *Kiel*, which obeys the Dukes of *Holstein* independently of the Kings of *Denmark* : For *Holstein*, being both Royal and Ducal, contains a Number of Places and Districts, that belong wholly to the Duke of *Holstein*, as others do to the King of *Denmark* ; for Instance, *Kiel* and *Newmunster*. There are also several that are dependent on both, where they equally tax the Nobles, whenever the Affairs of the State demand it ; and these Nobles, being like petty Sovereigns over the common People, discharge and ease themselves of the Burden, by laying it upon and taxing them in their Turn, and that sometimes to a great Hardship ; infomuch that if his *Danish* Majesty imposes the Sum of 50,000 Crowns upon a City, dependent in common upon them both, the Duke does the same, according to the mutual Agreement founded upon their Power. *Kiel* at that time, with all the rest of the Ducal *Holstein*, was subject to the King of *Denmark* ; to whom *Tonninghen*, by opening (as I have already hinted) its Gates to the *Swedish* General, gave Ground to possess himself of it, as well as of the rest. It is restor'd, with its Dependencies, to the present Duke, by the last Treaty between *Sweden* and *Denmark* ; but *Gothorp* and *Sleswick* remains in the Hands of his *Danish* Majesty by the same.

Kiel. *Kiel* is a very handsome City, and stands as well as can be desired for Commerce, in a Gulph of the *Baltick* Sea, and upon a *Peninsula*, which may be call'd an Island, in regard of the Ditch that belongs to the Castle, which separates it entirely from the Continent. Its advantageous Situation, and the frequenting of its Harbour by Merchants from the greatest Part of *Europe*, were the Occasion of Duke *Frederick* the First's sending in 1663 that famous Embassy into *Persia*, which passing through *Muscovy*, coasted along the West of the *Caspian* Sea, and so went by Land to *Ispahan*, in order to settle a Trade between that Country and *Holstein*. Having finish'd some Affairs which we had in this City, we return'd to *Hamburg*, where a little after we saw a printed *Manifesto*, or Declaration, of the *Chevalier de St. George's*, who stiled himself therein *James III. King of England*, &c. and dated it in the 14th Year of his Reign. In this Declaration, he exhorted those whom he term'd his faithful Subjects, " to re-unite themselves together, to receive and " acknowledge their lawful King ; telling them, that the well-known " good Intentions of his Sister Queen *Anne*, had been the Cause of his " keeping Silence, and remaining unactive during her Reign.

On the other Hand, all the Potentates who were at War with the King of *Sweden*, were preparing to go and attack him in *Straelsund* ; and some Differences that had happen'd between the King of *Prussia* and that Prince, which I'll mention hereafter, had made him likewise his Enemy. The News from *Straelsund*, were full of nothing but the continual Motions of his *Swedish* Majesty from Place to Place, and the Fatigues he underwent, (even so far as to forget eating and drinking,) together with the extraordinary Care he took to put the City, and the Isle of *Rugen*, in the best State of Defence that was possible. Some time afterwards, high Words having pass'd between Baron *Goertz*, and one of the Ministers of the *Prussian* Court, it went so far, that they challeng'd each other to a Duel, and the Place of *Rendezvous* was agreed upon, they both came thither, but not upon the same Day, (as 'twas related publickly in *Hamburg*) by reason of the Difference of the

the Stile, one following the Old and the other the New; tho' (which was more probable) some say, that his *Prussian* Majesty interposed, by commanding his Minister not to fight.

Towards the End of *May*, the *Danish* Army, destin'd to act against the *Swedish Pomerania*, being drawn up in the Plain of * *Trittow*, Trittow. where his *Danish* Majesty was to review them, I had the Curiosity to see his Troops, who were some of the finest I had ever seen. They were 40,000 Men, Horse and Foot, and might all be call'd chosen, well made, and well cloathed. The first were finely mounted, and the second were inferiour to them in nothing but in being on Foot, and made as fine a Figure as any Infantry cou'd do. The Grenadiers did not seem to give place even to the *English*; of whom the Mareschal de *Luxembourg* said, that if he had 30,000, he wou'd take the most impregnable Towns in the World, and (to make use of his own Terms) dethrone even *Lucifer* himself. All this Army seem'd excellently disciplined; and had serv'd for the most part in *Flanders*, with a Reputation sufficiently known. The King was on Horseback, in a Suit of Red Velvet laced, upon a fine *Spanish* Genet, with a Plume of Feathers in his Hat: His Officers also had Scarlet ones, with a Silk Scarf of the same Colour. My Eyes having been entertained for Five or Six Hours with this fine Military Sight, I went to a Country Seat a little distant thence, that was hired by Mr. *Ch. Gore*, to whom, and to the rest of the *British* Company, his *Danish* Majesty had been graciously pleased to grant the Liberty of Hunting all about the Country. I found there the Deputies of *Hamburg*, to whom that Gentleman had lent it, to carry thither the Presents of Wine, Provision, and other Refreshments design'd for his Majesty; (this being a little Tributary Acknowledgment which they pay him from time to time, for the quiet Possession of the City.) They were then preparing to return to *Hamburg*, having already offer'd those Presents. As for myself, I had a good Bed and plentiful Table; (Mr. *Gore*, who was not there himself, having sent Orders for that purpose:) The House is handsome, and accompanied with a pleasant Garden. I staid there three Days very agreeably with one of his Friends, and return'd to *Hamburg*.

In the mean while, what (one wou'd have thought) shou'd have put a stop to the War, and saved the King of *Sweden* his *German* Provinces, was what hasten'd the Loss of them, by reason of the little Confidence this Prince placed in those who were yet his Friends, the Kings of *Great Britain* and *Prussia*. His *Prussian* Majesty had, for the sake of 400,000 Crowns, redeem'd *Stettin* and the *Swedish Pomerania*, out of the Hands of the Northern Allies, with a design to keep it in Sequestration till the Peace shou'd be concluded, and that Sum restored to him; and what seem'd to evince the sincere Intentions of his *Prussian* Majesty, was, that he admitted the Troops of *Holstein*, who were in a manner the Allies of *Sweden*, jointly with his own, after having concluded the Treaty of Sequestration with the Duke Administrator, and Count *Welling*, Senator of *Sweden* and Governor of *Bremen* and *Verden*. The King of *Great Britain* had done almost the like in respect of *Bremen*, which was resign'd to his Majesty by the King of *Denmark*, for between 7 or 800,000 Crowns. For *Verden* was already pawned to his *British* Majesty for a great Sum of Money advanced to the

* *Trittow* is a little Village between *Hamburg* and *Lubeck*, in the *Dutchy* of *Holstein*, which either gives Name to, or derives its own from that Plain.

King of *Sweden*;) and so the War was remov'd from *Germany* by these means, according to the Intent of the Treaty of Neutrality. On the other hand, the Emperor continued his Exhortations to the King of *Sweden*, to induce him to revoke his Protestation against this Treaty, and to prevail with him to send Plenipotentiaries to *Brunswick*, (where those of his Imperial Majesty had been so long) as being a more certain way than that of Arms to preserve his *German* Territories. The Landgrave of *Hesse Cassel* likewise made use of his best Arguments for the same purpose, and to prevent the Encrease of Enemies to *Sweden*, who had already too many of them; but his *Swedish* Majesty, always incapable of Fear, and unwilling to receive Laws or Conditions, did not give to these Exhortations and Arguments the Attention wish'd for, sent no Plenipotentiaries to *Brunswick*, denied his Royal Assent to both Sequestrations, and the Fire of War broke out with more Violence. In the mean while the Czar's Troops, who had retired out of *Pomerania*, by virtue of the Agreement concluded between the King of *Prussia* and the Duke Administrator, &c. before his *Swedish* Majesty's return, having receiv'd a Sum of Money from his *Prussian* Majesty for it, were wasting with Sword and Fire the Coasts of *Finland*, and the Isles of *Aland*. The Hereditary Prince of *Hesse Cassel*, who having married the Princess *Ulrica* of *Sweden*, was constituted there *Generalissimo*, had his Hands more than full, with the small Number of Forces he commanded, to hinder their penetrating farther into the Country. Moreover, his *Swedish* Majesty gave Orders to one of his Squadrons to go and attack the *Danish* Fleet where-ever they could be found, even tho' out-number'd. Count *Welling* being then at *Stralsund*, in vain endeavour'd to persuade him to revoke it, by his Remonstrances of the State of Affairs in *Sweden*, which did not allow of running such a risque; but the King remain'd immoveable. This Squadron sail'd, and met the *Danes* between the Isles of *Femern* and *Laland*, and was defeated by them; at least six Vessels disabled from fighting, and taken with all their Men, and another was sunk. This News made those (who knew what had expos'd the Commander to this fatal Blow) say, that his Majesty had lost seven Men of War by his own Orders; and Count *Welling*, who had the chief Hand in the Treaty of Sequestration, having not been able to engage his Majesty to consent to it, and seeing that his Advice was both useless and disagreeable, ask'd leave of the King to retire from *Stralsund*, (under pretence that the Air did not agree with his Constitution, which was otherwise but very weakly,) and obtain'd it. Not long after, his Majesty, who had been entirely and indefatigably taken up ever since his Arrival, in having all the Passages fortify'd that might facilitate the Approaches of the Enemy, order'd the Isle of *Usdom* to be attack'd, which the *Prussians* were possess'd of by virtue of the Treaty of Sequestration, and they were dislodged, as not expecting any such thing. Hereupon his *Prussian* Majesty formally declared War against the King of *Sweden*; who, on the other hand, solicited the King of *France*, (who had just concluded the Peace, and had his Arms at liberty on all Sides) to join him with 60,000 Men, and thereby reduce all his Enemies to reason in one Campaign: But his most Christian Majesty made him almost the same Answer to this Demand, that he had done to the Chevalier *de St. George*; who, upon Advice of the Death of Queen *Anne*, came Post *Incognito* from *Lorraine*, to represent to him the favourable Dispositions of the *Scotch*, *Irish*, and even great Numbers of

of *English*, who (as he said) only wanted to be supported by some Power like that of *France*, and desired some of his Men of War and Troops for that purpose. This Answer (according to some disinterested *Frenchmen*, who pretended to be well inform'd of the Truth) was this, *I won't supply you with so much as one Boat, I will die in Peace if I can.* However, his Majesty did more for the King of *Sweden*, offer'd him his Mediation to accommodate Matters, which was accepted; and the Count *de Croissy* came to *Stralsund*, and went backwards and forwards to this end from the Court of *Prussia* to that of *Sweden*, there sparing no Pains, but 'twas all in vain; as were also the Endeavours of the *Landgrave* of *Hesse Cassel*. War being resolv'd on all Sides, the King of *Prussia* attack'd *Usdom* with a Force sufficient to carry it; whilst the *Danish* Vice-Admiral took or destroy'd above 50 Vessels, most of them Privateers, who were in the *Swine*. These Privateers were particularly encourag'd in the Exercise of that Profession, by the Advantages granted them by the famous *Placaert* publish'd in their Favour, which ruin'd so many Merchants who were at Amity and Correspondents with the *Swedes*, and even the *Swedes* themselves, to whom the Conditions seem'd impracticable; which particularly obliged the *English* to continue sending a Fleet into the *Baltick Sea*, to protect their Commerce.

The King of *Great Britain*, as Elector of *Hanover*, followed soon the Example of the King of *Prussia*, his Co-Director in the Circle of *Lower Saxony*, declaring also War against the King of *Sweden*; for almost the like Reasons; and he began it by joining some *Hanoverian* Troops to those of the *Danes*, for the Blockade of * *Wismar*.

Wismar.

About the middle of *July* I set out from *Hamburg*, with design to go to *Stralsund*; but could not put it in Execution for Reasons that I am going to mention. I pursued my Journey by *Trittow*, *Simlo* and *Gradebusch*, none of which are better than Villages, and hardly known in Geography, till the latter was render'd famous by the Battle fought near it in 1713, and the first spoken of for the King of *Denmark's* having review'd his Army in its Neighbourhood. From hence I pass'd by *Wismar*, which I had a Sight of on my Left, at the Distance prescrib'd by the Blockade, consisting of a flying Camp of the Troops before-mention'd, which guarded a Line of Circumvallation drawn round the City. Two Subalterns demanded my Passport; I had two, one from the Magistrates of *Hamburg*, and another from Mr. *Wich*, the *British* Resident at that City, which I shew'd them; and they let me pass with my Post-Boy, who carried me to lodge at *Altzearin*, from whence I went next Morning to *Rostock*.

Rostock is a large City, pretty well peopled, and situated upon the *River Warne*, which disembogues itself into the *Baltick Sea* about a Mile and a half below it. It was formerly one of the most considerable *Hans* Towns for its Commerce; but has begun to lose that Advantage since the *Swedes*, having rendred themselves Masters of the Fort *Warnemude*, during the first Career of their Success, impos'd arbitrarily a Duty upon all Goods exported or imported; and the Dukes of *Mecklenburg* (according to the Inhabitants Complaints) have treat-ed them rather like Tyrants than Sovereigns and Protectors, which they ought to be. The Duke then reigning, was there at that Time in an old Palace, which he was repairing to render it more convenient,

* *Wismar*, a City of *Lower Saxony*, situated upon a little Gulph of the *Baltick Sea*. It was formerly Imperial, afterwards subject to *Mecklenburgh*, and then to *Sweden*.

as well as augmenting the Fortifications of the City. It was said, that his Highness's intent was to dispute or defend the Entrance against the King of *Denmark*, who design'd it for a Place of Arms or a Magazine for his Army, which was on full March, to invest *Stralsund* in Conjunction with the Troops of the Allies. His Highness not only exercised an Absolute Authority over this City; but imprison'd the Magistrates and Members of the Council of One Hundred, (who govern'd it after the manner of a Commonwealth, according to their Statutes) for not receiving a President of his Creation, who might give what weight he pleased to their Deliberations, and established a new Tribunal depending upon his own Will. He also oppress'd the Nobility to that degree, which gave place to the Noise and Complaints which fill'd the whole Christian *Europe*, especially the Court of *Vienna* and the Diet of *Ratisbon*; and the redressing of which has reduced his Highness to his present wandring Condition, as I'll observe elsewhere. But to return to *Rostock*; his Highness continued to put *Rostock* in a State of Defence, till the King of *Denmark*, advancing with his Army, sent an Officer, to demand if his Intention was to oppose his coming; and to declare, that he was resolved to enter either as a Friend or Enemy, not as an Enemy to the Town, but to his Highness. The Officer having deliver'd his Message, and inform'd the Duke at the same time that the King wou'd be before the City Gates in a Couple of Hours, with means to force an Entrance if it was denied him; his Highness went friendly to meet his Majesty, quitted the City and Palace to him, and retir'd to * *Gustrow*.

Gustrow.

This Shew of making a Defence, and opposing the *Danes*, was interpreted as a Compliment made to the King of *Sweden*, or a design to espouse his Cause, if his Highness saw any likelihood of his getting the better; but having no hopes of it, he alter'd his Mind. About that Time we heard the Fort of *Pennamuder* was taken by the *Danish* and *Prussian* Troops from the *Swedes*. I went to the King of *Denmark's* Court at *Rostock*, to desire a Passport for entring *Stralsund*, which was already invested by the Northern Allies. The Person employ'd by me to ask it was a *Danish* Officer, who lodged in the same Inn with me; but, instead of its being granted, they told me it was not customary to let any one into a City that was besieged: I answer'd, that if his Majesty wou'd only grant me a Pass thro' the Besiegers Army, I wou'd find a way to get in, but this was refused me also. Some Foreign Officers, who had left the *Swedish* Service, coming to this City, inform'd me that the King of *Sweden* was almost always in Motion, and generally on Horseback on the Isle of *Rugen*, whence he wou'd let none stir, not even Women or Strangers. Yet as Mr. *Jefferies*, the *British* Minister, was preparing to go into the *Champion* Country, where he had hired a House, and sent most of his Baggage and Servants, he had taken Leave of his Majesty, and got to the Gates of the City, in order to depart, Word was brought him from the King, that if he quitted the City or Island, he might stay without for ever, or at least shou'd be no more receiv'd in them. I left *Rostock* about the middle of *August*, in order to return to *Hamburg*, and directed my Course by *Gustrow*, *Swerin* and *Harburgh*; I heard there on my Arrival, that the King of *France* was dangerously sick; and about Twenty Days after, that he died on the 1st of *September*; that on the 2d his Will was read before the Assembly of the Parlia-

* *Gustrow*, the Capital of *Mecklenbourg*.

ment, all the Princes of the Blood being present; that by this Will the Duke of Orleans was constituted *Regent*, and Head of the Council of *Regency*; for Members of which were appointed the Duke *du Maine*, the Count *de Thoulouse*, the Marshals of *Villeroy*, *Villars*, *Uxelles*, *Tallard*, *Harcourt*, the Great Chancellor, the four Secretaries of State, and the Comptroller General of the Finances; that the young King was to be under the Guardianship of this Council during his Minority, which should be over at the 14th Year of his Age: That the Duke *du Maine* and the Marshal of *Villeroy* were his Governors; and in Case of their Death, they should be succeeded in their Authority and Care, the first by Count *de Thoulouse*, and the second by the Marshal *d'Harcourt*, and that (which was not published as an Article written on the Will, but as the King's verbal Declaration during his Sickness) in Case of the young King's Death without Issue, the Crown should fall to his Highness the Regent. 'Tis remark'd, that the late King of France, the Emperor *Leopoldus Ignatius*, and Sultan *Mehemid IV.* reign'd the longest Time of any Princes in their respective Dominions, and were Contemporaries, tho' the latter did not reign so long by a great deal.

I departed from *Hamburg* for *Lubeck* on the latter end of Sep- Lubeck.
tember, with Intent to pass into *Sweden*. This City is but five German Miles distant from *Hamburg*: I found it very agreeable, as well built as *Hamburg*, and its Houses even finer for the Generality, tho' 'tis not so large nor so populous. Its Churches are not at all inferior to those of that City, and the Streets are broader and more strait. The Cathedral is a vast, and one of the noblest Pieces of Architecture of its Time; it is still adorned with the most part of the Statues and Images of the Roman Catholics, &c. as well as the other Churches. The Inhabitants of this City embraced the Confession of *Ausburgh* in 1530, and it is the first *Hans* Town. It has a Bishop who is a Lay-man, and resides where he pleases, formerly and most commonly at *Outeyn*, a little Town between *Lubeck* and *Kiel*. The Chapter of Cannons, whose Place of Residence is at *Lubeck*, always choose one of the House of *Gottorp*, and the Duke Administrator of *Holstein* was then in Person, as he still is; and his annual Revenue is between 50 and 60,000 Crowns. 'Tis the only *Lutheran* Bishoprick, except *Osnabrug*, that has preserv'd its Diocesan Rights and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction entire. The greatest Commerce of the City is on the Side of the *Baltick* Sea, and its little Vessels are ranged along Side each other the whole Length of a fine Key; I say little, for the great ones cannot come nearer than to a little Town call'd *Travemund*, within two Miles of it: It has a good Harbour, form'd by the Confluence of two small Rivers, *Stekniz*, and *Walkenitz*, into the *Trave*, which uniting their Waters there, dividing the City into two Parts, and filling its Ditches, disemboque themselves together into the *Baltick* Sea, at the Foot of the said Town. They might have had at *Lubeck* the Company of *British* Merchants which is settled at *Hamburg*; for Proposals of settling here (on Condition they should have a Chappel, with the free Exercise of their Religion within its Walls) were first made to its Magistrates; but they being influenced by the too great Rigidity of their Clergy, (as I have heard some *Lubeckers* complain) rejected that spiritual Condition; which, added they, the *Hamburgers* made no Scruple to grant, as soon as they were ask'd, and reap'd the temporal Advantages of their Refusal.

C H A P. VII.

A Voyage to Sweden. Remarks on the Island of Gothland by the Way; on the Castles of Dolarna and Waxholm, and the Situation of Stockholm. Description of this City; its Harbour, adjacent Places, Winter-Diversions, &c.

Travemund. **H**Earing that there was at * *Travemund* a Ship ready to sail for *Sweden*, I left *Lubeck* the 20th, in Company with the Master of her, who was a *Lubecker*, and a Merchant of the same Nation, designing also for that Country. The Wind being fair the 22d, we set out, and it continued favourable enough to carry us (a) 80 *Swedish* Miles on our Way to *Stockholm*, when its Inconstancy forc'd us, the 25th in the Evening, to change our Course, and hold for *Wisby*, the Capital of the Isle of *Gothland*, where we ran into Harbour.

Wisby.

This City was formerly as much noted for its great and vast Commerce, as at present it is little known on that Account: Its Maritime Laws and Regulations were heretofore follow'd all over and beyond the *Baltick*, as they are said to be actually in *Sweden* to this Day. It is situated on the Sea-side, on the West of the Island, whence it rises, and agreeably extends itself to the Top of a little Hill. The Harbour is large, and was better in Times past than it is now, especially in some Places, which the high Winds (after having destroy'd the Piers that kept out the Sea) have all choak'd with Sands.

Within its Walls and Suburbs were once counted thirteen large Churches, and six Monasteries well fill'd, and still better endow'd; of all which there is none left entire but that of *St. Mary*, which has retain'd the Name, but not its Revenues, nor the Vessels, Candlesticks, Lamps, Branches of Gold and Silver, and other rich Utensils it had when the *Roman* Catholick Religion (which has since given Place to the *Lutheran*) reign'd there, no more than its two inestimable Carbuncles, recorded in the *Gothick* Annals.

The same City has several fine Springs and Fountains of very good Water, that ran through as many Canals, and divers large Cisterns yet to be seen, either entire or half destroy'd: From all which it is evident, that Nature has contributed no less to its Beauty and Convenience than Art. Its Castle was ruin'd by the *Danes* in 1679. The Island is about 18 Miles in Length from South to North, and six in Breadth, more or less in some Places.

Some Historians do it the Honour of calling it the first Colony of the *Goths*, and other People of *Scandinavia*, that spread themselves in greater and lesser Swarms, and formerly wander'd up and down the finest Parts of the World. This was at the Time when Plundering was an Heroic

* *Travemund* is accompany'd with a good Harbour, defended with a pretty strong Castle.

(a) N. B. Again I mean Miles according to the Measure of the Country I speak of; and that one *Swedish* Mile, as well by Sea as Land, makes six *English* ones, or above five.

Virtue among them, and they made it a religious Duty, by way of Thanksgiving for their Success by Sea and Land, to sacrifice every Year nine human Victims, to *Thor*, *Odeim*, and *Frigga*, a sort of *Trium Deat* they adored. The Curious observe, that three of their Parishes still retain their Names, viz. *Thore*, *Otheim*, and *Friggesarsim*, where it is supposed that those three false Deities had their Temples. I shall speak of this more amply. It has many good Ports, as well in the East as West, abounds with Cattle, and is surrounded with divers subordinate little Islands, on which they graze, and about them is very good Fishing. Some Lakes and Rivers, situated partly between fine large Meadows, and partly between fertile Fields, yield likewise Abundance of Fish of different sorts. In several Parts of it they dig Free-Stone, and a sort of Grey Marble not very unlike *Granite*, very fit for Architecture, as appears from different sorts of old Edifices still remaining, and others built in these latter Times.

The *Swedish* History tells us, that in 250 Years time there were above a hundred Churches built in this Island; no doubt but their Number, as well as that of the Priests, encreas'd with their Riches, at the Time when the *Temporal* Power made it a religious Duty to submit to the *Spiritual*, and the Sovereigns of the *World* piously believed, as many still do in other Places, that they held their Sceptres, and the Right of Governing, from the *Roman* Pontiff; and that the surest Means of gaining the Kingdom of Heaven, were extraordinary Donations, inso-much as to take out of their Crowns the most precious Jewels for the Ornament of Churches.

The Religion profess'd there now, as well as throughout *Scandinavia*, which it belongs to, is the *Lutheran*; which, as to outward Rites and Ceremonies, has kept a great deal of the *Roman*; but its Doctrine differs little from that of the Church of *England*, except in the Article of *Consubstantiation*. It is true, that this Doctrine changes not (as does *Transubstantiation*) the Bread and Wine into the Body of *Jesus Christ*, by annihilating the Elements; but uniting them, makes it exist together with them in as many different Places as they are consecrated in. There are still 65 Churches in Being, which are abundantly too many for the small Number of the present Inhabitants, with 28 Ministers, more than sufficient in regard as well of the People as the Revenue allow'd to maintain them.

The Wind, having given me leave to see what was remarkable in and about this City, turn'd to the South the 29th before Break of Day, and carry'd us by Night as far as the Entrance of a Labyrinth of Rocks and Streights, twenty Miles over, through which the *Baltick* Sea goes up to *Stockholm*, before it mixes its Water with the *Mellern*, and by the Help of that Lake makes an Isle of the Land upon which that Capital is built. The Castles *Dalarna* and *Waxholm*, that lie before it, have nothing more remarkable or advantageous than their Situation, by which they are very proper to hinder an Enemy from entering some Streights between the Rocks: By an extraordinary Favour, or rather Inconstancy of Weather, we arriv'd in the Harbour the 30th in the Evening, which was in less Time than is usual, because one and the same Wind is hardly sufficient to carry one through those Rocks.

Stockholm. The Prospect of *Stockholm* is both magnificent and agreeable, especially after having doubled the Point of a little Island, on the right, call'd *Backholmen*, on which there is a large and high Brick Warehouse, formerly made use of to keep Salt. There are others likewise of Timber, very long, but low built, that heretofore were the Magazines of the Pitch and Tar belonging to a Company of Merchants, who had engross'd all that was made in *Sweden*: But that Company is come to nothing; for having rais'd those Commodities to too exorbitant a Price, it forc'd *England* to have them made by her own Subjects in *America*, whence now they have for fifteen, and at most twenty Shillings, what formerly they were oblig'd to pay four, and sometimes five Pounds for. On the left, over against this little Island, or rather Rock, (which is still call'd *Tiarhoff*, or Tar-Market) begins the South Suburb, seeming to come out of the Water, then rising and extending itself in the Form of an agreeable Amphitheatre, upon a long Tract of Rocks, as far as a Stone-Bridge, (forty Paces long, and nineteen broad) by which 'tis join'd to the City (A), as is the Northern Suburb, by three others of Wood, (C) (D) in the Print XXXII.

Having thus pass'd this Island, you come to another lesser on the right, call'd *Blockhus-Holmen*, mark'd (M) in the said Print, on which there stands an old Stone Tower near the Water-side, where they careen Ships, &c. Beyond this last presents itself another, mark'd (N), which alone is larger than the other two: Upon this you see two high and spacious Warehouses of Brick, one cover'd with Brass, and divers others of Timber, with several others of the same. There are also three long Rows of Buildings, mark'd (20) (21), of which two seem to lie in the same Line, and are only separated by the Distance of some Paces toward the South-East of the Island; the other is in the North-West. The two first contain a great Number of good Rooms, which it is said were at first designed for the *Gardes du Corps*, and the third for Stables for their Horses, tho' they never were put to those Uses. Besides this, there are a pretty many small Timber Houses, as (22) and other sorts of Buildings, which I shall not particularize, no more than their different Uses. This third Island goes by the Name of *Nie Skepholmen*, or the New Island of Ships, deriv'd from the Royal Fleet that lay there before it was transferr'd to *Carelscreon*; or else from the Ships, Gallies, &c. that used to be, and are still building there, tho' in less Number; as a fourth Island, that has a Communication with it by a Bridge, at the end of which is a small Timber Church for the Seamen, is now call'd *Gamla Skepholmen*, or the Old Island of Ships, for having been of the same Use. The last is all cover'd with very magnificent Houses, regularly built, most of them after the modern Manner, and is join'd to the Continent of the Northern Suburb (L) by an artificial Neck of Land, over-against the Bridge (24), which they say is not very ancient; and the Custom has not yet prevail'd of calling it a *Peninsula*.

In the Neighbourhood of the Suburb is a pleasant Park, of which (K) is a Part, all along which these Islands (or rather Rocks honour'd with that Name) are ranged: Between them and the Continent lie the Men of War, with some Gallies. The Ground of this Park, which is uneven, but high, especially towards the Water, with the Islands disposed as I have said on one side, and the Ridge of steep Rocks, on which the South Suburb was built, on the other, enclose the Harbour, and serve it for two natural Piers; by which

which it is render'd one of the safest, most commodious, and, next to that of *Constantinople*, one of the finest I have seen hitherto: For here, as well as there, Ships of all Draughts may boldly ride, shelter'd from all Winds, and Anchor quite up to a long Wooden Bridge mark'd (R), and contiguous to a fine Key marked (Q), of which I shall speak hereafter. The Northern Suburb, in *Swedish* call'd *Noremall*, might well pass for a great City, by reason of its long and spacious Streets full of high and handsome Houses, that are set off and have their Doors and Windows lined with Marble or Free Stone from *Gothland*, and their Rooms paved with that of *Oeland*, or what comes from beyond Sea. Its Churches are more remarkable for their Bulk, the Height of their Steeples, and their Copper Roofs, than on any other Account; and the greatest Magnificence of its many Palaces consists in being likewise cover'd with that Metal, tho' there are some in which a good Taste of Architecture is happily enough expressed. Among the Churches, that which bears the Name of *St. Clare*, to whom it was dedicated by its Founder King *Magn. Ladislaus*, as was also a Monastery of *Christian Vestals*, is the largest, and its Steeple the highest in all *Sweden*; and there are few any where else that exceed it. Next to this, that of *St. James* ought to have the Preference: It is built of Brick, and like the other cover'd with Copper; but with a Steeple incomparably less. The others, with the greatest part of the Houses, especially towards the Extremity of this, (as well as those of the South Suburb) are altogether made of Timber; from which I shall take the Opportunity of observing, that there are many Cities in *Sweden*, the Buildings of which, without any Exception, are entirely of the same; tho' there is not a Country in the World, where there is greater abundance of Stones as well as Trees: But it must be confess'd, that there are few Places where the first are more improper for Building, or the second yield less Fruit; which was the Reason, that being asked by a Native what I found most remarkable in *Sweden*, I jokingly answer'd, *Stones of no use, and Trees without Fruit*. However, to do Justice to the Country, it must be own'd that the latter, to make amends for that Defect, bring more substantial Advantages to the Inhabitants, not only for Building, but likewise by affording great Plenty of Fuel, which is very comfortable in so cold a Climate; and no less necessary for their many Forges and Foundries both of Iron and Copper; but on the other hand, 'tis very inconvenient and dangerous in case of Fire, which when once it gets a-head, is hardly ever to be brought under; to which in great measure was owing the vast Havock made by the *Muscovites*, who by setting fire to nine or ten Houses, burnt down whole Cities: As is also lately the almost entire Ruin of the South Suburb of *Stockholm*. If *Tacitus*, who call'd *Germany* horrid for its Forests, *Horrida Sylvis*, had seen *Sweden*, he would with still more Reason have thought it frightful, not only on account of its vast Woods, but likewise for its Stones and Rocks. Here we must except *Schonen*, and some Parts in many other of its Provinces. For tho' long, wide and tedious Forests, or else a continued Series of Rocks, Mountains and barren Stones, are sometimes the only Objects a Traveller is presented with for two and three, and sometimes five Miles and more; yet he often finds a mixture of these in less Quantity, with Lakes, Rivers, Villages, Meadows and fertile Plains, (as they generally are, where Art has been join'd to Nature,) which produces

a rich and agreeable Variety. What here I say of *Art*, I understand not of him who has only to Manure and Plough the Fields, which Nature has made such already to his Hands ; but I mean the Art of him who burns the Woods, to make Fields where none were to be found, as History tells us, that most of them have been made in this Country, and is yet daily practised ; for which reason it is call'd *Suidia*, which in their Language signifies to grub up the Ground, by burning the Wood.

Among the Palaces, (of which I undertake not to give either the Number or Description) that which formerly belong'd to the Family of *La Gardie*, in the North Suburb near the Garden (26), is incomparably less considerable for its Structure, (in which good Architecture has little Share,) its Roof of Copper, with four Towers cover'd with the same, or its 365 Windows, than for the Value of what is contain'd in and about it. For not only the Court, which is very spacious, is enrich'd with a great Number of Cannon, Mortars, Patterero's and Culverines, all of Brass, and of all Sizes ; but entering into the Apartments, you find them richly hung and furnish'd, if I may so express my self, with all sorts of Arms, Standards, Colours, Ensigns, Streamers, Drums and Kettle-Drums ; besides rich Harnesses for Saddles, as Caparisons, Housings, &c. adorn'd with Gold and Silver Embroidery, Jewels, and other pompous Furniture, to shine in at Turnaments, Coronations and Publick Cavalcades. It is call'd the Arsenal of Trophies, and very justly, because (besides these Things, and several others not mention'd which it contains, the modern Part whereof were taken from the *Poles*, *Muscovites* and *Saxons* during the Success of the present War) it was built, with many others that are to be seen up and down the Kingdom, with the Money rais'd from the Spoils of *Germany*. It incloses even those of that Hero, who procur'd the greatest part of them, *Gustavus Adolphus*, whose Buff-coat is kept there, with his Doublet pierc'd through at the Collar by the Shot by which he fell at *Lutzen* ; as also his Shirt all over stain'd with the Blood which there he shed, and another dy'd with the same from a Wound he before receiv'd in *Prussia* ; with two Pair of his Breeches, likewise ting'd with Gore on those two Occasions. Over-against these are the Cloaths in which *Charles XII.* was kill'd at *Fredericks-Hall*. The Palace itself is a Trophy of the Tribunal of Reduction, which in the Reign of *Charles XI.* returned it to the Crown, with others more or less beautiful, as advantageously as agreeably situated near the best Lakes and Rivers in the most fertile Places of that Country, which the Sovereigns had for the greatest part bestow'd on the Nobility and others, who had distinguished themselves by their Merit, as Recompences for their Services. This Court, it is said, formerly gave Prints of all these Palaces and other Publick Edifices to Foreign Ministers, and other Persons of Distinction, to shew the Munificence and Royal Favour of their Princes towards their Subjects, and the Splendour of the *Swedish* Nobility ; but they have since been suppress'd, and prohibited for Reasons that seem'd contrary.

The Palace I have spoke of has very good Stables, which are call'd the Queen's, because they belong'd to the late King's Grand-Mother, who died about the middle of *November* 1715, above Eighty. The Duke of *Holstein* had likewise his Horses there ; and now some private Persons keep theirs at Livery in them. Over-against these Stables,

bles, in a Street call'd *Neckstromgata*, or the Street of *Neptune's* Stream, stands the Church of *St. James* already mention'd ; in the Frontispiece whereof remains in *Basso Relievo*, the *Trinity* represented after the *Roman Catholick* Fashion. The Church within is adorn'd with Statues and Images of He and She Saints, with Organs, a fine Pulpit and several Tombs. In regard of the first, I can't but observe what others have done before, that these People, and others of the same Religion, have (it is true) rejected the Worship of them, and don't kneel down and pray to or kiss them out of Devotion, as their Forefathers did ; but they have retain'd them, as they say, only in Remembrance of their Virtues, and for the Ornament of their Churches ; from which it is manifest, that if they are not Idolaters, they are resolv'd not to be *Iconoclasts*, or Image-Breakers. As to the Prohibition found in sacred Writ against the making of any Figures, or corporal Representations of Things Heavenly and Spiritual, they say, that this Prohibition only concerns the Adoration ; and that the Commandment itself explains it in that manner, by adding the Words *to Worship them*. Near this Church, which I hear was but lately burnt down, is the Garden (26) that faces the same Palace, and is call'd the *Royal Garden* ; which Name, considering the Ingenuity in laying it out, the Contrivance of the Parterres, its *Jets D'eau*s, sumptuous Green-house, &c. it is not undeserving of. Among other magnificent Brick-Houses, (with their Door and Window Cases of Free Stone, or *Gothland* Marble) that stand in the South East, there is one mark'd (25) facing the Street I nam'd, cover'd with Copper, the Ground and Roof of which Queen *Christina* gave to *Nicholas Thungel*, a Senator ; a Present that made it subject to the Reduction : Yet it escaped a great while, the Thing being either unknown to that Tribunal, or else forgot, till one of the Inquisitors found it out by the following Inscription cut in Stone over the Door, thro' the grateful Acknowledgment of that Gentleman.

“ *Regina Arctoris que gentibus imperat, hisce*
 “ *Ædibus & fundum & cuprea tecta dedit.*
 “ *Testatur Saxo Nicholas Thungel in isto,*
 “ *Ne sua posteritas dememinisse queat.*

Between this House, and the Wall of the Royal Garden, is part of the artificial Neck of Land already mention'd ; and the Passage which formerly the Water had there, was call'd *Neckstrom* or *Neptune's* Stream. But, not to be tired with visiting too particularly every part of this Suburb, let us post our selves upon a Mount about the middle of it, which is very lofty, and call'd *Brunckberg*, famous in the History of this Country for the Defeat of *Christiern* the Tyrant. Here we shall have a fine Prospect on all sides. On the East it commands *Ladugartlandie* mark'd (1), which (besides a Number of Houses sufficient to make another City) contains an Arsenal, two Timber Churches, and another of Stone, begun (but for the present not work'd at ;) which, to judge from the Foundation, and what is done of it, promises not to be inferior to any in the City or Suburbs. In the West you see part of *Munklagret*, or Monk's Castle, (G) an Island of the *Mellern*, so called, it is said, because formerly it was consecrated to their Recreation. This Island has on that Side a good Quantity of Houses, many whereof are handsome, and have pleasant Gardens belonging to them, with a Brick Church,

Church, worth seeing, a Glass-house, &c. It has on the East a Communication with the North Suburb, by a new Bridge of Wood 454 Paces in length, and 11 in breadth, and a Causeway of Earth Stone artificially join'd to it not long ago. This meets the Bridge 270 Paces in the Lake, which is the length: They say this new Bridge is shorter than the old one, whereof a Row of Piles is yet left standing at the Place where the Causeway begins. It is yet more nearly united to the Suburb by another Bridge at (H) (18), but 80 Paces long and 12 wide a little higher, and inclining a small matter to the North. King *Charles XI.* would have this Island call'd *Konungs Holmen*, or *King's Island*; but Custom has not yet made that Name current, and it goes more naturally and more commonly by its old one *Munklagret*. It is reported that a Colony of several Thousand *Frenchmen*, of those who were forbidden the Profession of the Reform'd Religion in *France*, entreated by Deputies that Prince for leave to settle and enjoy Liberty of Conscience; but that the *Swedish* Clergy prevail'd on him to refuse them their Demand, how advantageous soever the Propositions they made might have been to the Kingdom. The Northern Suburb, whereto I return, lies in the Province of *Upland*, with part of the City, as far as a Stone set up for a Land-Mark that parts this Province from *Sudermania*, in which the rest of the City and the Southern lie. On this Stone are the Arms of the two Provinces in *Basso Relievo*, with this Inscription, *Uplandz och Sudermannaland Skillnad*, or the Limit between *Upland* and *Sudermania*. In the same manner many others are to be seen with boundary Columns throughout the Country, to distinguish the other Provinces; besides a great number of high Posts, that on all the great Roads are set up at every Mile's End, and often at every Quarter, to shew the distance of Places, and inform the Traveller how much he is advanced on his way; which seems to be an Imitation of the Military Columns of the *Romans*, if they did not borrow it from the *Goths*, as some will have it.

From the Northern Suburb one may pass directly in the Heart of the City, over two Bridges of Wood from (27) to (11) (C), by which a little Island call'd *Gamla Norbror*, of which I shall speak afterwards, is join'd to both the City and this Suburb, and (12) another call'd *Nie Norbror*, or new *Northern Bridge*, that leads to the fine Key already mentioned. This Key is in some Places above 50 Paces wide, tho' in some other a little less, and above 900 Paces long, stretches from the Harbour to the Royal Palace (I) (between the wooden Bridge (R), and a Row of lofty Brick Houses, and extends itself as far as the Stone Bridge, by which the City is join'd to the Southern Suburb. The long Bridge (R) which reaches much farther, as may be judged by the Plan, and has nothing more recommendable than its Convenience, is call'd *Skepbro*, or the *Bridge of Ships*; because, as I hinted before, all the Merchant-Men lie and make fast, as well as load and unload at it.

During the rigorous Regulations on Privateering, which remain'd in force till the Death of the late King *Charles XII.* hardly any Ships were to be seen here, but those of the Country; most of them either all shatter'd, or else made useless by the ill Success of the *Swedish* Arms. Those severe Orders frighten'd away and discouraged Strangers; and the few that did venture had their Profit eat up by high Insurances, to the great detriment of Commerce in general.

The

The Southern Suburb (whither this long Bridge, which lies below the Stone one, conducts) may pass for a pretty large Town, considering the Advantages it has, like those we have observ'd in the Northern one; for it has two large Churches, even more regular and of better Architecture than those on that, with several Palaces, and a great many fine Brick Houses; but I hear about 5000 Houses and one of the Churches have been lately burnt down.

Without staying here, as we have done in the other Suburb, let us enter the City, and in order to it, pass over (E) a Place that might be call'd a dry Bridge, it standing upon Arches, without any Water underneath. This Bridge is 76 Paces in Length, and 16 or 17 in Breadth; at the two Extremities are two Eminences, one higher than the other, and between them is the Publick Warehouse for Iron and Copper, commonly call'd *Jernwagh*, or the Iron Ballance. It is lined on both Sides with Iron Ballisters, for the Space of 37 or 38 Paces, and cuts through a large round Tower, (the Remains of an ancient Fort) whereof nothing is left standing but the two Sides, which are farther asunder than the Bridge is wide: These, with two Rows of Shops, built of Brick, and cover'd with Iron, line or border it from 35 or 36 Paces more. This sort of Bridge is supported by a very thick Vault of the Tower, which makes the chief Arch, and four more that are not so thick and more modern, under two of which are four great Pair of Scales. Going from hence about 62 Paces, and leaving on the left a Street with Shops of each Side, that leads to *Skepbro*, we come to a Draw-bridge, that lies over a little Canal, between the Lake and the Sea, for Ships to pass to and fro into either; as about 55 Paces below this there is another at the Extremity of the same Canal, that divides the long wooden one, for the same Purpose. As soon as we have passed over the Draw-bridge first named, we are upon a Stone Causeway, that advances from the Canal 35 or 36 Paces into the *Mullern*, where it supports a good Brick House, with two Shops, and makes the first Arch of the Stone-Bridge, which unites the Southern Suburb to the City, and gives a free and ample Passage for the Lake I just mention'd to discharge itself into the Sea. There are under this Bridge, or between it and *Skepbro*, close to both, the Butchery and Fish-Market, two long wooden Buildings, a Water-Mill on Piles, besides several Shops.

Coming from the Bridge, one immediately sees a House of the City, in the Wall of which is (1) a *Runick* Stone, in *Swedish*, *Runar-Stein*, so call'd from the strange Characters it bears, which they say were the first in Use among the *Northern* Nations. They are such as in the fore-said Print (N). Mr. *Kedder*, Assessor in the College of Antiquities of that City, one of the greatest *Virtuoso's* in the *North*, and my intimate Friend, has given me the following Explication of those Characters, *viz.* Karl and Othise have set up this Stone to their Father. Among several sorts of Coins struck or found in *England*, and divers *Northern* Parts, with such Characters, one may see the Reverses of (4) and (5) in the same Print, at the Head of which is that which Mr. *Gibson* has inserted in *Camden's Britannia*, and pretends, with many others, to be coin'd in Honour of the God *Thor*, because of the Figure above it, which is not unlike to what the first Worshippers of this *Northern* Deity gave him in their Statues and Pictures; and this Inscription, *Thur Gut Luetis*, which, according to him and those others, signifies

signifies the *Effigies of the God Thor*, seems to confirm their Opinion. But Mr. *Kedder* denies not only that this pretended Medal or Coin is struck for the God *Thor*, but even that the Explication of the Characters is just. He affirms, that the Figure or Posture attributed to the God *Thor* was a common one that Coiners made Use of, and which they gave to the Kings of those Days; and alledges, for an Example, one of *Gratian*, holding a Scepter in one Hand, and a Globe in the other, as *Thor* is represented, with his Mallet and his Lightning. He will have it that *Thur Gut*, of which they make the God *Thor*, is but one Word, *Thurgothus*, and a proper Name, the Compound of *Thur* and *Gothus*, according to the Usage of the Ancients, who took a Pride in deriving their Names, as well as their Origin, from their Gods; that this *Thurgothus* had been a Magistrate, who had caus'd this Medal to be struck, or perhaps the Coiner himself, as has been practis'd, says he, in *England* for Example, on the *English-Saxon* Pieces, of which Mr. *Walker* has made mention. Besides that it is not certain that any Money was coin'd at the Time the God *Thor* was worship'd, it is not improbable that this *Thurgothus* was Governor of some Place, or some Coiner, when the *Goths* and *Saxons* were confounded with the *Britons*, as well as they were with so many other Nations of *Europe* and *Asia*, by their Irruptions and Conquests: That upon this Medal he put the Characters the most natural to him, before a Speech compos'd of the Languages of those Nations prevail'd, as it did afterwards; such as is the *English* Tongue, in which there are a vast Number of Words and Expressions that are altogether *Swedish*, or differ only from it in the Pronunciation. We might likewise observe that the *Lightning* and *Mallet* which the God *Thor* should have in that Medal, according to Mr. *Gibson*, resemble the one and the other no more than they do a *Sceptre* and a *Globe*. But as it is dangerous to be positive concerning Medals, as well as the Beginning of History, in which we find a strange Confusion; I propose what I have advanced, only as a Conjecture, and submit to the Judgment of those that are better skill'd in that Affair. Some make *Otheim*, who is look'd upon as the second Person in the ancient *Trium Deat* of *Northern* Deities, the Inventer of the *Runick* Characters in the Year of the World 1799; others derive their Origin from Time immemorial.

Dr. *Olaus Rudbeck*, who by large Volumes in *Folio* has publickly signaliz'd his Enquiries and Knowledge in the Antiquities of the *North*, asserts, that *Greece* had her first Letters, with the Taste of Sciences and Religion, from *Sweden*, and not from *Phœnicia*, whence it is so generally pretended that *Cadmus* carried her the first Characters she had. " *Greece*, says he, had in the Beginning but sixteen Letters, no more " than ancient *Sweden*;" and *Herodotus* affirms, that the Use of Letters was known among the *Grecians* before the Voyage of *Cadmus* into *Greece*. As another Proof or probable Reason, he alledges the Conformity there is still between these ancient Characters and those the *Greeks* us'd first, to whom he allows the Honour of having polish'd and brought them to the present Perfection, it not being difficult to make Additions to Things once invented. On this Subject he says a great many fine Things, which, if not altogether true, are at least both curiously and ingeniously search'd into or imagin'd; as among others, that the *Golden Apples*, which *Apollodorus* pretends were carried away from

from the *Hyperboreans* by *Hercules*, were nothing else in Reality but their *Runick Letters*.

It must be own'd that he clashes with, and draws upon him, almost all the *Greek, Roman*, and other Historians; especially when he pretends that *Greece* has receiv'd the Taste of Sciences from *Sweden*, whereas his Ancestors the *Göths* stand every where accused of having destroy'd the most illustrious Monuments of Arts, Sciences, and Politeness; infomuch as they have left in the ancient Capital of the World but one single Temple standing, of so many excellent Pieces of fine Architecture which adorn'd it. They are tax'd with having never signaliz'd themselves better in any Art but that of War, and valu'd nothing more than Force and Conquest; as may be partly inferr'd from the very Etymology of the Names which they gave to the false Deities they worship'd. For *Thor* in their ancient Language signifies *Valiant, Warlike, or Enterprizing*; *Otheim* is *Destroyer*; and *Frigga*, *Plenty or Plunder*. The first is represented, as I have said already, with *Lightning* in one Hand and a *Mallet* in the other; the second with a *Naked Sword* and *Buckler*; and the third likewise with a *Naked Sword* and a *Bow*. Tho' an *Italian* Author has given the Nations of the *North* at least the accidental Honour of the Origin of his Mother-Tongue, by saying that it sprung from the Mixture of those People with the *Latins*; or, to speak more properly, from the Corruption of both their Languages. These are his Words: *Di duoi Popoli si fece un Popolo, e di due Lingue un Linguaggio, da cui Latineggiando la Barbarie, e Barbareggiando la Latinita, nacque la bella Lingua Italiana*. "Of two they made but one People, and of two Languages one Speech; which by Latinizing the *Barbarous* Words, and Barbarising the *Latin*, had produced the fine *Italian* Tongue.

To return from whence the *Runick* Characters have led us, I shall observe that the History of *Sweden* informs us, that in the Place where now the Piles on which the Butchery and the Draw and Stone-Bridges are, there was a Neck of Land, which made a *Peninsula* of the Ground on which the City is built: That this *Peninsula* was call'd *Aguisia*; and after this Neck of Land was cut, *Stockholmen*, or the *Isle of Trunks*; as to the Origin of this second Name, it varies. The Account which is thought to come nearest the Truth, is what follows: The *Mellern* being infested with foreign Pyrates, it was thought adviseable to stop up their Passage with Trunks of Trees and Masts tied to one another, as the Place which now is call'd *Norestrom*, or *North-Current*, at (C. D.) and was then the only Channel through which that Lake emptied itself into the Sea, from whence this Current was call'd *Stocksund*, or the *Streight of Trunks*, and runs still with Rapidity under the Northern Bridges. It is added, that *St. Olaus*, King of *Norway*, having declar'd War against *Skothonung*, King of *Sweden*, to revenge the Death of his Father, whom *Sigris Skothonung's* Mother had shamefully caused to be kill'd, was with a numerous Fleet got up into this Lake, had pillaged and burnt the City of *Birca*, besieg'd that of *Sightuna*, ravaging and plundering all that came in his way; that whilst these Things were doing, *Skothonung*, having drawn together all the Strength he could, and fortify'd himself in the little Island (B), then call'd *Kedesker*, now *Redderholm*, shut up the said Current, with Chains of Masts, more narrowly than it had been till then, with a Design of making himself Master of the King of *Norway's* Person, as well as his whole Fleet. But the Saint, made ingenious by the Dan-

ger, caused his People to dig and cut through the *Isthmus* of *Aguifia*, and in one Night opened himself a Passage from the Lake into the Sea call'd *Suderstrom*, or South Current, to which from that Action formerly was given the Name of *Konung sund*, or King's Streight. Thus the King of *Norway* saved his Fleet and all his Plunder; and *Aguifia* ceasing by this to be a *Peninsula*, was call'd *Stockholmen*, or the *Island of Trunks*; a Name which the City that was afterwards built upon it in 1260 has retain'd.

This City is not now wall'd in and fortify'd by Art, as they say it was formerly; but Nature, which makes all Access to it on the Sea-side so difficult, (by the Windings and Turnings through the Labyrinth of Isles and Rocks, spoke of before,) has furnish'd it with large and deep Ditches, fill'd by the Lake and the Sea, on the Land-side; and instead of Ramparts, has thrown up high Hills that form Defiles, which a few Men may easily defend, and make it very dangerous for any hostile Army to approach the Suburbs with the least Opposition. As these are the present Advantages of *Stockholm* on the defensive, so here are Disadvantages it labours under to act offensively. A *Swedish* Fleet lies very safely in its Harbour; but to go in quest of an Enemy, it is as difficult for Ships to get out, as it is for others to get in, for the Reasons mention'd. It is, as it were, block'd up for above four Months in the Year, by the Ice; and the different Winds that are necessary for it to gain the Sea, after the Ice is broken, require also some Time: During all which the Enemy is at Liberty to prevent it, as being free from such Obstacles, and may ravage and lay waste the Coasts of *Sweden*, and its Maritime Places in *Germany*. They say these were the Reasons which induced *Charles XI.* to remove his Fleet to *Carelscoön*.

The City of *Stockholm* is not so large as either of its Suburbs, tho' it extends over the whole Isle, from whence it had its Name; nor had it ever, before the late War and the Plague, above 30,000 Inhabitants; but to make amends, it has in its little Circumference (which hardly exceeds a quarter of a Mile) all that is requisite to render it, in the Eyes of good Judges, one of the finest Cities in the North of *Europe*: As three large Churches, built indeed after the *Gothick* Order, and divers sumptuous Palaces; not to mention several Publick Edifices, and lofty Brick-Houses, many whereof are Pieces of fine Architecture, and are magnificently cover'd with Brass or Iron, two Metals with which *Sweden* is plentifully furnish'd by Nature, and wherein its greatest Riches consist.

The largest of the Churches is (3) the Cathedral, dedicated to *St. Nicholas*. It is nobly adorned within, and enriched with a fine Organ, a very handsome Pulpit, and two Royal Seats or Thrones, of an extraordinary Sculpture; to which may be added a Number of costly Tombs of different sorts of Marble, beautified with the Arms, and Busts, or Statues, of the Persons buried therein. Among these Statues, that of *St. George* on Horseback is particularly admired; the Saint is represented as combating and trampling under him a Dragon of a monstrous Size, and delivering miraculously, from his insatiable Fury, *Cleodolinda*; Daughter to the King of *Lydia*, and twelve other young Virgins devoted to his Rage. The first of these is in a kneeling Posture, with her Hands join'd, before her victorious Preserver; the whole is as large as the Life, except that of the Dragon, which alone equals all the rest in Size, as being an imaginary Monster, and therefore not confined to any natural Bigness.

Over

Over the Altar is a rich sort of Cupboard, finely gilt on the Outside, and lined within with Ebony; which, when open'd on *Sundays* and other Festivals, discovers a Table of a Pyramidal Form, with five Partitions of Massy Silver, whereon are the following Histories in *Basso Relievo*, exquisitely finish'd. On the first, from the Top to Bottom is the *Nativity* of *Jesus Christ*; on the second, his *Supper*; on the third, his *Crucifixion*; on the fourth, his *Burial*; and on the fifth, his *Resurrection*. On the Summit of this Table is a little Statue of the same Metal, in height about a * *Swedish Ell*, which represents his *Ascension*. Eight other little Statues of the same Metal, Height and proportionable Bigness, accompany the *Basso Relievos*; as that of *Moses*, having in his Hands the Tables of the Law; and the Fore-runner of *Jesus Christ*, holding a Cross, with a Lamb lying at his Feet. Join'd to the Representation of the *Crucifixion* are Angels, with Instruments of that Punishment; and the Evangelists, with the Animals usually assign'd them by Statuaries and Painters, stand by the others in the same Order. The whole, of Massy Silver, is said to weigh but 30,000 Ounces; but yet 'tis reported to have cost the Donor 80,000 Crowns, or 16,000 *l.* Sterling, so much is it surpassed in Value, by the Curiosity of the Workmanship.

On the right Side of the Altar is a large Picture raised up against the Wall, reaching even from the Pavement to the vaulted Roof, and of a Breadth proportionable; in which *Paradise* and *Hell* are finely represented by the famous *Ehrenstrahl*, the *Apelles* of this Country. It passes for a Master-piece of Art and Invention. On the Left, opposite to the aforementioned, is another of a lesser Size, wherein is described the *Crucifixion* of *Jesus Christ* and the two Thieves; and they, who are the best Judges of such Performances, esteem this also as excellent in its kind. In the Vestry are to be seen some Mitres belonging to the antient Bishops, and several fine Altar-Cloths, with rich Habits of their former Priests, which are made of the most costly Stuffs, and ingeniously embroider'd with Gold and Silver; as *Chasubles* and *Albes*; which the *Lutheran* Ministers use at this Day, in some part of their sacred Office, as the *Roman Catholics* do at the celebrating of the *Latin Mass*. They have also in the same Place Crosses and Crucifixes, and large Massy Silver Candlesticks very weighty, with which they adorn the Altar on solemn Festivals, lighting up in them Wax Tapers, as they did formerly, only not in so great a quantity; because they have preserved but one Altar in each Church, out of the Numbers which were used before the Reformation. There are likewise Chalices, either of Gold or Silver gilt, the most pretious of which is not only entirely Gold, but embellished with Numbers of Jewels, set in Figures representing the *Passion*, the *Apostles*, &c. it is valued at 40,000 Crowns.

It was taken in *Prague*, (as they say) with another not unlike it, (tho' inferior in Worth,) which is at *Upsal*, by General *Koning smark*, who got besides that an inestimable Booty. 'Tis reported, that the same General having observed, in one of the Churches in the Suburbs, the Statues of the Twelve Apostles larger than the Life in Massy Silver, commanded his Officers to carry them off, saying, disrespectfully, 'twas fit they shou'd traverse the World, according to the Order of *Jesus*

* *Swedish Ell* is near two English Feet.

Christ their Lord and Master, and to that intent he converted them into Specie. He brought off likewise from the Imperial Palace, amongst a great Quantity of other pretious Spoils, that so famous and valuable Cabinet which *Don Antonio Pimentel del Prado*, then Minister of *Spain* at the Court of *Sweden*, had the Address to recover from the Hands of Queen *Christina*, who was as liberal and free in distributing the Spoils of conquer'd Enemies, as her Father and the *Swedish* Officers had been prodigal of their Blood to purchase them.

This *Spaniard* ('tis said) had a prodigious Ascendant over the Spirit of this Queen, of whom he cou'd gain almost any Point; and this Ascendant was perceptible to all the World, not only whilst he remain'd in *Sweden*, but even after he was gone; which one may sufficiently judge by this one Example: Some Months after the Revocation of this Minister, (who, tho' absent in Body, seem'd perpetually present in her Mind, and to govern all her Thoughts and Actions,) for just before her Abdication, she sent a positive Order in Writing to the Resident of *Portugal* to depart the Kingdom instantly; in which she gave an evident Proof of her Complaisance for *Spain*, even to the taking the Regal Title from the King of *Portugal*, and stiling him not only in Contempt the little Duke of *Braganza*, but calling him the unjust Usurper of the Crown he wore. This, with some other Proceedings, altogether as extraordinary, which this Princess was guilty of, after the Arrival of that Minister, gave Grounds to a *French* Author, who has written of the Transactions at that Court, to make the following Reflections: "The Residence of *Pimentel* in *Sweden* did more Mischief to that Kingdom, than if the Emperor had sent thither 50,000 Men to regain his Cabinet." 'Twas with this same Minister that she discoursed (as they assured me there) publickly, and in these disrespectful Terms of Jesus Christ. "Ever since we can trace in History the Events which have happen'd to Mankind, one cannot reckon Fifty Years which have pass'd successively in an Universal Tranquility, and not Forty since the Time of Christianity. The Virgin *Mary* (says she) had but one Son, and that Son has been, and still is, the Cause of Troubles, Divisions, Persecutions, and bloody endless Wars amongst Us; if she had had Two, what wou'd have become of Us?" To which (as they say) he answer'd, *Madam, He said the Truth in saying, I am not come to bring Peace to the World, but the Sword.*

From this Church we will go to that of *St. Francis*, (15) as being the next in Bigness, tho' farther distant: It is situated upon the little Isle mark'd (B), whereon, as the History of the Country informs us, *Skothonung* fortified himself to surprize *St. Olaus*. 'Tis said, that it was founded by the King *Magnus Ladislaus* in 1270, with a Monastery of *Franciscans* of that Order, which they call'd there *Gromunkor*, or Grey Monks, on account of the Grey Colour of their Habits, to distinguish them from other Monks and Fryars, who formerly swarm'd there. From them the Island was call'd *Gromunkholmen*, as was also the Bridge *Gromunkbron*, from their passing over it. This Church is not by far so rich, nor so well adorned within, as the other; but its Steeple, tho' not the highest, passes for the finest in either City or Suburbs. 'Tis the most usual Burial-Place of the Royal Family, since the Time of its Founder, who has his Tomb there with this plain and simple Inscription,

Hic jacet Sepultus Serenissimus Princeps ac Dominus Magnus Suecorum Gothorum Rex, Birgeri Ducis, præfatorum Regnorum Gubernatoris, Filius Erici XI. ejus nominis eorundem Regnorum Regis, ex Sorore Nepos obiit Anno CIJCCXC cujus anima in æternum vivat.

It may perhaps seem strange, that I mention this Church in the Number of those in the City, since it stands upon a different Island; but I hope it will be a sufficient Excuse, that this Isle is much nearer the City than any other Land, as being separated only by a narrow Channel of *Mellern* 28 Paces wide, as may be seen by the fore-mentioned Bridge, which reaches from one Shore to the other, and is exactly of that Length.

We will next pass over to the other Church, (6) dedicated by its Founder to St. *Gertrude*, situate in the middle of the City, and call'd at present the *German Church*. I have left it to the last, as being the least: Its greatest Magnificence consists in being cover'd with Copper, as are also the other two. Some will also brag of the Chimes, which they value here as one of the most harmonious Sets in the World. They seem, indeed, in general to please the People of this Country; and one wou'd imagine they thought they did not displease even the *Dead*, since they ring them at their Funerals to such a degree, as very much disturbs the Living, unless they reckon them (as the Ancients did) an Alarm of Terror, as well as a Sound of Joy. Christian History mentions also two Temples built formerly in this City, and dedicated one to St. *John*, and the other to St. *Dominick*, with two Monasteries for the Monks of those two Orders; but as we can only speak of them by Hearsay, we will not search into their Ruins, but go on to the other most remarkable Buildings.

The Royal Palace (1) wou'd naturally claim our first Regard, if it had not unfortunately been reduced to Ashes a few Days after the Death of *Charles XI.* (whom it had like to have serv'd for a Funeral Pile,) and 'twas with great Difficulty they saved his Corpse, which then lay in State therein;) or rather, if the Hurry and Expences of the late War had not hindered Count *Tessin*, who has imbibed in *Italy* a thorough Taste of fine Architecture, from finishing that whereof he had drawn the Plan, and laid the Foundation upon the Ruins of the other. The Walls, which are raised up some Toises, are magnificent Beginnings, which promise some time or other advantageously to recompence the Crown for the Loss of the other, if ever it's brought to Perfection. The other, which they call the *Old Castle*, is now only to be seen in Prints: It was stil'd before the Fire the *Royal Castle*, and was (as they say) but a confused Heap of Apartments after the *Gothick* Order; and the same Element that has now consum'd it almost entirely, began some time before to declare War against it, and exercis'd its destructive Power over several Parts of it. Here the forementioned Count had already signaliz'd his masterly Skill, in a handsome Chappel, and a fine Facade or Front after the *Italian* manner, as well as in the Royal Stables. The first of these was again consum'd, but the Facade and Stables were preserv'd, by having the Advantage of the Wind; the latter stand on a little Island, whereof I promised to speak more amply, separated from that of *Stockholm* by a small Branch of the *Mellern* running before the said Front. This Island is call'd *Hilge Andes Holmen*, or the Island of the Holy Ghost, is not above 400 Paces in Circumference, and is entirely cover'd by the Stables, a Palace roofed with

with Brass, some Houses and Shops, most of which are Brick or Free Stone. But the Royal Stables ought not to be pass'd over in Silence, being very well worth the viewing. 'Tis a Pile of Building in length on the Outside 144 Paces, and in breadth 20; in the Inside 140 Paces long, and between 17 and 18 broad, with two Wings no way inferior to it. The whole Edifice is entirely plated with Iron, and enlightened with 100 large Windows. The main Body is vaulted with a noble arch'd Roof, and contains two Floors 130 Paces long, capable of ranging in two Rows about 100 Horses, and divided by 48 beautiful Pillars after the *Tuscan* Order, which sustain the Roof; and are disposed at an equal Distance in such a manner, that each of them has a sort of wooden Pallisade cover'd with Plates of Iron, which reaches five Paces from the Pillar to which 'tis fasten'd to the Wall, against which are the Mangers and Racks.

Before I leave this little Island to re-enter the City, I'll take a slight View of a Palace with a Brazen Roof built at (D.) adjoining to the Stables. It formerly belonged to the Family of Count *Brahe*, and fell a sacrifice to the Crown by the Reduction of the Royal Grants, which has since bestow'd some of the Apartments on the College of Antiquities for a Repository of their Curiosities. These, with a little Library depending thereupon, for the Society to assemble in whenever there is Occasion, which very rarely happens at this Time, are all the most remarkable Things in this Palace; its Building is very indifferent, and after the *Gothick* Taste, and its greatest Magnificence consists in its Brazen Roof. The Antiquities therein preserved are several sorts of Arms belonging to the first Kings of this Country, which they superstitiously buried with them; making it, according to the Religion of those Times, which esteem'd it Sacrilege to touch them: But the late Mr. *Rudbeck*, and other Members of the College, have since made no scruple to violate the Pagan Customs, by digging, and taking them up again. There are likewise several Coins of the Eastern Empire since *Otho* the Great, and of the *English* Kings *Ethelred*, *Canutus* the Great, and *Harold*; with some *Arabian* Pieces, which are owing (as they say) to the Incursions and glorious Pyracies of the ancient *Goths*, and other Inhabitants of *Thule*, a Name which they here, especially Mr. *Rudbeck*, affirm, has always belong'd of right to *Scandinavia*, preferably to the North of *Great Britain* or *Ireland*; to both of which several *Latin* Authors, as *Claudian*, *Juvenal*, *Statius*, &c. have given that Title. They keep here besides a Hatchet and a Shoemaker's Chest, on which are the antient *Runick* Almanacks, which I shall hereafter speak of. The Library is indeed but small, but very valuable on account of the Treasure it contains, consisting principally in antient Chronological Manuscripts, Letters Patent, &c. which are the most proper to give a good Insight into the Beginning, Progress and Changes in the City of *Stockholm*; as well as other Affairs relating to *Sweden*, and the afore-mention'd Antiquities: But these are not rang'd into an Order to be view'd to that Advantage and Satisfaction that a curious Enquirer wou'd wish for. This College is annexed to that of the Chancery, and is under the same President; nor has it at present but two Assessors, one Secretary and one Interpreter of the *Gothick* Language. To do Justice to the Merit of Mr. *Nicholas Kedder*, the eldest of the Assessors, I must own, that besides his being Master of several Foreign Languages, he

has acquir'd a perfect Skill not only in the *Gothick*, *Anglo-Saxon*, and *Russian*, but also in the *Roman* Coins; which latter he has been oblig'd (for particular Reasons) to dispose of in Favour of Mr. *Christian Staude*, a great Admirer of those precious Relicks of Antiquity. Passing hence into the City, and crossing the Court of the Royal Palace, you will find at (2) in the same Plan, the Habitation of Count *Tessin*. This House is but little, but 'tis an inestimable Structure, and exquisitely design'd, and worth its Architect and Master's Ability. The Bank (4) (I mean that which they call the new one) is a sumptuous Edifice, and one of the principal Ornaments of the City, which is all that can at this Day be said to its Honour.

Though I did not propose to enter into any Particulars, or make any Description of a Number of other Buildings, which yet deserve very well the Attention of the curious Traveller, I shall nevertheless mention some more. The Palace (9) which they call in *Swedish*, *Redderhouse*, or the *House of the Nobles*, shall be the first. Its Neighbourhood to the Isle before spoken of, has made it change that Name to *Redder-Holmen*, or the *Island of the Nobility*. 'Tis a large and lofty Pile of Building, rais'd with Brick, and cover'd with Brass, but wants on the Outside two Wings worthy of it, to be compleatly finish'd. The Front, which is towards the City, is closed at the Top, exactly in the Middle, with a Triangle of Free-stone; two Angles of which are reclining upon the Top of the Wall, and the third is rais'd in Form of a Pyramid, and supports a Statue representing a *Palladium*, such as may be seen on some Medals, or rather a *Pantheon*, as it is figured upon the Coins of *Caracalla* and *Julia*. There are also two others at the end of the other Angles, one of which represents a *Young Woman* holding a *Book*, with a *Cock* lying at her Feet; the other a *Young Man*, with a drawn *Sword* in his right Hand, and a *Laurel Crown* in his left, and the Skin of a *Lion* gilded on his Arm. Directly in the midst of the Triangle, on a convex Plate of Brass black'd over, and surrounded with *Basso Relievos* in Stone, representing several sorts of Arms and Armour, such as Casques, Cuirasses, Pikes, Swords, and Cannon, are the following Words engraven in great Golden Characters:

PALATIUM EQUESTRIS ORDINIS.

Underneath, upon a Row of Free-stone, which seems to lean upon ten Chapiters, belonging to as many false Columns, likewise Free-stone, with which the whole Body of the Building (excepting those Places where the Wings were to be fixed) is lin'd and incrustated, there are the following Words in one single Line in black Characters:

CONSILIO ATQUE SAPIENTIA CLARIS MAJORUM EXEMPLIS ET FELICIBUS ARMIS.

The opposite Front which faces the *Mellern* has a Triangle of the same, and a Plate surrounded also with *Basso Relievos*, (of a different Kind as to the Arms, which are for the most part after the manner of the *Romans*, as Battle-Axes, *Fasces*, &c.) on which there is another Inscription like the first, and in the same Characters. There are also three Statues disposed like the others, but different with Respect to what they hold in their Hands. That which stands upon the raised Point
of

of the Triangle, is a *Bearded Man* crown'd with *Laurel*, and armed with a *Pike* and *Buckler*, with a *Gilt Chain* about his Neck, at the End of which hangs a sort of a *Medal*, or *Order*, as well as I could distinguish at that Distance. On the right Hand is another Statue of a *Woman*, holding in her right Hand an *Arrow*, the Shaft of which passes through the middle of a Head-Piece; and on the left Hand is the Figure of a *Hercules*, with his Club and Lion's Skin, which hangs down from the Crown of his Head to his Back, in the Form of a Hood. Upon a Row of Stone exactly like the other, only a little longer, as reaching from one end to the other of this Front, is in large and black Characters, as the former, and in one Line:

PRUDENTIA MURUS SACER NEC DECIDIT NEC PRODI-
TUR. PER LABORES ITUR AD HONORES. FORTITUDO
CIVIVM PRÆCIPUUM REGNI FIRMAMENTUM.

On the two Sides are two other Rows, which reach their whole Length; and on the first, which looks towards the *Ridderholm*, is engrav'd in the like manner:

DIVINO SINE NUMINE FAUSTUM EST NIHIL.

And on the other, over against another neighbouring Palace, of which I shall take Notice, is written,

DULCE ET DECORUM EST PRO PATRIA MORI.

The Roof of this Building is *à la Mansarde*; a Manner well enough known, and used in most part of modern Edifices of any Figure, both here and elsewhere. Over two Loop-holes, which are pierced directly through the Upper-side of the Roof above the two Triangles, are two *Lions couchant*, in Brass gilt, looking one of them towards the City, and the other towards the *Mellern*; and almost at the two Ends, on the Top of the Roof, are two Statues on two Brazen Pedestals, the first of which (to whom the last Inscription but one relates) is *Religion*, under the Figure of a *Woman* holding in her right Hand a *Crucifix*, and in the left a *Book*; she has her Face turn'd towards *Ridder-Holmen*. The second is a *Young Man*, having in one Hand a *Naked Sword*, and in the other a sort of an *Urn*, or *Box of Perfumes*, and seems to look towards the neighbouring Palace, which I before-mention'd, over against which is the last Inscription, which refers to him. These Statues seem at the Distance from the Ground not much larger than the Life; and Count *Dahlbergh*, in the Print of this Palace which he has publish'd, has represented it as finish'd, and has added some Statues a little different from what they are at this Time, besides others, (for the Ornament of the Places not yet finish'd,) the Originals of which are not ready. They are of a Grey Marble of *Gothland*, and done by an admirable Hand. Towards the four Corners of the Roof, upon four square Tunnels of Chimneys, plated with Brass, and adorned on their Sides with Branches of Palm, and Cross-work gilt, are four Obelisks, having each of them four gilt Apples between their Basis and the Chimney, and at the Top a shining Bomb, wherein are five Partitions, whence Golden Flames seem artificially to issue out, and through which,

which, when they make Fires in them, the Smoak usually passes. These Obelisks are of Brass, and enriched at the four Corners with *Basso Relievos* gilt, consisting in different sorts of Armour, Figures of Animals, &c. In the middle of the Roof is a larger Tunnel, square like the rest, but without any Obelisk; the four Sides whereof are adorn'd with Garlands gilt, and in *Basso Relievo*, which seem to vomit Flames, represented very naturally in Brass, either carv'd or cast, and well gilt. In the Inside of this Palace there is nothing finish'd but one Apartment below, and a great Hall on the First-Floor, remarkable only for its Cieling, beautified with an excellent Painting. It represents a sort of *Olympus*, or Heaven, from the Top of which is seen a *Woman coming out of the Clouds, and having in her Hand a Crown of Stars*, whose Brightness is imitated as much to the Life, as 'tis possible for Art to follow Nature, with some Groups of Children on the right and left. A little beneath the first Woman are *three others, sitting upon Clouds, and holding three Royal Crowns*, in such a manner, that two of them have both their Hands upon the three, whilst the other has only her left upon one of them, and a Palm Branch with Myrtle in her right. On the left is *Fame* with her Trumpet, and on the right some Figures of Children, &c. The *three Royal Crowns* placed in a Triangle, as they use to represent the Arms of *Sweden*, are apparently designed to describe the *Union* of the three Kingdoms of *Calmar*. About the middle of the Piece is a sort of *Throne*, on which a *Woman crowned* is seated, with a *Sceptre* in one Hand, and a *Globe* in the other; having on each Side of her, a little lower than her self, *seven other Women*, one of which with a *Crucifix* represents the *Christian Religion*, and the rest the *Cardinal Virtues*; the Figure that is crown'd seems to be design'd for *Sweden*. Beneath the Throne, or behind it, is a *Woman kneeling*, having on her right Side *Plenty*, with her *Cornu Copia* overflowing with all sorts of Fruits and Flowers; and on the left several other Figures of Men and Women. One of these last may be known to be *Prudence*, by a Looking-Glass in her Hand; another for *Honour* or *Glory*, by a *Crown* which she holds ready to put upon the Head of *Merit*, whom she seems to be drawing out of Obscurity. At the Bottom, under several other Figures of Women and Children, you may see the *Liberal Arts*, as *Painting*, *Musick*, and *Sculpture*, together with the *Seasons*. The Harmony of the Colours in this Piece, is no less charming than the Imagination of the Painter, whose Name, *Ehrenstrahl*, is in the right Corner with the Year 1675. They keep in this Palace the Matriculation, or Register of the Names and Titles of the Nobility, whose Arms are there emblazoned upon Plates of Brass, with which the Walls of the Great Hall before-mentioned are lined on the Inside. They reckon in *Sweden* some thousands of Families which have been ennobled since the Reign of Queen *Christina*; and indeed there are few Nations more generally ambitious of that Honour, or where the Sovereign is so prodigal of his Titles, and the Subject at less Expence for the Investiture; and not only Subjects, but even Strangers, for *Mademoiselle Durett* was lately made Countess of *Gyllenbourg*, at the bare Request of her Father-in-Law, the Count of that Name; not to mention several of my Acquaintance, who were ennobled before her, and with as little Difficulty or Charge. This Profusion of Titles has given Birth to this Saying, *That the Order of Nobility has been as venal in Sweden since the Reformation, as the Remission of Sins was there before.*

fore. The Number of the Nobles is not only increased by the King's Creation, but also by their Marriages, which multiplies them to an Infinity; every Descendant being equally intitled by Birth to the same Honours as his Ancestors, (as in *Poland*) and being often promoted yet higher by the Favour of his Sovereign. Never was such an Inundation of Honour as in the Reign of the aforementioned Queen, who never was more mortify'd than when she was oblig'd to deny any one; she ennobled even her very Taylor, and granted him for Arms those of the Crown. But having a mind, as a *French* Author says, who was Minister at that Court, to make the Great Chancellor *Oxenstierna*, and the Senator *Wachmester*, Dukes, in order to serve as a Precedent for granting the same Favour to Count *Tott*, the first of these thanked her for the Honour she intended both to himself and to the other, but excused himself from accepting it; and at the same time represented to her, that he thought himself indispensably obliged to advise her Majesty, rather to suppress and abolish the Titles of the Counts and Barons already created, (as being burthensome to the State) and re-establish the Order of Nobility upon the same Foot as before the Time of *Gustavus* the First, when the *Swedes* were distinguish'd by Virtue and Merit alone, and not Titles, of which they had no Notion, the most noble among them being then only simply Gentlemen. "As for my self, (said he) I am ready to render up to the Crown my Dignity of Count, and my Barony, as an Example to others; and shall think the Services which I shall endeavour to do my Country, a sufficient Honour; nor are my Children less inclinable of themselves to continue the same, without being prompted thereto by any other Recompence, than the Glory of having been useful to their Country." *Charles* the Tenth was something more cautious in bestowing his Titles; but *Charles* the Eleventh, tho' he took indeed from the Nobles, that were created in former Reigns, the Estates and Palaces which had been granted them by the Crown; yet he not only left them their Titles, but also honour'd with new ones a great many who had assisted him, as well in his Projects of calling in the Grants of the Crown, as making himself absolute. Both which Designs he very fortunately accomplish'd; and being willing to colour them over with the Shew of Justice, he divided the Estates and Palaces that accrued thence between the Crown, the Counsellors of the Tribunal of Reduction, and the Officers who had signalized themselves most to his Advantage, in their Zeal for his Service. *Charles* the Twelfth continued them to his Officers for their Lodging and Subsistence; and hardly ever was a Prince more prodigal of his Favours, for he consumed in a very short Space of Time among those Courtiers who were in his good Graces, what his Father had heap'd together in several Years, (as well Palaces and Land as ready Money) and yet I have been credibly assur'd, he found more in the Royal Treasury, than ever any Prince had done before him at their Accession to the Crown. And I the more easily believe it, because I have been an Eye-Witness that he wou'd give away even more than he was Master of, as I have demonstrated some where else.

Since *Sweden* has recover'd its Liberty, the States of the Kingdom have well determin'd to vest the Right of Property in the Subject; and they had begun, before my Departure from *Stockholm*, to erect a sort of an *Inquisition*, or Commission of the States, on the Ruins of the *Tribunal*

bunal of Reduction, to examine into the Estates that were call'd in, and do Justice to their ancient and lawful Proprietors, as well as the present Posture of Affairs wou'd permit; I don't know how far they will succeed in their Undertaking. Before a Despotick Government prevailed in *Sweden*, when there were General Diets of the States of the Kingdom, the Nobility kept their Meetings in the Hall before-mentioned, as they have begun to do again, since they have shaken off the said Yoke. These Estates discontinued their Assemblies as Estates of the Kingdom under *Charles XI.* who (as the Author of the *State of Sweden* has well observ'd) left them not so much as their Name; but after having strip'd them of their Authority, commanded they shou'd be call'd the Estates of the King, and that they shou'd assemble only at his pleasure. The *Secret Uscott*, which answers to what we call in *English* the Secret Committee, meet now in one of the Chambers below, whenever there are any particular Cases to discuss. The Members who compose this private Assembly, are about One Hundred in Number, chosen from among the *Nobles, Ecclesiasticks* and *Citizens*: The *Peasants* were formerly admitted; but at the first Meeting they were found, as 'tis said, so ignorant that they were excluded, as being incapable of being of any Assistance in Cases that were brought before them. The Commissioners are engaged by Oath not to reveal any thing which passes, not even to their dearest Friend.

The assembling of the States, by the Advice of the Senate, during the late King's Absence in 1713, had not the good Fortune to please that Monarch, who was still in *Turkey*; he thought the Senate, as well as they, had taken more Liberty than his Father *Charles XI.* had left them; and that they had forgot they were no more the free Senate and States of the Kingdom, but the King's only, without whose express Order they were not to assemble; and he gave them very sensible Marks of his Displeasure, in ordering Mr. *Mullern*, his Chancellor in *Turkey*, to write to them with Contempt, and signify, *That if they were not separated when that Letter shou'd come to their Hands, or at least did not immediately disperse after the Receipt of it, he wou'd send them one of his old Boots, with express Command to do nothing but what that should prescribe them.* His Majesty gave yet more manifest Proofs of his Anger after his return into his Dominions, not only to the Senate, but to the Chancery residing at *Stockholm*, the War-Office, Chamber of *Accompts*, &c. for he depriv'd them of the little Share which they had in the Management of State Affairs, gave the Administration in Chief to Baron *Goertz*, and the Travelling Chancery; and created five *Ombutzrods*, (a Name and Office, as I believe, unknown before either in *Sweden*, or elsewhere) who were Counsellors rather Passive than Active, or rather bare Executors of his Orders, dividing them into five Districts in the following manner.

The First, *Ombutzrod* was the Baron *Mullern*, who had under his Jurisdiction the Expedition of Foreign Affairs, viz. in *France, Great Britain, Holland*, and the *East*, &c. To him were join'd one Secretary of State, whose Name was Mr. *Barck*, one Secretary for the King call'd Mr. *Vankoken*, one Register, and two Clerks in Chancery, which were call'd Chancelists in Ordinary.

The Second, Baron *Lilienstadt*, to whom was allotted also the Dispatch of Foreign Affairs, viz. in the *German* Provinces belonging to *Sweden*, the Court of *Vienna*, and the Empire; and he has also the same

Number of Assistants with the same Characters, as have likewise the rest.

The Third, Baron *Falstrom*, under whose Jurisdiction was the Care of the *Finances*.

The Fourth Baron *Cronhielm*, who had the Management of Commerce, the Affairs of the Clergy, and the Citizens.

The Fifth, Baron *Fief*, who was Super-Intendant of whatever related to the War.

These five *Ombutzrodats* (if I may so call them) were a Body of Ministers, of which Baron *Goertz* was the Head, or rather Soul, who eclipsed in his single Person a Legion of Colleges, and left them very little either to do or to get, either by their Characters or Titles. One may observe here, that such a Number of Persons with Characters (where two might dispatch as much Business as ten) is very burthensome to the State; and Baron *Goertz* seem'd of the same Opinion on this Score, as the great Chancellor Count *Oxenstierna* on that of Ennobling. The Salaries of these Titular Ministers are but very indifferent, as may be seen by the Examples in the following List.

The Presidents of Colleges are generally Senators, nor have they any Salaries as Presidents, but only their 3000 * Rix Dollars as Senators; excepting those who belong to the Royal Court of *Justice* call'd *Hoffröten*, and to the Courts and Chancery, and the Commerce.

The first College has for its President one Senator, who has, besides his Allowance as Senator, 525 Dollars for this second Employment. One Vice-President, who is no Senator, and has 750. Seventeen Assistants, who have each 500. One Secretary 450. One Advocate *Fiscal* 375. Four Notaries, each 200. One *Vice Fiscal* 200. One † *Actuarius* 200. One Vice Notary 125. Five Clerks, 150 each. One ditto Subaltern for Criminal Affairs 150. One Doorkeeper 75. One Ditto for *Gothland* 250. Two *Herardholdings*, or Judges of the Territories, for the District of *Stockholm*, have each 175. Three Ditto for that of *Upsal*, have each as much. Two Ditto for *Sundermania*, the same Salary. Two Ditto for *Nericia* 162 $\frac{1}{2}$ each. Three Ditto for *Westermania* 168 $\frac{1}{3}$. Two Ditto for the District of *Falun*, having each of them 165. Five Ditto for *Noreland*, each of them 175. Two Ditto for *Western Bothnia*, each 165. Two Ditto for *Gothland* as much.

The *War Office* has one Senator for President, and another as Counsellor. One General of the Artillery, who has 1500 Rix Dollars. One Quarter-Master-General, who has the same Pay as a Major of the Fortifications, viz. 1000. Two Counsellors of War, who are not Senators, each of them 750.

The *Comptoir-General* of the same Office, call'd the *Comptoir of Justice*, is composed of one Auditor-General who has 360 Dollars, and of one Clerk who is call'd *Cancelista*, 150. Its Chancery consists of one Secretary at 450. One Register, 200. Two Clerks, or Chancelists, who have each 150. Two Transcribers, 100 each. In the *Comptoir* of the *Militia*, an Officer of the Chamber, whom they call in *Swedish Camerar*, which answers to a Receiver amongst us, has 300. One

* A Swedish Rix Dollar about four English Shillings, and is divided into six Copper Dollars.

† *Actuarius*, a peculiar Name and Character, whose Business is to keep the Registers and other Papers in good Order, and to wipe off the Dust; so was called the first Physician of the Court of Constantinople under the Greek Emperors; tho' some say, that it was only a Surname of one of the Physicians in that Court.

Cammar Sorwant, a Word which signifies a Deputy-Receiver, or Supervisor of the Accounts, 150. One Book-keeper, 150. One Clerk, 150. One Ditto, 125. Two Transcribers, 100 each.

In the *Comptoir* of the *Artillery*, one Chamber-keeper, 300. Two Clerks, 150 each. One Ditto, 125. One Fiscal of the War, 200. One Notary, 200. One Revisor (a singular Character, which answers to that of Comptroller) 225. One *Actuarius*, 150. One Cashier, 150. One Clerk or Transcriber, 100. One Door-keeper, 100. Three Servants each 70.

In the *Fortification Comptoir*, one Officer of the Chamber has 350. One Clerk, 100. One Copier, 75.

In the *Ammunition Comptoir*, one Captain Inspector has 250. One Under Inspector, 150. One Armourer, 200. One *Actuarius*, 150. All the Colleges have almost the same Members and Titles, and Salaries within a small matter as these afore-mentioned; excepting only, that the Number may be a little different in some of 'em, and the Military Titles, as General of the Artillery, Quarter-Master-General; and in the *War-College*, that of *Verdie* or Refiner, *Brobar*, Examiner or Judge of the Allay, &c. in that of the *Mines*, the *Lagmans*, Judges of Appeals, and *Herardholdings*. All the Clerks or Chancelists are call'd by the Title of Secretaries. There are, besides these already specified, Numbers more belonging to and depending upon the State, who have no fix'd Salaries, whose Incomes arise entirely from the casual Differences or Broils of the Publick, who employ them as Attornies, Advocates, Commissaries, &c. and 'tis remarkable, that the *Swedish* Education renders these Titles, however barren and unfruitful, preferable to the Employment of a Merchant; and that they are accompanied with an Honour, which they refuse to the latter, however profitable and beneficial to the Publick. For which Reason a young *Swede*, who does not follow the Army, (which is what suits most with the Inclination of that People,) wou'd rather chuse to be call'd Commissary, or Secretary, tho' with a Salary which (if he discharges his Trust with Integrity,) is hardly sufficient to cloath him decently, than to go into a Merchant's Compting-House, where he may live handsomely and at his Ease. In fine, there is no Nation where the Profession of a Merchant is more despised, or less in Fashion, tho' never so advantageous to its Master or the State; and some, after having been such several Years, and acquiring by that Business considerable Estates, have purchased a Title, to purify themselves (as it were) from that Blot in their Escutcheon. I must do Justice nevertheless to some *Swedes* of my Acquaintance, to own that their Education has not infected them on this Respect; but that they understand Commerce perfectly well; esteem it as it deserves, and exercise it both to their own Profit and the Benefit of their Country. These have often lamented, in my Company, that general Contempt it lies under, and that they were not able any way to remove it; and have named several Strangers, who have, thro' this Neglect, been brought into *Sweden*, to do what the Inhabitants were too proud to stoop to, both in respect to Trade, and the Improvement of the Mines. These Merchants and others said further, that they had met with less Encouragement since the late King returned into his Dominions. Some have acquainted me with their Grievances, and the Losses they had sustained; and cited the following Causes and Proofs, whereof I had

* * Judges of particular Territories dependent on the Royal Court of Justice.

been my self an Eye-Witness ; not to mention several others, which I shall pass over, as being all of them at this Time discontinued or redressed, as much as the present Condition of *Sweden* will allow.

The first Cause was, *The Regulation of the Privateers*, which (as they said) did more Damage to *Sweden* and its *Allies*, than to its Enemies ; and by which none gain'd, if we except the Privateers themselves, and their Protectors at Court, who were enriched by them.

The second was, *The Prohibition of exporting the Iron of the Kingdom*, (during the whole Summer 1716,) tho' at the same time their Magazines were overstock'd ; nor was the Prohibition taken off, till such time as the *Baltick* (a Sea, which by reason of its Tempests and the Rocks wherewith it abounds, may deservedly be call'd *Black* or *Inhospitable*, as well as the *Pontus Euxinus*) was become impassable by reason of the Ice, which blocks up its Ports for four Months.

I beg leave to make here a little Digression, on Account of these two Seas, by adding to the Comparison some farther Account of their Similitude and Resemblance with respect to their Waters, being both equally Brackish, or a little Salt ; the natural Reason whereof may be imputed to the Number of great Rivers which discharge themselves into each of them, and to their disemboguing their Waters into large Seas, without receiving any of theirs in Exchange, by the Reflux of the Tide.

The third Cause of the Decay of Trade was, *The vast additional Price laid upon Iron*, contrary to all manner of good Policy in Commerce, which requires the Merchant's being at liberty in the Disposal of his Goods ; and had it continued, might have compelled *Spain*, *Muscovy* and *Norway* to bring their Mines to Perfection ; and have induced *Great Britain* to cultivate those which Nature has bless'd her with, (as well as Wood and Water to work them) in some of her *American* Dominions, as she has already done in Tar and Pitch.

Lastly, the fourth Cause (not to tire the Reader with a long and melancholy Detail) was, *The imaginary Species of Brass and Paper*, which the Government made current at the Value of the good Sterling that generally circulates where-ever Trade flourishes.

I return to the *Riderhus*, or House of the Nobility ; it is directed in the Administration of its Affairs and Revenues by four Nobles, the Chief of whom is ordinarily a Senator. There is lodged in it one Secretary, an Officer known by the Name of *Camerar* ; a Word in *Swedish* which belongs to several Offices, and answers there to that of *Receiver*, with a *Fiscal* and a Door-keeper. The Arms or Great Seal of the Nobles are the *Effigies* of *Mars* and *Pallas* close by, and looking at, each other ; with this Inscription round about, *Sigillum Ordinis Equestris Regni Sueciae* ; and in the Exerg. *Arte & Marte*.

The Palace (which, as I said before, is over-against that side of this last, whereon is the *Latin* Inscription *Dulce & Decorum, &c.*) is another very magnificent Building of the same Nature, with an Iron Roof a little less *a la Mansard*, not so long, nor raised so high, but broader ; and it wants to render it compleat on the Outside, which faces the City, the same Things as the other, but then 'tis infinitely more noble within. In this Palace the Royal Court of Justice, call'd *Hoffröten*, already mention'd, have their Assemblies ; and hither all the Provinces or Cities in the Kingdom may appeal from any inferior Court or Tribunal, when they question the

the Equity of their Sentence. They keep here the Royal Library, formerly augmented by a Part of that of *Prague*, which was divided between this, that of *Upsal*, and that of the Cathedral of *Stockholm*. But before we proceed any farther, let us, if you please, take a little more Notice of *Ridder-Holmen*, (B) having as yet said but little of it; it was formerly called *Kedesker*, when *Scothonung* fortified himself therein, and *Gromunkar-Holmen*, when the Grey Monks had a Monastery there, as also the Church, of which I have already spoken. We shall find that besides this, it is advantageously beautified with many fine Houses and Palaces, the most considerable whereof belonged before the Reduction to the Family of Count *Michael Wrangel*, and was render'd up to the Crown by the Decision of that Tribunal. Its Outside is stately, tho' tis rather commodiously and agreeably situated, than regularly built, at least according to the present Taste: The Court resides therein since the Royal Palace was burnt. Behind this is a large Pile of Building, remarkable for nothing but its furnishing Apartments for the *Chancery*. The *College of War* has also followed the Court unto this Island; the others, as the Royal Court of Justice, those of Commerce, Execution, &c. (which assembled themselves in divers Parts of the Royal Palace, before its Conflagration) are all dispersed in different Houses in the City, excepting the College of the *Stadt Comptoir*, who continue their Meetings in one of the Apartments of the noble *Facade*, which the Fire has spared. But this College was in a manner wholly eclipsed, during the Ministry of Baron *Goertz*, by another which that Minister instituted under the Name of the *Uplandz Deputation*, that is to say, the Deputation of *Uplandia*, which was so called from their holding their Meetings in a magnificent House in the *Northern Suburb*, (which, as I've already shewn, is in that Province) where their Instructor, who was also their President, lodg'd when in Town: They had for Vice-President, Count *Vandernath*, (who had also the Management and Disposal of all the Revenues and Finances of the Kingdom,) with two Assistants, and for Secretary and Treasurer, Mr. *Eccleff*, &c.

Let us take hence a Turn out of the City, both for Change of Air, and Variety: There the first thing that occurs worthy Notice, is the Park call'd *Diurgorden*, or the Garden of Deer, from its Plenty of fallow Deer, who rove there up and down the Woods, and play upon the Grass, without being terrify'd at the Sight of Passengers. It both furnishes the Court with the Diversion of Hunting, and recreates the Publick by the Pleasure of its Walks, of which there are great Numbers of different sorts; as pleasant Meadows, natural Alleys, and shady Groves. These serve as a Refreshment and Retreat in the greatest Heat of Summer, which is sometimes excessive, whilst the Sun is present about nineteen Hours above their Horizon; and would be yet more insupportable here than in the most scorching Climates, were it to be as continual. From hence let us go to *Ulricksdall*, a handsome Pleasure-House about half a Mile distant, beautified with a charming Garden, and a noble Green-House, plentifully stored with Orange-Trees. This Seat was call'd before the Reduction of Grants, *Jacobdall*, from the Name of its first Master, Count *Jacob de la Gardie*, from whose Family it was resum'd by that Tribunal, and was presented by *Charles XI.* to the Queen his Mother, whose Name it bears to this Day. *Calberg*, a House also belonging to the same Family, and distant from it about a quarter of a League, had the same Fortune; and the *Swedish* Court pass there the greatest Part

Part of the Summer. 'Tis agreeably situated upon a Branch of the *Mellern*, North West of *Munklagret*: It makes a noble Appearance on the Outside, nor is its Inside unworthy of it, being adorned with good Paintings, Numbers of fine Busts and Statues. The Garden is well designed, and as well distributed or set in order.

About a Mile and a quarter from hence is another Palace, much more magnificent, situate upon an Island of the *Mellern*, call'd *Droningtholm*, or the *Queen's Island*; which Name it has taken from the abovemention'd Queen-Mother, who built it a little after the Decease of her Husband *Charles X.* It is as much esteemed for the fine Taste of its Architecture, (which discovers itself throughout the whole) as for its Paintings wherewith 'tis adorned: Amongst these the Figures of Animals are the most admired, as that of a *Bear* kill'd by *Charles XI.* which is a perfect Imitation of Nature. Nor is it less valued for its spacious and handsome Garden, enriched with several excellent Statues, the Spoils of the *German War*; of which the *Hercules*, taken at *Prague*, passes for the Workmanship of *Michael Angelo*, as also that of *Neptune*, and several others, all in Brass, are finish'd Pieces; and a *Magdalen* in Alabaster, which is at the End of the Garden, is extolled by some for one of the best modern Pieces of the Age.

Without a further Detail of several agreeable Palaces and Buildings adjacent to the City of *Stockholm*, 'tis worth Reflection, and hardly to be imagined, how *Sweden*, to whom Nature has been so sparing of a good Soil, and so liberal of Rocks and Woods, (the first whereof must be blown up by Powder, and the second consumed with Fire, before one can level the Ground, prepare a Bed for a Garden, or lay the Foundation of a Palace, or Country-Seat,) shou'd so plentifully abound with fine Edifices and Gardens, &c. where, spite of a severe Winter of almost five Months, the Orange, Fig, Myrtle, and other Trees, (with several other Plants and Flowers of the most tender Nature, wherewith their Green-Houses are stored,) thrive almost as well as in their natural Climate. Nor was I less surprized than when in *Circassia*, to find, in a Country full of Rocks and Woods, a handsome People, with Complexions even more fresh and ruddy than in most Climates that abound with all the Necessaries of Life, and Delicacies which can gratify the most luxurious Palate. Add to this, they are generally affable, civil, and hospitable beyond Imagination.

The Weather in *Scandinavia* is generally seasonable; the *Autumn* (by which I ought to have begun, as arriving there at that Time) is rainy; in the *Winter* (which is the longest Season) the Ground is cover'd with Snow, and harden'd with Frost; the *Spring* at the beginning is rainy; and the *Summer* dry, serene, and very hot, by reason of the Sun's long Continuance above the Horizon. But I assume here the Order I ought to take.

The Winter began sooner that Year than usual, for it froze so hard in the middle of *November*, that the Ice would bear before *December*. The Sledge, in my Mind, is one of their prettiest Recreations; nor can there be any way of Carriage more commodious, easy, or expeditious, or any Country more convenient for it, when the Highways are cover'd with Snow, the Mountains and Rocks levell'd, and the Lakes and Rivers metamorphos'd into Plains of Grass, as solid as uniform. It was a Diversion to me as charming as uncommon, to see the Inhabitants of *Stockholm* revive, in some measure, the Courses of the ancient

ent Turnaments, upon the adjacent Lakes; where, starting even from the Goal, they drive their Horses at full Speed, full of Emulation who shou'd gain the Prize; which is generally a certain Quantity of Corn for the Horse, and a handsome Collation for the Master. This Collation consists most commonly of some of the different sorts of Wild Fowl and Birds, which are found in this Country, as *Orars*, *Kedders*, *Terpers*, *Thrushes*, and *Blackbirds*, accompanied with burnt Wine. The three first sorts are singular in their Kinds, and what I have only met with in the *North*. The *Orars* are black, about the Bigness and Shape of a Turkey Hen; the *Kedders* are almost like Pheasants, tho' blacker and bigger, and taste like them; the *Terpers* have both the Taste, Head and Size of Partridges, and in Summer-time even their Colour; for in these *Northern* Countries, they whiten with the Cold, and don't even yield to the driven Snow in the Depth of Winter, which is the only Season these Birds are fat and eatable. Such Fare as this, and a good Fire, is seldom wanting up and down the City, in several Taverns, which formerly were Noblemen's Palaces, who being reduced by Poverty, and other Accidents, their Mansions have suffer'd this *Metamorphosis*.

Nor was it a less agreeable, less curious, or less singular Amusement, to slide in a Yacht at full sail, with a Swiftness equal to the Wind, over the Glassy Plains of *Stockholm*, and the Parts adjacent. This is done, by fastening cross-ways along the Yacht, from the beginning of the Cut-water, one or two Planks, which jut out about three Foot on the right and left, and are rais'd up by two Pieces of Wood fix'd under their two Ends; and by the Means of a Rudder-Frost nail'd at the Bottom, the Yacht will turn and change its Course with less Danger of oversetting, and as much Ease, as the swiftest Sailer on its proper Element.

CHAP. VIII.

A Journey to see the Iron-Works, and the Silver-Mine of Sahlsberg. With Cursory Remarks on Arboga, Orebro, and other Places by the Way. Another Journey to meet the King of Sweden in Norway. Remarks on Christiana, Carlsstadt, &c.

AFTER having for some Time tasted the Pleasure of Riding in the Sledges, and seen the most frequented Places about the City, I engaged my self to make one with Mr. Jackson, Son to the *British* Resident, and a *Swedish* and *English* Merchant, to visit the Forges and Mines in the Country, by the first Conveniency. In the mean while, the *Hero of the North* having, according to Custom, exposed himself at the Siege of *Stralsund*, and staid in the City till it was reduced to capitulate; left the Governor the Liberty of making the Ar-

ticles, and was obliged to wait several Hours for the breaking the Ice, that opposed the Passage of a little Vessel wherein he embarked. During this Interval, he was entirely exposed to the Enemy's Cannon, which kill'd some of the Men who were on board with him; in spite of all which Obstacles, he at last arrived happily at *Istadt*.

Our Resolution continuing, we left *Stockholm* on the 10th of Jan. 1715-16, at * Three in the Afternoon, as the Sun was setting; and being join'd by another *Swedish* Merchant, we enter'd our Sledges, and without straining our Horses, which we changed twice, took up our Lodging at the third Baiting-Place, about five Miles distant from the City, whither we arrived in less than six Hours. On the 11th we proceeded again in our Sledges about Seven in the Morning, and about Nine reach'd *Encoping*, which was two Miles farther.

Birca. If my Fellow-Travellers had been excited by the same Curiosity as my self, we had fetch'd a Compass of some Miles, to see the Remains of the ancient *Birca*, a City formerly famous for its Commerce and the Number of its Inhabitants, it being able (as the History of the Country informs us) to furnish in Time of War 14000 Soldiers; nor were they missed, so great was their Abundance. It was also thought worthy to supplant *Upsal*, and become the King's Seat and Capital of the Kingdom. But not having seen it my self in Person, I shall only speak by Proxy; and this is within a little the Substance of what I was informed by some credible Persons, who pretended to have observed its Ruins with particular Attention.

Encoping. There are yet some Fragments and Remains of the Walls visible towards the North of the Island; and even the Traces of two Gates are plain enough to be seen, whereof one is towards the South, and the other towards the North. Towards the last, on an Eminence of several little Hillocks, or Heaps of Stone, you may discover several Tombs of its former Inhabitants, consisting in two long Stones, one raised at the Feet, and the other at the Head of the Person therein interred. This Manner of Burial is generally in Fashion amongst the Eastern Nations, which perhaps they either taught, or learn'd of, the *Goths*. The Island whereon the City was founded, which is still call'd *Birco*, was joined by a Bridge (the Remains whereof are yet to be seen) to another neighbouring Island, call'd *Alfno*, on which stood the Castle Royal, the Foundation whereof they pretend to have discovered. But let us leave what was formerly for what is now in being, and speak of *Encoping*, whither we are now arrived. 'Tis a little Town, whose Name (as they say here) is derived from *En*, which in *Swedish* signifies a *Juniper-Tree*, wherewith the Neighbouring Country is almost overspread, and *Koping* Market. The first Syllable was added to distinguish this Place from others of the same Name, as *Koping*, *Nyco-ping*, *Norecoping*, *Lincoping*, &c. which had their Names from general Markets that were formerly held there at certain Times of the Year, which were Places of *Rendezvous* for the Provinces, to change by way of Truck their superfluous Commodities, for those which were more necessary for their Subsistence, before the Use of Gold, Silver or Brass was known among them; and there is yet a little Fair kept there every Year, which begins the 13th of *January*, and lasts eight or ten

* Tho' the Night may seem very improper for Travelling, it is not so; for the Whiteness of the Snow, the Serenity of the Sky, and the Brightness of the Stars, supply the want of Day; and 'tis usual to get upon the Sledge after Supper for a great Journey.

Days. The Houses are all built of Wood, even to that where a Consul with six of the principal Citizens meet, under the Title of Magistrates, and Counsellors for the Administration of Justice and other Publick Affairs. It has but one Church, of a very ordinary Structure, tho' large enough for the Number of its Inhabitants; one Hospital very ill maintained, and a little School but sordidly frequented. It is situated at the Extremity of a little Gulph of the *Mellern*, and is the Capital and only City of *Fierdunderlandia*. This Province is at present hardly known by its own Name, but comprehended under that of *Uplandia*, and is under the same Government; it is bounded towards the West by the River *Sugan*, which separates it from *Westmania*. From hence we pursued our Journey, after having rested our selves about two Hours in the City, and arrived about three in the Afternoon at *Westeras* (the Capital of *Westmania*;) whereof the Fire, which had almost wholly consumed it some Years before, had left me very little to see or make Remarks on; it has been since rebuilt. The Church, which had escaped its Rage, is a long and large Brick Building, cover'd with a Brazen Roof, which is its only Magnificence; the Steeple, which is closed at Top with a Golden Crown, is esteem'd the finest in all *Sweden*.

There are yet remaining some Altar-Tables and Images of He and She-Saints, in Wood gilt and tolerably preserv'd. There is also to be seen the Tomb of King *Eric*, who was imprisoned and poisoned by the Order of his own Brother *John III*. This Tomb is very ordinary, and stands in the midst of an antient Chappel belonging to this Church, whose Altar was taken away at the Reformation, as were many others. His Epitaph, which they say he made himself, and gave to the Person who brought him the Poison, is to this effect, *Translatum est Regnum meum & factum est Fratri mei a Domino constitutum est Ei Anno 1557*. This Inscription is to be seen painted under his Arms, and those of the Kingdom, upon a brazen Plate fasten'd to the Wall where the Altar formerly stood. They report of this *Eric*, that he came into the World with his Hands clenched extremely fast; and that when the Midwife had with much ado got them open, she found them full of Blood, which immediately trickled down with abundance of speed, and was interpreted as a Prognostick of his future Cruelty, which in the End cost him both his Crown and his Life. For (as History reports) when he came to the Throne he spilt much innocent Blood, not only by his Executioners, but also with his own Hands; and on groundless Suspicions cast his own Brother *John*, then Duke of *Finland*, into a close Prison; from whence he did not let him out but with the utmost Reluctance, and at the pressing Instances and Sollicitations of the most considerable Persons of the Kingdom: Hereby he became so odious to his Subjects, and even to his own Creatures, that they conspired together, and agreed by the Direction and Management of a *French* Gentleman call'd *Ponthus de la Gardie*, then in his Service, to depose him, and in his stead set his Brother on the Throne; which was brought about without any Tumult or Opposition. The same History tells us, in relation to his Imprisonment, that *John* being seated in his Throne, ordered him to be brought guarded into his Presence; and asked him what Reasons had induced him to commit so many and such enormous Cruelties? To which *Eric* having given but very insignificant Answers, he told him, *Thou art a Fool: Yes, answer'd Eric, I*

was so, to let you come out of a Prison, after I once held you fast; which Answer cost him dear, and was a Warning to John not to commit the same Oversight.

The same Element that spared the Church, with some few Houses, restrained also its Fury from an old Castle yet to be seen, with some of its Apartments, and a little Chappel falling into Ruins in the Inside. They shew'd me there a dark Chamber, where, as some say, *Eric* was confin'd; tho' others affirm 'twas at *Orbyholm*. It served then, with some others, for a Prison to some *Muscovite* Soldiers, who were there at that Time. *Westeras* is the ordinary Residence of the Governors of *Westermania*, who have a pretty tolerable House near the Castle, which was not burnt. 'Tis also an Episcopal Seat, and has a College, which they call in *Swedish* *Gymnasium*; and a publick School for the Instruction of Youth. It is celebrated in History for the two solemn Acts of the States General passed there in 1527 and 1544; the first whereof authoris'd the Temporal Power (which was then in Hands less scrupulous than in former Times) to re-unite to the Crown the most considerable Grants and Revenues that had been alienated from it by a religious Zeal and Bigottry in Favour of the Church; and took away from the Clergy the Share they had in the Management of Civil Affairs. The Number of these alienated Grants amounted (as they say) to 13000 Palaces, Castles and Farms; of which the King *Magnus Ladullaäs*, and Queen *Margaret*, Daughter to *Ingerus*, were reckon'd chiefly to have been the Donors and Benefactors, they having distinguish'd themselves, by enriching almost every Church and Monastery with the most valuable of their Treasures, besides their founding and endowing several new ones.

King *Gustavus*, and his Successors, distributed the greatest part of them among those Persons who had signaliz'd themselves most by their Services, both in the Army and Cabinet. But in the Reign of *Charles XI.* they were re-united to the Crown by the Calling in of the Grants, as I have before specified. The second Act made the Crown, which was before Elective, Hereditary in the Family of *Gustavus*.

Koping.

Having taken up our Lodging that Night at *Westeras*, we pursued our Journey on the 12th more to the Eastward than we had done before; and continuing our Course by easy Stages, (as not being in any Hurry, or if we were, being able by the Swiftneſs of our Carriage in little Time to recover our lost Ground) we were contented to rest that Night at *Arboga*, a City distant but five Miles from whence we departed. About a Mile and a Quarter before, we passed thro' a long narrow City call'd *Koping*, which is divided into two Parts by a little River that takes its Name from thence, and disembogues itself in the *Mellern*, into which it yearly brings from 18 to 20000 * *Shippunds* of Iron.

Arboga.

Arboga is a City of an indifferent Bigness, wherein are two Churches and a Town-House, and Magistrates or Burgomasters, as at *Encoping*, and almost all other Towns of any Note. It has also a publick School. Its Buildings are of Wood, as are other such like Cities; but it is advantageously situated within a quarter of a Mile of a Navigable River, which discharges itself into the *Mellern*, and is capable

* A Shippund is Three Hundred Pound English Weight.

of bearing Vessels of an indifferent Burthen. On the 14th we began to visit the Neighbouring Forges, which they call in *Swedish Iernbrucks*; as they do the Head-Blacksmiths, who are Owners of them, *Bruckpatrons*.

These, which are some Miles from *Arboga*, both to the South and West, are known by the Name of *Finaker* and *Obybrukes*, in the Parish of *Felsbro*. They belong to *Nills Larsson*, and have each of them five large Hammers, which, with their vast Bellows, are put in Motion by Wheels, such as they use in Water-Mills; and these two Forges annually work 4000 *Shippunds* of Iron, marked as (b) Print XXXV.

The *Bruckspatron*, who has a very pretty House at about the distance of a quarter of a Mile, or League, which is all one in this Country, received us with abundance of Civility, and entertain'd us after the *Swedish*, or indeed the *Hungarian* and *Greek* manner, *viz.* he crown'd his first Feast with a *Welcome*. This consists ordinarily in at least a full Quart of *Rhenish* Wine, (when the Master of the House has any, or else the best Liquor that he has) which is poured into a large Chrystal Glass, or Silver Cup, that holds rather more than less; and often as much as that of *Hercules*, wherewith, as the History of *Alexander* informs us, they used to crown their Festivals, by drinking it off every Man round. This Glass is presented to every Stranger for the first time that he is regaled at any *Swede's*; tho this is observed more in Country than in Town. We were all indispensably obliged to empty our Cup, as brimful as possible of *Rhenish* Wine, not to violate the antient Custom of the Country; nor was any one excused, except one of our Host's Acquaintance, who had before offered the same Sacrifice to *Bacchus*.

As we were in no Condition to travel, tho' we made a Motion as if we design'd it, after such a Libation, which was preceded by several other lesser Glasses, our Landlord had no great Trouble to keep us till next Morning; nor wou'd he then part with us before we were fortified with a good Breakfast.

On the next Day, we visited another Forge which belong'd to Madam *Lilliestrom*, and is call'd *Upboga-Bruck*; it has three Hammers, and delivers yearly 1800 *Shippunds* of a very good sort, and well wrought, mark'd N^o (46) in the same Print. This Forge is situate in the same Parish, about three quarters of a Mile distant from the foregoing. Its Mistress gave us a very handsome Reception; nor wou'd she suffer us to take our Leave, before we had likewise drank off the aforesaid *Welcome*. On the 16th, we made a Visit to another of those *Cyclops*, whose Name was *John Christianin*, who also treated us with the accustomed Ceremonies; his Forge, call'd *Siverskabruck*, has but one Hammer, and generally works 900 *Shippunds*, more esteem'd for its being well wrought, than for the Goodness of its Metal, mark'd as (c). There are also in the same Parish several others, of which I know nothing but by report, as *Ekeby Bruck* belonging to Mrs. *Mary Leylle*, which with one Hammer works 900 *Shippunds* of good Iron, mark'd as (k); those of *Benjamin Larsson* call'd *Soderby* and *Abby Brucks*, that have each but one Hammer, and work tolerably well 1000 *Shippunds*, mark'd as (o); *Storbro* and *Osterhamar Brucks*, of which *Adam Leylle* is Owner, the first whereof has three Hammers, and the second but one, deliver 3000 *Shippunds* of the same Metal, valuable both for its Goodness, and being

ing well wrought, mark'd as (p); *Gronbo* and *Swanbo Brucks*, belonging to Mr. *Albohom*, and have each of them one single Hammer that works about 900 *Shippunds*; more valuable for being well wrought, than for its Goodness, and mark'd as (x); *Norbyhamer*, *Adam Leyle's*, has but one Hammer, and sends yearly 900 *Shippunds* of good and well wrought Iron, mark'd as (r). To the North West of *Arboga*, and North of *Koping*, in the Parish of *Ramnes*, are *Wesbo*, *Ramnes*, *Fermanbo*, *Beckhammer* and *Surabrucks*: The first belongs to *Madam Boy*, and has two Hammers, which send from 1000 to 1200 *Shippunds* of Metal, neither reckon'd good nor well wrought, mark'd as (a); the second is *Joachim Christer's*, with three Hammers, sending 3000 *Shippunds* of the finest Iron and well wrought, mark'd as N^o 13. the third is *Madam Cronstrom's*, which with two Hammers sends 1500 of good Metal, but ill work'd, and mark'd as (t); the fourth has for Owner *Siven Kalsteen*, with one Hammer, that beats but 500 Ditto of ordinary Metal, mark'd (54); and the fifth is *Madam Cronstet's*, yielding as much, and as ill wrought, and mark'd as (b). Higher up, on the North of *Koping*, in the Parish of *Wola*, there is also among others *Enghaberbruck* belonging to Mr. *Gyllenhock*, with one single Hammer, that sends 900 *Shippunds* of very ordinary Iron, mark'd as N^o 11. In our Way back to *Arboga*, several other Forges are to be seen; of which I shall only mention one call'd *Garpshombruck*, belonging to Mr. *Oloft Unge*, with one Hammer, sending 1000 ditto of strong Iron, admirably wrought and mark'd as N. 24.

Leaving these artificial *Aetnas*, on the 19th we reached *Orebro*, the Capital of *Nericia*; which Province, as well as many others in this Kingdom, has several Parishes particularly bless'd by Nature with the Advantages of Wood for Firing, and rapid Torrents that fall with Violence upon the Wheels, which move and actuate the vast Bellows and Hammers of such large Forges, as *Axberg* and *Keille*. In the first of these is *Axberghammer*, having three Hammers, belonging to *Careson*, that work 2000 *Shippunds* of the best sort of Iron, mark'd as N. 48. in the second is *Frosnidahlbruk*, whose Master is Mr. *John Morin*; it has also three Hammers, and sends 1200 ditto of well tempered Iron, mark'd as N. 47. and *Blockas-hytta* belonging to Mr. *Holmberg*, which has three Hammers, that work the same Quantity, and as well tempered, mark'd as (55). The Iron of these two Forges is in great Bars, the most proper for the *English* Markets.

The Parish of *Boderna* has, among other Forges, *L'Assurebruks*, now enjoy'd by Capt. *Rosenholm*, who has also a handsome House built by the deceased Mr. *Boy*, its former Master, as was likewise the Forge: It has two Hammers, that afford 1500 *Shippunds* of tolerable good Metal, but ill wrought and mark'd as (u). It has also *Bratfors* and *Rosfors*, with three Foundries now in the Possession of Baron *Laghr Crona*, which also belong'd to the above-mention'd Mr. *Boy*, with two Hammers that work pretty well about 1200 *Shippunds* of Iron mark'd as (w).

Orebro.

On our Arrival at *Orebro* we found the Market-Place wholly covered with moveable Shops, furnished with different sorts of Merchandise, brought there from *Stockholm*, and other *Swedish* Cities or Provinces, on account of a Fair that is kept there every Year that Day. 'Tis an annual *Rendezvous* for several Merchants, especially the Citizens of *Stockholm* and *Gottensburg*, who have the Privilege to treat immediately with the

the *Bruckpatrons* of that Province, and the Places circumjacent, for whatever Iron they find most for their Use; which having bought, they sell directly to Strangers, who have not the same Liberty. This City is situated near the Lake *Hielmer*; which, since its Union with the *Mellern*, by a Canal about a Mile long cut by Art, furnishes Water Carriage, to convey the Iron and other Merchandize as far as *Stockholm*. It has a great Church of Brick and Free-stone, but ill built, and another less of Wood, adjoining to an Hospital of the same; as are also all the Houses, except an old Castle, built after the antique manner and inhabited. There was (as they say) formerly over the Gate of this old Castle an (O) made very Oval, which has either been effaced by Time, or some Hand designedly. It was intended (as some affirm) to represent a certain Part which Modesty forbids to name; and History informs us, was given for Arms to the City, and stamp'd on all the Coin of the Kingdom by Queen *Margaret*. But others assure me, that this (O) which has given Birth to such an obscene Fiction, was set there before the Reign of that Queen, as being the Initial Letter of the Name of the City, as (G) is at that of *Gesle*; and that it was ordinary in those Times to make it so Oval.

Orebro is the Place where the Governor resides; he has under his Jurisdiction (besides *Nericia*) great part of *Westmania* to the South West, and of *Vermelandia* to the North West. It is famous in History for a general Assembly of the Clergy held there in 1029, which extinguish'd the *Flames of Purgatory*, abolished the *Sacrifice of the Mass*, and confirm'd the Act of the Estates at *Westmania*, by reducing the exorbitant Revenues of the Clergy; who, besides their Spiritual Garisons in rich Monasteries, had also their Temporal Strong-holds in the best Castles: In a word, they put a final End to the *Roman* Catholick Religion, and broke all the Bands of the perpetual Celibacy of the Priests, Monks and Nuns.

After Mr. *Jackson* and I had for the Space of ten Days taken our Share of those Diversions of the Fair, which were most to our Taste; or, to speak more properly, after having rather fatigued than diverted our selves; our Fellow-Travellers having finish'd their mercantile Affairs, we went together to visit Mr. *John Erenpreus*, (the Director-General of the Customs) at a Forge of his call'd *Wedwobruck*, about three Miles to the North West of *Orebro*, whither he had invited us. He has there a very pretty Seat, together with a large Garden, and several Arable Fields and Meadows, which cou'd not be distinguish'd from each other, by reason of the Snow that then cover'd them. We were entertain'd, during three Days that we remain'd there, with good Cheer, good Beds, and good Humour; and you may be sure the *Welcome* was not forgotten. The Forge (which is just adjoining to the House) is situated, as that also is, in the Parish of *Linda*, or *Lindberg*, and has but one good Hammer, which yields ordinarily from 8 to 900 *Shippunds* of well-wrought Iron, mark'd as N. 43. There is, besides this Forge, to hammer and frame the Oar into Bars, another little sort of a Shop, with a lesser Hammer and Bellows, that are put in Motion by the same Water which actuates the others. It serves to form some Part of the wrought Iron into Bayonets, Hammers, and Hatchets, &c. nor are most Part of the other Forges destitute of the same Convenience. There are also up and down in the same Parish several other Forges, one whereof belongs to Mr. *Erenpreus's* Sister, and is called *Perta*.

Pertabruk, with two Hammers which beat but 800 *Shippunds* of Iron, but that is esteemed for the Goodness of its Metal, and being well wrought. It is mark'd as N. 29. *Bahrbruck* belonging to *Erick Philipson*, with one single Hammer, works from 800 to 900 *Shippunds* of Iron, in every Respect equal to the former, and mark'd as N. 21. *Dalskars Hyttabrucks* belonging to *Olof Ohman*, has but one Hammer, that works the same Quantity as the other, tho' inferior in Quality, and mark'd as N. 3. On the 2d of *February*, we proceeded from *Wedwo* to *Gamelbobruck*, whose *Bruck Patron* is call'd *John Malmyn* in the Parish of *Orsawore*; which Forge works about 3000 *Shippunds* of Iron, that has not the Reputation of being well temper'd, and is mark'd as (h). We were retain'd here till the 3d of *February*, and treated in the usual manner. There are also in the same Parish several other Forges, such as *Orsabruck*, which yields but between 3 and 400 *Shippunds* of Iron, but ill forged, tho' the Metal is good, and mark'd as (e); and *Helsforsbruck*, whose Metal is not so good, nor better wrought than the former, and mark'd as (f). *Funkhammer* yields from 8 to 900 *Shippunds* of a very good sort, and mark'd as (g). We visited its Master, who detain'd us to Supper, and forced us to lie there; and after having dined there on the 3d, and being regaled according to Custom, we proceeded on our way to *Sahlsberg*, and pass'd by the Southern Part of the Parish of *Skinkulleberg*, which reckons several good Forges within its Precincts. That of the Countess Dowager of *Gyllenbourg* yields 1000 *Shippunds*, not so good as well wrought, and mark'd as N. 18; that of *John Loke* yields but 500 *ditto*, not so good, and mark'd as N. 19; that of *Rudbeck* Forges from 8 to 900 *Shippunds*, as bad as the former, and mark'd as (z). *Skiltonbruck* belonging to *Shivedberg* beats with one single Hammer 1000 *Shippunds*, not so good as well wrought, mark'd N. 20. *Hedhammar*, with one single Hammer, beats almost as much, and of a very good sort, mark'd as (d). *Sherwuhbruck* beats but from 4 to 500 *Shippunds* of a worse sort, and mark'd as (&). *Uttersberg* forges about 1300 *ditto*, no ways better than the former, and belonging to Mr. *Utterclous*, and mark'd as (q). From hence we directed our Course to the North West of the Parish of *Fernbo*, which comprehends, amongst several other Forges, that called *Forsbruck*, yielding 600 *Shippunds* of ordinary Iron, mark'd

Sahlsberg. N. 12. And we arriv'd on the 4th at *Sahlsberg*, a little Town only remarkable for its Silver Mine, which was the Occasion of its being founded by *Gustavus Adolphus*, tho' a long Time after it was first discover'd and cultivated, and but a little before its falling to decay. It derives the first Syllable of its Name from the River *Sahla*, which runs to the Eastward of it; and the second from the Mountain, in the Heart whereof the aforesaid Mine is dug, *Berg* signifying in *Swedish* properly a *Mountain*. The Inhabitants of *Sahlsberg* are for the most part *Miners*, and concerned in the said Mine, they being at all the Charge of working it, and paying a quarter of their Profits to the Crown, which gives each of them a certain Measure of Arable Land, that they are neither permitted to alienate or sell. As to the beginning of this Mine, the Reports thereof are very uncertain; some saying that it was first found out by certain *Finlanders* above 500 Years since, whilst others, on the contrary, pretend that they can find no Traces of it beyond 200 Years, and affirm that it was discover'd under *Steno Sture*, who had it broken open upon the coming into *Sweden* of one *Gylbert*, the first Refiner

Refiner of Brasses, and Reducer of Iron into Bars. They likewise add, that the first opening at (I) of it in the Print XXXIII. N. 1. (which was by his Order, and took its Name from thence) and that which they call'd *Sundet* (II) the Mouths of which both are (1) (2) were very rich in the Goodness of their Ore, but nevertheless turn'd to the Disadvantage of the Parties therein concern'd, by the Negligence, or rather Ignorance, of the Miners and Labourers; who not having rais'd and dispos'd the Pillars necessary to support it, had occasioned such Confusion, and such dangerous Fallings in of the Earth and the Rocks, that they were forced utterly to abandon the Enterprize. They are now filled up with Rubbish, Stones, and Water, a Lot that has befallen many others yet more rich, which have nevertheless suffer'd the same Fate by a parallel Ignorance; such as (III) (C) *Sandgruwa*, (D) *Sandrymninghen*, &c. The Mines wherein they work at present, call'd *Nygrufwar*, (V) (V) or the New Mines, have produc'd (as they say) yearly for almost a Century (*viz.* from 1480 to 1560 and more) 20000 Marks of fine neat Silver, and every Mark containing 16 Ounces; but that for a long Time since they have only yielded about 2000 Marks, and at present not above 1000 or 1200 at the most. They say that these Mines are 145 Fathom deep, and as much in their Subterranean Extent from the South East to the North West. The Machines (IV) (IV) which serve to let down a sort of large Buckets, and other necessary Implements, into the hollowed Mine, (a) (b) (c) (d) to pump out the Water which is continually trickling therein, and draw up the Ore, (e) (f) (g) (h) (i) (k) (l) (m) (n) (o) (p) (q) (r) are the Tools of Workmen. Their Wheels are put in Motion, partly by Water from without, and partly by Horses fastned both without and within the Mine. That which is pumped out of the Mine, together with that which comes elsewhere, is convey'd, and falls again, by the Means of a sort of Aqueducts, or hanging Canals of Wood, at VII. Print XXXIII. N. 2. (6) (6) (6) (6) upon the Wheels of some Mills or Machines for breaking and pounding the Ore, and actuates the Bellows that burn and melt it.

Mr *Jackson* and my self had the Curiosity to descend into the afore-said Mine, in one of the above-mention'd Buckets, having one Leg within and the other without, and holding with both our Hands one of the three Chains which fasten it to a great Cable: Thus we came to the First-floor or Bottom, VIII. in the same Print, which is 90 Fathom deep; then into the second, IX. which is 20 more; and afterwards into the third, X. by Ladders, as (VI) (VI) (VI) Print XXXIII. N. 1. which is 35 Fathom more. Our Fellow-Travellers, who had either less Curiosity, or more Fear, were content to stay at the Mouth (V) to be Spectators of our Descent into this Part of *Pluto's* Dominions, accompanying us with their Eyes, as long as the Torches, which our Conductors who were perched upon the same Buckets carried, would permit them to see us. Being got down, we drank the Miners and our Guides Healths with a little Bottle of *Angelica* Brandy, which Mr. *Jackson* had the Precaution to carry with him; wherein, as they told us, we imitated the Example of *Charles XI*, who did the like when he went down into the same Mine. Having gone through, and view'd the different Places where they soften the Rock, that they may break it with the more Ease, with the manner of their working, and of the Horses drawing, (of which they had eight in Number, who are in a kind of Hell, from whence there is no Redemption, whilst they are capable of Labour,) we re-ascended each of us by another Bucket perched and guided as before. We

pass'd from hence to a little wooden House, where they keep the Office of the Master-Miners, who carry each of them a sort of little Hatchet fasten'd to a Cane. They shew'd us here a great Piece of Silver Ore, which (as they said) was the richest both for its Size and Weight, that was found in about 4000 Weight, that had been dug thence. There was also a large blew Bucket, encircled with Iron silver'd over, in which, as they say, *Charles XI.* and Count *Wrede* descended; and they made us take Notice of a Plate of Brass, whereon were some *Swedish* Verses, whereof this is the Interpretation: *Our Sovereign Lord Charles XI. the Life and Glory of Sweden, accompanied by the Senator Wrede, condescended to set himself upon this brittle Bucket, and depending on a Chain which he held in his Hand, descended into an Abyss of 145 Fathom deep, as is the Bottom of the Mine at Salhberg; where having returned Thanks to God, his Majesty drank the Master-Miner's and Workmen's Health; and ascending afterwards by the same dangerous Vehicle, escaped from the Jaws of this Abyss, which seem'd ready to devour him alive.* They shew'd us also, among several other Curiosities that have been found in this Mine in the Time of its greatest Prosperity, some Pieces of Maiden Silver, and a sort of Silk or Cotton finer than that, and as soft, which they pretend to be the *Asbestos*, or incombustible Matter that we read of in the Antients, wherewith they made Sheets, the principal Use whereof was to wrap round dead Carcasses, being sow'd with Thread of the same Nature, to burn, preserve, and separate their Ashes from those of the Funeral Pile. We went a small Distance hence to see the Places (7) (7) (7) (7) (7) where they burn, break, melt, and purify the Ore; after which we return'd into the City, where we staid three Days merely in Complaisance to our Fellow-Travellers, who had some Business at a little Fair that was then kept there.

Upsal.

On the 8th we took the Road to *Upsal*, where having been assur'd of the Departure of his Majesty from *Ystadt*, with design to go to *Stockholm*, as was suppos'd, I quitted it instantly, as I did also my Company, who were inclin'd to visit some Forges thereabouts; reserving till another Opportunity the seeing whatever was remarkable in those Places, which I have since done: And being spur'd on by my Desire, as well as Obligations, of joining his Majesty, on account of some particular Affairs, I reach'd *Stockholm* in less than six Hours, tho' seven Miles distant from *Upsal*.

Having on the 10th inform'd my self, as carefully as I cou'd, what Advices they had concerning the Rout the King had taken, I found them as uncertain as contradictory in their Opinions; some saying that he was still at *Ystadt*; others that he was gone from thence, in order to come directly to *Stockholm*; and others again, that he would go to *Gottenbourg*. Under this Incertitude I wrote to my Correspondents at *Ystadt*, not to know his Majesty's Designs, (which I was very well assured he never communicated to any one,) but to have their Advice what Measures they thought most proper for me to join his Majesty most expeditiously. Six Days after my Writing, his Departure was confirm'd to me by a Friend, who was come from thence, with these Circumstances: That he set out on Horseback, according to Custom, in Company with only a Couple of Officers, and two Servants, without either Cloaths or Linnen more than they had on their Backs; and that he afterwards took a Countryman's Sledge, as did his Attendants also, and 'twas thought was gone for *Norway*. Upon this I took the Road to *Orebro*, about 18 or 19 Leagues from *Stockholm*;

holm; and going upon the *Mellern*, which was then frozen over, I reach'd it in less than as many Hours the same Day as I left *Stockholm*, and heard there that his Majesty had been so expeditious, that in less than three Days he had travell'd above 50 Miles, and was already pass'd *Christineham*, a little Town to the North East of the Lake *Ven- Christineham.* *ner*; and that was all they knew, or at least wou'd tell me. I staid the 25th in this Town, which is all built of Wood, even to the Church, and not a quarter of a Mile from the aforefaid Lake. I lodged at the Post-House; where finding my Landlady, according to the Humour of her Sex, more talkative than her Husband, I asked her all the Questions I cou'd concerning the King's Journey. And she told me, that she very well knew he had pass'd that Way, tho' he would be *incognito*; and that she had ask'd one of the Servants, who was that bald Man, which her Mind gave her was the King? To which he answer'd, that it was Major *Carl*; and that she was confirm'd in her Opinion, since his Departure from *Carlstadt*, whither he went, by some Persons who knew him perfectly well. She added, that upon this Surmise she had her self put a Cushion upon the Sledge, that was designed for this Prince; but that upon his getting on, as soon as he perceiv'd it, he threw it away, and order'd them to put Straw in its Room. Tho' I was assured that he had quitted *Carlstadt* some Days, I was resolv'd *Carlstadt* to take the same Rout; and on the 26th early in the Morning reach'd this City, which is a little larger than the other, and three Miles more to the Northward of the *Venner*. Its agreeable Situation, at the Entrance of two large Rivers, which discharge themselves into that Lake, a publick Magazine of Iron which comes from the Forges in *Verme-landia*, and its being the Place of Residence of an Ecclesiastical * Superintendent, (who seems in my Opinion to want only the Name of Bishop,) is all that makes it remarkable. They told me here, amongst other Circumstances of the Royal Journey, that this Prince having taken up his Quarters at the Superintendent's, his Lady thinking his Majesty travell'd a little too Apostolically, especially with respect to Linnen, employ'd all the Hands she cou'd get to make him half a Dozen Shirts of the finest Cloth that cou'd be found in the City; and bundling them up in a Napkin, put them upon the Sledge that was prepared for him. But the King having observed the Bundle, serv'd it after the same manner as he had done the Cushion at the Post-House at *Christineham*, saying, *That he wou'd have no Baggage*. I heard also, that he was gone to join the Prince of *Hesse Cassel*; who, 'twas believ'd, had already penetrated with a Body of Troops into the *Danish Norway*, between a pitiful Village call'd *Westerva* and *Eda-skanz*, a *Eda-skanz*, a little *Swedish* Fort upon the Frontiers.

Having inform'd my self what Course his Majesty had taken, I rested 'till Noon at *Carlstadt*; after which I went in a Sledge to overtake him. I had already travell'd above six Miles, when about Seven in the Evening a thick Snow that had continued falling ever since Four, had so covered all the Tracks of the Highways, that it made us lose our Road; and as ill Fortune seldom comes single, it conducted us upon a running Water that was slightly frozen over, (except in those Places where the Current was too rapid) and the Ice giving way the Horse and Sledge fell in. But as good Fortune had not quite forsaken us, the Water not being very deep, I was excused for a Bathing, the

* A Superintendent is a Dignity peculiar to the Swedish Clergy, and is next in degree to a Bishop.

coldest that has perhaps ever been felt ; in which a poor *Finland* Scholar, who by the help of *Latin*, serv'd me as an Interpreter, had his Share, as well as a little Girl, who was our Guide and Postillion ; the *Swedes* being obliged to make use of that Sex, ever since the War has drain'd the Country of the other.

Having with some Trouble extricated our selves from this false Step, our Conductress desired us to stay for a Moment, till she cou'd try to recollect whereabouts we were, which was rendred more practicable by the clearing up of the Weather. She return'd in about 20 Minutes, and told us that she had found out a House pretty near, where we might dry our selves, and meet with Sledge Horses to continue our Journey. I went thither pursuant to her Advice ; but instead of finding any means to proceed farther, met with all the Obstacles imaginable to deter me from it ; for they told me plainly, that no body wou'd either let any Horses, or furnish me with a Sledge for *Norway*, on account of the great Danger of the Journey ; and that I shou'd find it very difficult to buy any, which was my last Refuge. To prove this, they quoted for Example, the Prince of *Hesse Cassel*, now King of *Sweden*, with a General whose Name they knew not, and several Officers, who had been dangerously wounded in the Attempt ; adding, that the Peasants of *Norway*, who are call'd *Snappanar*, lying in Ambush behind the Trees and Rocks, kept such a continual Fire, as was sure to bring down almost all those who were so Fool-hardy as to advance.

Tho' I believ'd that their Fear made the Hazard greater than it really was, yet I was not so entirely a Sceptic as to doubt it totally. And upon the whole, (on the Discouragement of such News, join'd with the Difficulty or Impossibility of either hiring or buying Horses, or finding Guides,) if I did not entirely change my Resolution, yet I determin'd to suspend the Execution of it till a better Opportunity, which I design'd to wait at *Ystad*, where the travelling Chancery had taken up their Residence. Having dry'd both my self and Things at a good Fire, which one may generally find in *Sweden*, I took the same Sledge ; and having reach'd the Stage from whence I hired it, and only staid the changing the Horse, I directed my Way towards the West with the same She-Postillion as far as *Ohmol*, a little Town near the *Venner*, about six Miles from *Carlstadt* towards the North West. I arrived there on the 27th, where the News of the wounding his Highness the Prince of *Hesse* was confirm'd to me, with these Circumstances, that a Ball from the Enemy had pierc'd his Right Thigh, and bruised the Bone ; and that the General, whose Name they cou'd not tell me at the House above-mention'd, was Mr. *Poniatowsky*, of whom I have before taken Notice, in my Relation of the Eastern Parts, who had also been obliged to quit the Enterprize upon *Norway*, by reason of a Wound he had received in the Left Cheek. Having rested my self there till the next Morning, I took a Turn in the City, which is all built of Wood, except the Church, which was formerly the same ; tho' at present it is partly Brick and partly Stone. It is one of the most famous Markets in *Sweden* for Planks, and especially for Masts, which are found in *Dahl*, a little Province wherein 'tis situated. It is separated from *Wermeland* by large Forests, the principal of which is call'd *Alvelseter* ; from *Westro Gothland* by the Lake *Venner* ; from *Norway* by the Mountains commonly call'd *Norskafjellen* ; and from the District of *Bakus* by a wooden Bridge call'd *Forsbron*, that is laid over the River *Forselfa*. This little Province, annex'd to

Ohmol.

to the Government of *Gottenbourg*, heretofore of *Elsborg*, extends itself for about nine Miles from the Forest above-mention'd along the *Venner*, and is broader in proportion. It is famous in the common Opinion of these People for the Abode of *Giants*, several of whose Tombs, monstrous for their Length and Breadth, they pretend have been found up and down the Province; and to see even at this Day frequent Apparitions of them in the Forrests, and principally that of *Edmon*. And when I have asked them, at what Time, and in what Shape they appear'd? They have answer'd, like Pigmies about a Cubit, and a half high, with short Hair that reaches only to their Ears, and black Robes hanging down to their Heels; and that it was in the Night, a Time very proper to render Objects of that Colour. If these pretended Apparitions were real, or any thing but the Product of Imagination, or the Remains of Superstition instill'd into them by the ancient Religion of the Country, a Compound of Fear and Ignorance, they wou'd verify these Words,

————— *Mors sola fatetur*

Quantula sint Hominum Corpuscula;

since they arise and appear like Pigmies, whereas they lived and were buried Giants.

I saw for the first time in a Village of this Province, where I lay for want of Horses being ready at hand, the *Runick* Calendars that are still in use among the Peasants; they call them *Runstackwar* or *Runick* Sticks, and they are generally Sticks or Pieces of flat Wood four Fingers in breadth, one in thickness, and about an Ell in length, more or less. There are divers Figures engraven on them, with Characters that were formerly call'd *Runick* or Mysteries, according to the *Gotho-Saxon* Etymology. These Characters point out the different sorts of Labour that are proper for every Season, the Golden Number, the Hollidays, with their Variations; and they distinguish, as they say, the Months, Weeks and Days, with the Times proper for their Spiritual and Temporal Affairs, and other Things necessary to be known throughout the Year to Perpetuity. I perswaded an old Peasant, my Landlord, who told me very seriously several of those Stories of Giants, to sell me one; the Handle, and a part of its Form, may be seen on the Frontispiece of *Lapland*, N. XXXVI.

They used (as I was inform'd) not only to engrave these *Gothick* Almanacks on Sticks, but also upon the Blades of Sabres, or upon their Scabbards. They embroidered them at the Bottom of the Gowns, both of Men and Women; and printed, painted or stamp'd them upon portable Scales, Cullenders, Reels, and other Family Utensils; which is confirm'd by those that are yet to be seen upon the Handle of the *Hatchet*, *Whip* and *Cobler's Chest* in the College of Antiquities before-mention'd. Since *Christianity* has been established among them, the Hieroglyphicks of the *Pagan* Fasts, which are still preserved on these Calendars, have been sanctify'd or interpreted as Marks of *Christian* Festivals. As for Example, the *Horns*, which among the Heathens signify'd the Times of Sacrifices, Games and Festivals in Honour of the *Sun* and *Ceres*, from the Winter Solstice to the Beginning of *February*, are employ'd by the *Christians* to mark out the Times of celebrating the *Birth*, *Circumcision* and *Epiphany* of Jesus Christ, and the *Purification* of the *Virgin Mary*; or else most of the Moderns have changed the *Horns* and other Heathen Hieroglyphicks into Baptismal Fonts, and other *Christian* Figures.

This

Marien-
stadt.
Lidkoping.
Scara.

Lidkoping.
Scara.

This Province has some Mines, and several good Forges of Iron. I comforted my self the best I could for my Disappointment in my intended Voyage to *Norway*, by satisfying my Curiosity, (which was prompted by the Conveniency of going in a Sledge upon the glassy Plains of the *Venner*;) in visiting to the South East of it the Cities of *Marienstadt*, *Lidkoping* and *Scara*; with some old Ruins of Monasteries, &c. in the Places thereabouts. I took a Sledge towards the Evening, and arrived at the first the next Morning early, and saw them all three the same Day. The first is the Seat of a Superintendent; and is, as well as the second, considerable for nothing more than its Situation. *Scara* is hardly a Mile distant from *Lidkoping*, and half a Mile from the *Venner*, with which it had formerly (as they say) Communication; which they pretend to prove, but very uncertainly, by the Remains of some Barks and Anchors that have been found just by it. I could not at that Time discover any other Traces of it, than a little Rivulet running on the North into another something larger, that does not deserve the Name of a River, and discharges itself into the *Lida*, which gives name to *Lidkoping*, and then runs with it into that Lake. *Scara* has principally the Preheminence over the others, by reason of its Antiquity, having been built (according to History) by King *Scarinus*, who reigned as some will have it the 1093d, or as others say the 1793d Year after the Creation. The same Authors pretend that it has been the Seat of several *Pagan* Princes, as well as of the first *Christian* Kings and Bishops, as it is of the latter to this Day. The combustible Matter whereof 'tis wholly built, if we except its Church and *Gymnasium*, which are of Brick and Free Stone, has contributed to make it suffer several Times great Devastation by Fire, as well as the Wars; nor is it at this Time near so large as some remarkable Ruins shew that it was formerly. It had (according to a Manuscript of *Omenius*) ten Churches and five Monasteries within its Circumference; whereas it has at present but the Cathedral, besides five Convents which were in its Neighbourhood. The same Manuscript reckons up to the Number of 1200 Churches that were built in *Sweden* in the single Reign of *Olaus Skottthoung*. The late Count *Dahlberg* has obliged the Publick with fine Prints of those that are yet remaining, either entire, or in their Ruins; and if any thing can be said against them, 'tis only that they are a little too flattering, as are also those of the Cities and Palaces in *Sweden* which he has also drawn. Being bound together, they make two Volumes in Folio three Fingers thick, which he had divided into three Parts; as he certainly intended to do the Ancient and Modern History of *Sweden*, that he had just begun, when Death put an End to the Undertaking. These were the Prints which the Crown used formerly to present to the Foreign Ministers. The Church that is remaining at *Scara* is large, very lofty, and more than sufficient for the present Number of its Inhabitants; its Building is *Gothick*, but it has all the Beauties of that Order of Architecture. There are to be seen within, several Pieces of fine Painting, and divers Tombs of Kings, Bishops, &c. and they shew in the Vestry (amongst other Sacred Utensils) a fine Golden Chalice enrich'd with Diamonds, and other precious Stones, to the Number of Sixty or more. There are also several Chasubles and fine Altar-Cloths. The *Gymnasium* is a large House with a Tower and Bell at the Top of it, which they ring to call the Scholars together: It is situated near the Cathedral; and a *Latin* Inscript-

Inscription, which is on the East Side of it, on the Southern Wall, informs you, that it was repair'd and enlarg'd in the Reign of Queen *Christina*, Anno 1642. It comprehends an ordinary common School, which is kept in the Apartments below, for the Education of Youth in Humanity, by a *Rector*, and as they call them here, *Conrector*, three *Colleagues*, and an *Arithmetician*. And above Stairs they are instructed in Philosophy and Divinity by seven Lecturers, who properly compose the *Gymnasium* in this Country, and distinguish it from a School. There might be in the one and the other to the Number of 500 Scholars; to wit, 300 in the first, and 200 in the latter. My *Finlander*, being a great Stranger in these Parts, I took one of them with me, having an Inclination to bear me Company in visiting the adjacent Places that were most worthy our Curiosity; and first the Remains of the ancient Palace Royal, near the City, which are yet very lofty Signs of their former Grandeur: Secondly, about a Mile from thence *Husaby*, *Husaby*, which (as some say) was the Episcopal Seat of *Westro Gothland*, before it was removed to *Scara*. At a little Distance from the Cathedral Church, (as some still call it) which is not worth the Regard of any Traveller, serving only for the Peasants to hear Divine Service in, are to be seen very considerable Ruins of a Castle, which formerly belong'd to the Bishops of this City; besides *Lecho*, that is yet standing upon an Island of the *Wenner*, and *Brinolpho*, and several other Places consecrated to the Use, Convenience and Pleasure of these Lords, who both here and in other Parts of *Sweden* rivall'd the Kings in those Times in Splendour and Magnificence; and uniting the temporal and spiritual Powers, proceeded so far as to keep secular Garrisons in their Castles, coin'd Money, nay, and sometimes levy'd War against their Sovereign; as did, amongst others, *Troll* the Archbishop of *Upsal*. They shew'd me here in the Church-yard, among several other Tombs, those of K. *Skothorning* and the Queen his Spouse, made of a hard Stone, call'd here the Marble of *Kinneckulla*, a great Mountain above 400 Fathom high, to the North East of *Lidkoping* upon the Borders of the *Venner*; 'tis a sort of Mixture of Porphyry, Jasper, and Granate, which abounds in the Heart of that Mountain, but has not quite their Lustre. These Tomb-Stones are adorned with some *Basso Relievos*, which have suffer'd mightily by being expos'd to the Injuries of the Weather. Near the Ruins of an ancient Monastery that is call'd to this Day *Husaby Cloyster*, (among which are to be seen several Window-Cases and other Ornaments of the same Marble,) is a Fountain call'd *Sigfridkella*, or the Fountain of St. *Sigfrid*, whose Waters are very good to drink; wherein they believe still that the King before-mention'd was baptiz'd, by the Saint whose Name it bears, after having by him been perswaded to abjure Paganism. The History of this Country informs us, in relation to this Saint, that he relinquish'd his Archbishoprick of *York* in *England*, out of a fervent Zeal for the Propagation of the Faith; and passing over into *Sweden*, he established Christianity, and made it triumphant over Paganism; a Work that had been before undertaken, tho' without Success, by two *Frenchmen*, whose Names were *Herbert* and *Ansgarius*. Some affirm that he was Bishop of *Scara* before he had the See of *Wexiô*, tho' others maintain that he was only Bishop of *Wexiô*, a City in *Smoland*.

There is a Tradition still in vogue among these People, that the aforesaid Spring was devoutly and religiously frequented by their Ancestors,

cestors, who were *Roman* Catholicks ; and that even Strangers used to flock to it, on Account of its Reputation for its miraculous Virtues, in curing several Distempers, and more especially such as were incurable by humane Means. Nor was this the only one ; those call'd *St. Thoaskella* and *Ingemokiella* having been likewise as much frequented, first by the Pagans, and afterwards by their Ancestors, who there made their respective Offerings, the first to their Gods, the second to the Saints who were believ'd to preside over them. But the *Reformation* has found in this Fountain, as well as many other such like wonderful Springs, no other Virtue than that of curing Thirst. Whilst we are upon extraordinary Subjects, we will, if you please, mention some steep and dreadful Rocks to the South West of the *Venner*, altogether as powerful, they being formerly sovereign Remedies for delivering from and curing all humane Diseases, and retaining still the same Faculty, did not the present Religion of the Country condemn the Use of them ; I mean the Precipices call'd *Ettestuppa* and *Ettestorta*, Rocks of a prodigious Height and uncommon Steepness, near the Cataracts of *Trollhettan*, (of which I shall hereafter take Notice) from the Top of which Precipice the ancient *Goths* (whenever they had a mind instantly to free themselves from all the Evils of Life, whereof they had a Satiety, either by Reason of Poverty, Sicknes, or old Age,) would throw themselves headlong, thinking, as their Religion then taught them, by that compendious Way to arrive in an Instant at the Celestial Court, or Blessed Seats of the Divinities they then adored, the chief of whom were *Thor*, *Otheim*, and *Frigga*, as I have before observed.

*Mirus amor Populo, cum pigra incanduit Aetas,
Imbelles jam dudum Annos praevertere Saxo. Sil. Ital.*

Besides an infinite Number of as expeditious Means, wherewith *Sweden* is liberally stored throughout the whole Extent of the Kingdom, we may reckon several others even hereabouts ; but the War, by dispatching them full as expeditiously, has made a Prohibition of using those Means entirely needless. Let us now return to the North East of this Lake, on whose Borders we stand towards Mount *Kinne-kulla*, and we shall there see the noble Ruins of the Monastery of *Warnheim*, whose Church, that has been burnt, destroy'd and rebuilt, is yet remaining in some Splendour, and contains the Tombs of four Kings, one whereof is that of its Founder *Ingo* ; not to mention those of several great Noblemen of that Country. A quarter of a Mile from these are the Ruins of the Royal Palace, known by the Name of *Axelwald*. If for Variety we leave these mutilated Objects, and pass to those that are entire, the Castles of *Mariendahl* and *Hellekis*, &c. more agreeably than regularly built, will entertain your Sight at a small Distance hence. All these afore-mention'd, as well as the Remains of *Gudhman*, &c. which I have not taken Notice of, are to be seen with more Pleasure in *M. Dahlberg's* Prints than upon the Spot. On the 3d I cross'd again to *Wenesborgh*, a little Town in *Dahlia*, to the S. W. of *Venner*. This, as well as the other Towns circumjacent, are not so considerable for any thing as their Situation upon its Borders ; for besides the Convenience of a reciprocal Commerce among themselves, which is render'd easy by Means of the Lake, they have likewise the Benefit of receiving for the most part the Iron, the Mafts, Planks, and

and Tar, &c. by the Rivers which empty themselves here and there into it, and the Convenience of conveying these Merchandizes by another, which runs to *Gottshembrough* out of it, (which is at this Time the publick and general Magazine) to the S. W. of *Sweden*, as *Stockholm* is to the N. E.

Tho' I mention this as a Convenience, yet I must advertise, that the River which runs out of the *Venner* half a Mile below *Wenesborgh*, not being navigable, but at a pretty Distance from its first Rise, they are obliged to transport by other Methods the Iron and other Merchandize that is designed for that Magazine, to the Place where 'tis capable of bearing the Vessels that are laden with it. The *Venner* is reckon'd 26 Miles in Compass, and they count to the Number of 23 Rivers that discharge their Waters into it; among which, the Lovers of the *marvellous* or extraordinary Accidents, affirm, that the River call'd *Giotelfa* in *Swedish*, or in *Latin*, *Albis Gothicus*, crosses the Lake, and goes out pure; that is to say, without mixing its Waters with the other; after which it precipitates itself with an uncommon Impetuosity, and a vast Discharge of Water, which runs out under its *Swedish* Name, or that of *Throlletta*, into another Receptacle about 10 or 12 Fathom lower among some Rocks, and this with such a Violence, that some will pretend in a calm Day to have heard at the Distance of above two Miles; and I my self have heard it from one and more, when the Wind has not been contrary. I will not fatigue my Reader with the Description of this Cataract, which is ordinarily call'd *Throlletta-*
strom, or the Torrent of *Throlletta*, but will give him its Historical Etymology, as they have given me the Account of it; wherein you will find, as well as in many others, a Pattern of the Remains of the Superstition and Ignorance of former Times, which are but too well preserv'd here, especially among the common People.

Throlletta.

About two Centuries before the Christian *Era*, *Apagan*, as they say, was steering some Mafts thro' the Opening that this Water makes for the Water to pass from the Lake to the other Receptacle. This Man, whom we may call the Director of Mafts, happening to approach too near the impetuous Torrent with his Boat wherewith he steer'd, was forc'd away with it, and his Cap, which was red (the favourite Colour of the Country at that Time, as blew is at present) falling into the Water, he cry'd out loud enough, since they cou'd hear him, spight of the horrible Noise occasioned by the Cataract, *Ny Teg ballet hellan*, which is as much as to say, "See how the evil *Genius* has taken away my Cap;" and they shew a Rock call'd by Mr. *Dahlberg*, *Spelunca Latronum*, or the Den of Thieves, near which they say that Cap fell; and from these four Words fore-mention'd (as they believe) the Word *Throlletta* was derived. Some of these People will not be cured of this Superstition, tho' the bare Relation is sufficient to refute it. Amongst other Wonders which they tell of this Lake, they aver, that in 1648, on the 7th of *October*, there happen'd an Earthquake that had an Influence both upon Land and Water, which was preceded by a Pillar of Fire, or rather (not to change the Terms of History) a burning Mast, which was seen to fall into its Waters, and that on that Instant the Floods were rais'd to such a Degree, that they overflowed their Banks with a horrible Noise, overturning whatever they met in their Way, whether Houses or Trees, &c. and that above 200 Persons were drowned and buried under the Ruins. It has long been endeavour'd to make *Throlletta* and

Carlsgrast navigable, to carry and transport whatever is necessary from *Gottsburgh* to *Stockholm* by Water. *Gustavus Adolphus* was inclinable to encourage the Design, but 'tis said that no Body in *Sweden* durst undertake the Enterprize; and *Charles XI.* sent over for some *Hollanders*, a Nation very conversant with Waters, who examined and measured the Fall of the Waters, the Lakes and Rivers, between the *Wenner* and *Hielmer*; but after having well considered the Affair, and the Difficulty of compassing it, renounc'd the Undertaking for fear it should neither redound to their Honour or Profit.

On the 4th I quitted *Wenesborgh*, and about half a Mile lower I pass'd a wooden Bridge sustain'd by great Rocks, which being rais'd above the Waters of *Throlletta*, that precipitate themselves beneath, serve as natural Arches to it; and these Arches confining its Waters to a narrower Compass than they were before, restrain'd so considerably, increase both its Noise and Impetuosity. *Ghiotelfa*, or *Throlletta*, growing more tractable at a quarter of a Mile below, receives the Merchandize aforementioned, and carries them pretty safely to the Sea; but before it reaches thither, it divides its Waters in two Branches near

Konungselfa. *Konungselfa*, a little inconsiderable Town, at the end whereof it washes
Bahuus. a Rock, whereon there is built a Castle called *Bahuus*, which promises to make but little Defence against any one that should attack it regularly in form, it being overlook'd by the high Mountains call'd *Fon-talbergh*, which command the Town from whence the Enemy may plant their Batteries, and cannonade it to Advantage; after which its Waters, so divided, run each in their different Channels, under two distinct Names, the one to *Gottenbourg* under that of *Ghiotelfa*, the other towards *Maestrand*, a Castle incomparably stronger than *Bahuus*, under that of *Norelfa*, or the Northern River, encompassing a pretty spacious Island call'd *Hesinghen*.

Gothemburg. I arrived the same Day at *Gothemburg*, at this Time the Capital of *Westro-Gothland*, situate to the South East of *Ghiotelfa*, about 500 Paces above its Entrance into a Plain call'd *Gullberg*, that gives Name to a little Fort and River that are mark'd, as well as the City, in the Plan on my Map (D). This River, after passing thro' the middle of this Plain, throws its Waters into a deep Ditch, by the Means whereof the City is cut into two Parts almost equal; then mixing them with those of *Ghiotelfa*, which runs to the North West of the City, discharges her united Waters into the Northern Ocean. Departing hence on the 6th, having lain but one Night at *Gothemburg*, I took my way by

Consbacca. *Consbacca*, a little Town about two Miles distant from *Gothemburg*, in the Province of *Halland*, situated on a little River, which taking its Name from thence, is call'd *Consbacca-elfa*, which empties itself into the Sea, at about half a Mile Distance; 'tis reckon'd very ancient, and that is all that deserves to be said of it. Secondly, From hence

Warberg. I proceeded to *Warberg*, another little Town something handsomer, commanded by a Castle that is washed by the Sea four or five Miles below *Consbacca*. This Castle, which is pretty strong, was built (as they say) by the *Danes*, during the Time they were Masters of this Country, upon the Ruins of a Monastery, which has given ground to the calling its Bastions by the Names of the *White*, the *Grey*, and the *Red Monks*, &c. Those who search farther into History say, that it was a Har-

Falkenberg. bour for Pyrates in the Time of *Paganism*. Thirdly, I pass'd thro' *Falkenberg*, two Miles farther, which deserves no farther Notice to be taken of

of it. Fourthly, I crossed *d'Halmstadt*, about four Miles farther. This *Halmstadt*. City is the Capital of *Halland*, and was formerly fortified, tho' very slightly, by the *Danes*: It lies on the Northern Side of the River *Nisse*, which runs into the Sea at about three quarters of a Mile distance from the City, where there is a very incommodious Harbour for the Vessels that are generally laden there with Soap-Ashes, Tar, Pitch, and other such like Commodities of this Province.

From hence I entred on the 6th into *Scania*, where I found the Country both evener, richer, and less incumbered with Woods and Rocks. Having advanced about two Miles, I arriv'd at a little Town called *Lagholm*, very antient; and, as they say, formerly very *Lagholm*. pretty, tho' at this Time 'tis little better than a Village, its Buildings being for the most part cover'd with Stubble and Turf; and three Miles from hence is another yet less, call'd *Engelholm*, as inconsidera- *Engelholm*. ble as the former. These two little Towns are situated upon two Rivers pretty abundant in Fish, which make two Islands of the Ground whereon they stand, which is very sandy and barren; and to which they give their Names, the one being call'd *Lagholm Sluss*, and the other *Engelholm-homelse*. I lay at the latter of these, and the next Day I dined at *Helsingburgh*, another little Town three Miles farther on the Borders *Helsingburgh*. of the *Sund*, with a Bay that can neither receive or bear any but small Vessels, whose Lading consists chiefly in Soap Ashes and Coals. It makes at present but an indifferent Figure, tho' it was formerly fortified, till its Works were demolish'd by a Treaty with *Denmark*. There is an old Tower yet remaining upon an Eminence with some Cannon, where was formerly a Cittadel of which it made the Center. They set up upon that Tower a Flag, to salute the Vessels that are in Friendship with them. There is a pretty handsome Church; it faces *Elfenore*, a little *Danish* Town on the other side of the *Sund*, the Passage over which is but about three quarters of a Mile in Breadth: That Town is accompanied with a Castle call'd *Cronburgh*, which is pretty plainly discover'd from *Elfenburgh*, and commands that Passage with its Artillery. Coasting along the *Sund* to the South East, I lay at *Landscrona*, a Mile and half from *Helsingburgh*. Between these Cities I had a View of a small Island call'd *Ween*, famous for the Castle of *Uraniengburgh*, where the learned *Tycho Brahe* made his Astronomical Observations. *Landscrona* is pretty spacious, and defended by a strong *Landscrona*. Castle, surrounded by double Ditches to the North West and West near the Sea: It has a good and large Port, and its greatest Commerce at present consists in Ashes, Pitch and Planks; but before the War, they as well as the rest of *Scania*, dealt in transporting Corn and Cattle; but since *Sweden* has lost *Livonia*, it has no greater Quantity of Provisions than what suffices for its own Inhabitants.

From that Place I came to *Malmoe*, a handsome Town and pretty re- *Malmoe*. gularly fortified on the Sea Coast, but has only an open and shallow Road, wherein the Ships are expos'd to the Wind; one may from hence distinctly see the Towers of *Copenhagen*, but I did not stay there long enough to make any farther Remarks: It is about three Miles and a half below *Landscroon*. I reach'd *Ystad* that Night about four Miles and *Ystad*. half farther upon the Sea Coast; it has also a Road no ways better than that at *Malmoe*, by reason of its being fill'd up in several Places with Sand and Stones, and very much neglected. This Town, at present, is hardly to be compared with a good *English* Village; the King had lodged at his Landing in one of its Houses, and according to the

Choice that Monarch used to make of the most incommodious and most disagreeable Places to live in, ever since his Departure from *Stockholm*.

C H A P. IX.

Of Smolandia ; its Antiquities. Of Ostro-Gothland; Of Gottemburg. A Journey to meet the King in Norway, &c.

Andrarum.

Christian-
stadt.

HEaring at *Ystadt** no other News than of the infinite Hardships and Miseries they underwent in *Norway*, for want of Ammunition, and by the Severity of the Winter ; and my Friends in general dissuading me from going thither, before I were assured that his Majesty was advantageously fix'd in some Place in that Country ; I hearken'd to my Curiosity, that prompted me in the mean while to visit some other Parts of *Scania*, and as much as I cou'd of *Smoland* and *Ostro-Gothland*, which are esteem'd the principal Magazines of the *Gothick* Antiquities ; and from whence I might as easily pass into *Norway* as from *Ystadt*, in case I shou'd hear any News to invite me thither. Wherefore I quitted it on the 8th, and the same Day went to view an Allom Mine about three Miles and a quarter from thence, belonging to the Countess of *Piper*, and some others whose Names I have forgotten. It is near a little Village call'd *Andrarum*. and there were then about Two Hundred Persons employ'd in digging up, burning and separating the Matter whereof the Allom is made, in order to bring it to Perfection. This Mine has several very rich Veins, extending a great Way under Ground, and might (as they say) employ twice as many Hands, and make by its Goodness one of the principal Branches of the Traffick in *Scania*, were it but situated near enough to a Quantity of Fuel proportionable to its Extent and Richness. They transport by Land Carriage the Allom that is sent Abroad to a Sea Port call'd *Abus*, two Miles from thence. I lay that Night at *Andrarum* ; from whence I went next Morning, being the 9th, to *Christianstadt*, a little Town which is about a Mile and a quarter distant. It is pretty ancient, as may be seen by some of its Buildings, and was formerly fortified by the *Danes*, but the Fortifications were demolished in the last Reign ; and the *Swedes* were beginning then to repair them again. It has no Port nearer to it than that abovementioned, whither to convey its Merchandize, which is transported thence to the opposite Coasts. This Merchandise consists chiefly in Soap-Ashes, Tar and Planks ; and they are obliged to send them either by Land or on the Ice to this Port, (which is as far from hence as from *Andrarum*,) at least for the greatest part of the Year ; when a little River that neither runs constantly, nor in sufficient Quantity into its Ditches, and discharges it self into the Sea at that Place, is frozen over. It has but

* They communicated to me here Baron Goertz's Discourse in the Appendix, upon the State of the Finances in Sweden, and the imaginary Species of Money call'd in their Language *Mun-tetekens*, the Size, Figure and Inscriptions whereof may be seen in the Print XXXIII. N. 2. The first Plan and Council of this Regulation was given to the King at *Stralsund* ; and they had already struck a great Number of the first sort (a) by his Order, whose intrinsic Value and Weight was but a Farthing ; but by his Majesty's Command they pass'd for 32 Swedish Pence.

one Church built in 1618, and has nothing more to recommend it, but its being large and well lighted.

Leaving the Frontiers of *Blecking*, whereon this City is situated, I entered in the Night-time, (which was then very light, by reason of the Snow and the Ice which had abounded that Winter) into *Smoland*. It had been, as they said, one of the most lasting, constant and hard Frosts that had been known in those Southern Parts of *Sweden* for a long time, and rendered the Use of a Sledge very commodious; nor was it then broken, except in some Places near the Sea, where its Force was pretty much abated. I was now in the Territories call'd *Warenslund*, where the People of this Nation place the Country of the *Smolandish Amazons*; who, with other Heroines of this Kingdom, signaliz'd themselves (as the History of *Sweden* relates) by their Bravery in the last Battle fought 395 Years after the Birth of Jesus Christ at *Brawalstreed*, or the *Bravalline* Plains; where, in fighting against the *Danes*, they kill'd with their own Hands the King and his three Sons, with an infinite Number of Soldiers. This Country of the *Amazons*, (at least what I saw of it) is an unequal Soil, full of Rocks, Mountains and Woods; and in one word, much less agreeable than that which is assigned to the Eastern *Amazons* near the *Caspian Sea* by Greek and Roman Authors. Spite of whose Opinion and Authority the late Mr. *Ol. Rudbeck*, and some more of his Countrymen, affirm that the Oriental *Amazons* were only these Northern Heroins, who leaving *Scandinavia*, extended their warlike Enterprize thither, and even farther Eastward. Had I thought fit to trouble my self with searching into the Genealogy of Kingdoms, I shou'd also have mention'd the first Origin of the *English*, which the same Author deduces from another part of *Smoland* call'd *Sunerbo*, to the N.E. of *Halland*, where he finds *Anghelstadt*, which yet retains, as he observes, their Name; and is, as he will have it, a Proof of their Origin. But to pass over these Remarks, I'll content my self in pursuing my Journey over the Lakes of *Anse*, *Safen* and *Dansio*, that seem as it were link'd together by a sort of Canals and Rivers, so as to render their Waters common, and to make but one Lake under different Denominations.

On the 10th and 11th I view'd the Borders of these Lakes, which, as they pretend, make a part of the said *Bravalline* Plains, which were sprinkled and dy'd by the *Goths* for the first time (that is 70 Years after Jesus Christ) with the Blood of the *Huns* who were kill'd there, with the King and all their Chieftains; and, in fine, the whole numberless Army defeated. The Inequality of the Ground, that is almost every where thick set with Rocks and Mountains, as also in some Places incumber'd with Woods, makes it seem a very improper Field of Battle, especially for such vast Armies as those, which they say were composed of several Nations join'd in a Confederacy against the *Goths*, who were no ways inferior in Number; except they will pretend, that they made War upon an Enemy then, as they hunt wild Beasts, by lying in ambush behind Rocks and Trees to surprise and kill them without being seen, as the *Snappanars* do in *Norway*. There are nevertheless some Spots of Champian Ground, but much too close for a Field of Battle. If all the Eminencies, and all the Stones that they shew there scattered up and down, are the real Tombs of Kings, Commanders and Champions, who fell as Sacrifices to the God of War, one may aver that 'tis one of the most famous and vastest Burying-Places in the Universe. I wou'd not have the Reader imagine, when

Danfiö.

Niffelhiern.

when I say Tombs of Kings, &c. (however advantageously they may be represented in Count *Dahlberg's* Prints) that they are magnificent *Mausoleums*, or Structures of Marble or Porphyry; but, on the contrary, Eminences, partly Earth and partly Stone, raised either by Nature or Art; or else unhew'd long Stones at most, but broken and made flat by the Strokes of the Hammer; great part of which are set upright in the Ground. There are nevertheless some Characters which they call *Runick* very rudely engraven, which have suffered much by being exposed to the Injuries of Time and the Weather. I shall take Notice with the People of this Country, of some of the most considerable of these Monuments, and will begin with that of the King of *Denmark*, with those of his Sons, tho' they are not the most antient. The *Swedes* call them *Konungsbackarne*, or the Royal Hillocks. This is a pretty large Eminence, encompassed about the middle or thereabouts with a Row of Stones set up as I have before described to the Number of above Fifty; and on the Top of this Eminence are some Thickets, between which is another great flat Stone but very thick, and more oval than round; and this Tomb is to the North East of the Lake *Danfiö*, on the Border of which they say he was defeated; and that from thence it took the Name *Danfiö* or the *Danish* Lake, which it bears to this Day. I shall next mention that of *Ubbo*, the most valiant Commander of King *Hyldeltan*, which is call'd *Ubbi Backen*, or *Ubbo's Hill*, to the North East of *Asen*; 'tis another rising Ground set round with a greater Number of Stones fixed and disposed in the same Order; but at the Bottom of the Hill, and among these Stones are two, which surpass the others vastly in Height, and even the Hill itself, which is something lower than the former. These Stones are fixed over-against each other to the East and West of this Monument. In the third place is that of *Laudur*, Brother to King *Arguntyr*, which is also to the North of the same Lake, but more to the East than the former; it is call'd *Konungshoy*, or the King's Height; 'tis surrounded at the Bottom, with at least as many Stones as the former, excepting the two before-mention'd. This Hill is more raised than any of the others, and has some little Trees and Thickets on its Summit. Lastly is that of the King of the *Huns*, call'd *Hunekonungshoy*, or the Height of the King of *Huns*. 'Tis an Eminence less round than the others, and covered with Thickets without any Circle of Stones around it to the North West of the aforesaid Lake. One may see thereabouts several Heaps of Stones, especially a prodigious Number, some raised up and some lying down very irregularly; which they tell you are the Monuments of *Huns*, who were kill'd near a little Village call'd *Hunnaby*, from their Defeat; and every one, as they pretend, was buried either upon or near the Spot where they fell. The same Authors who have placed the *Bravalline* Fields in the Territory call'd *Asbo*, have also placed to the North West of this Lake the Abode of the Wicked after

Death, under the Name of *Niffelhiern*, which signifies (as they say) *Black and Miry Marshes*, or a *Profound Abyss*, without doubt from these Marshes having received those Enemies of the *Goths* that were there sacrificed to the God of War. And about half a Mile from thence, in a little Village call'd *Gimle*, by a Corruption from *de Himmel*, which signifies *Heaven*, they have placed the Abode of the Just; because that is as agreeable as the other is to the contrary.

There are to be seen at the College of Antiquities, which I before-mentioned in the Article of *Stockholm*, some antique Arms, all of

Brass,

Brass, even to the Handles, as *Swords, Poynards, Knives, &c.* among others, N^o. (3) in the Print XXXIV. which were said to be found in the Tombs at *Brawalheed*. They pretend also to have found in another Monument, some Miles distant hence, in a District call'd *Norundinge*, other more extraordinary Rarities, as Knives made all of Flint, as N. (2.) a human Bone call'd by the Anatomists *Tibium*, some Horses Teeth; and what's more curious than all the rest, a Vessel call'd by the *Swedish* Antiquaries a Perpetual Lamp, N. (1) in the same Print, tho' different in its Form from those of *Troy* in *Phrygia*, (7) (19) Print XXIV. A long and antient Tradition which they have among them, will have this to be the Tomb of *Otheim*, one of the first Kings and Gods of this Country. Most of the *Gothick* Authors, vers'd in Antiquity, say that their Pagan Ancestors used to bury the favourite Horses, Arms, &c. of their Heroes with them.

Having spent near two Days in visiting these Plains, I went on the 13th to *Hunnaby*, the aforesaid little Village, where I saw the Foundry for casting the Iron Cannon: There was then no body at work there; nor are the Machines, or Mills, which put the Bellows, &c. in Motion, any thing extraordinary. They presented me here with some Iron Sand, which is brought down with the Water of a neighbouring River; there are also great Quantities of it found at the Bottom of several Lakes in this Province, as *Widost, Hiortston, Siogultston, &c.* This Sand, the least Grain whereof is about the Bigness of a large Pin's Head, is (as they say) very proper to make Cannons, Stoves, Kettles, &c.

I arriv'd on the 14th at *Wexiu*, a little Town that has nothing more to recommend it than its agreeable Situation, its Antiquity, as being founded in *Skothonung's* Reign, and its being an Episcopal See, which was owing (as some will have) to St. *Sigfrid*. He baptiz'd (as they say) several *Pagans*, whom he had himself converted at a Fountain to the East of it, that is also call'd, as well as that at *Husaby* already mentioned in *Westro Gothland, Sigfrid Kella*. A quarter of a Mile from this City are to be seen the Remains of an antient Castle, built by the same Saint, in order to protect himself and his Profelytes from the Insults of the unconverted *Goths*. These Remains are still very considerable, and their Situation is the most pleasant imaginable on the Northern side of *Helige Sio*, or the Holy Lake. In a Parish, in the same District, call'd *Nye Kirkie*, or the New Church, there are other Ruins hardly perceptible at present, which they tell you are the Ruins of *Troy*; for the same Authors make the *Trojans* come out of *Sweden* as well as the *Amazons*. You must not here imagine these Remains to be Pillars of Marble or Porphyry broken, or other noble Materials turn'd Topsy-turvy, or Subterranean Vaults, Remnants of Amphitheatres, Temples, Palaces and Aqueducts, &c. as those I have mention'd in the other *Troy* in *Phrygia*; but, on the contrary, there are only some Heaps of mishapen hard Stones, which wou'd hardly at present be thought fit to use in Building, with some Foundations for the most part buried under Ground, and rather to be look'd for in *Swedish* Books and Manuscripts, or in Count *Dahlberg's* Prints, than at the North West of Lake *Halbestan*, where they are placed. But another Town in this Province call'd formerly *Wittalia*, in the District of *Niud-* Wittalia.
dun, now dwindled into a Village, which they call *Huetlandia*, preserves more Marks of its having been a Town; as long Streets, whose Pavements are still to be seen in some Places, considerable Ruins of a Castle,

Isle, and several subterraneous Vaults or Caves, &c. There is some Miles from thence a Mine of Brass that has been discovered but a few Years: It promis'd better at its first Opening than it does now; but nevertheless they keep still working it, in hopes of finding some rich and constant Veins that may answer their Trouble, which it does not at present; it lies in a Mountain call'd *Kleswen* in the Parish of *Alsheda*. The Parish of *Manskarp*, about a Mile and three quarters from *Yonekoping*, has an Iron Mine in Mount *Tahaber*, whose Metal is exquisite, and very proper for Fire Arms. There are in *Smoland*, besides the Foundry for Cannons at *Hunnaby*, several Forges, and other Foundries to make this Metal fit to sell to Strangers, or to use amongst themselves, as *Alshutbrucks*, *Horlebruck*, *Osby*, *Falsterbo*, *Eid*, *Anterstrombrucks*, &c. It produces plenty of Hops; and its Woods, wherewith 'tis almost cover'd, abound with Deer, and all sorts of Game: There are also Numbers of Goats which skip up and down, seeming as if hanging upon the Sides of the Rocks, where-ever there is any Grass to brouze on, and are its principal tame Cattle. It has also some Mineral Waters discovered but lately, whose Vertues are much brag'd of by the *Swedish* Physicians.

Yoneko-
ping.

Having visited whatever was reckoned here most remarkable, I arrived on the 15th at *Yonekoping*, a Town in *Ostro-Gothland*, as most say, tho' some will have it in *Smoland*, it being partly under the same Government: It is very agreeably situated on a Cape at the Southermost End of Lake *Wettler*, which seems to be cut into two Parts, though very unequal; one of them having but a narrow Passage for its Waters, infomuch that several will divide them into two distinct Lakes, calling that which is below the Town *Lilla Sio*, or the *Little Lake*. It has a Tribunal of Justice, and a Governor of the Province, who lodges in the Castle, which is pretty strong and regular; there are also some Mineral Waters to the South East of it, which are in Reputation among them. I went on the 16th to view their Manufactures for their Arms and Gun-powder, &c. which are to the East of it, on the Side of a River call'd *Husquar*, which sets the Mills a going as well as possible, and makes four Cataracts, or Falls of Water; the first whereof is of 16 Fathom, the second 3, the third 14, and the fourth 6, and then empties itself into the Lake *Wetter*. There are some Ruins still to be seen at the Mouth of this River, which they say are of a Castle built in 1372 by King *Albert*. I went afterwards to lodge at *Brahe Grenna*, a little long Town, consisting almost wholly in one Street, near the same Lake. Neither its Houses or Inhabitants have any thing to distinguish them from a Village, if you except the Tribunal of Justice, which it has in common with other Towns; and two Palaces, or large Brick Houses, built near it by Count *Peter Brahe*, whereof the Reduction of Grants has taken Possession, as well as of the Lands and Revenues belonging to them, and indeed of the whole City, excepting one Castle and its Dependencies.

Brahe
Grenna.

I had an Inclination to have seen the Isle which is upon Lake *Wetter*, and is call'd *Winsinsio*; it is as it were the Heart of the Lake, and almost over-against *Brahe Grenna*, only a little to the Northward; but I was deterr'd by the Danger and Impossibility of executing my Design; for although the Winter, which was as I've already hinted, one of the most severe that had been for many Years, lasted as yet without any Thaw, yet the Ice was broken on that Side for some Days

Days past ; infomuch, that I cou'd find no body who wou'd venture to conduct me thither, either on a Sledge, or in a Boat. The Curious have been well enough inform'd of what is reckoned extraordinary and surprising in this Lake, without its being necessary for me to repeat it. I shall beg leave to mention two Things worth Observation: First, That in the Spring, Summer, or Autumn, it is subject to such violent Tempests, and such vehement and sudden Commotions and Rising up of its Waters ; and that even in the greatest Calm, when all Winds from without seem hush'd and asleep ; that the Vessels which are then upon it wou'd be in the greatest Danger imaginable of being over-set, were they not alarm'd by a horrible Noise, and sort of bellowing which precedes these Commotions some Minutes, and gives them Notice to make to Shoar ; and Secondly, That in Winter, when its Ice is at the thickest, and capable of bearing the heaviest burthen'd Sledge, it will break sometimes in the Middle, sometimes at one End, sometimes in one Place, and sometimes in another, with a Noise that may be heard for some Miles. The Common People, who, as I've already observ'd, are very much inclined to the ancient Superstition, will have these Accidents to be produced by some Spirits, which they call *Siô Trollar*, or Hob-goblins of the Lake ; and the Philosophers of the Country attribute them either to subterraneous Winds inclosed in the Bowels of the Earth at the Bottom of the Lake ; or else to sulphurous Exhalations which force themselves a Passage, and make a Noise greater or less, according as they meet with Resistance ; like those which have occasion'd so many Disasters in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and still cause so many Eruptions out of Mount *Vesuvius* ; or, if I may be permitted to make a new Comparison, more conformable to the Subject, like those which broke out in 1707, whilst I was visiting the Islands in the *Archipelago*, and began to rise from its Bottom and appear above Water, with a Noise and Impetuosity more formidable than the former near the *Œge* of the *Greeks*, now the Island of *Santorini*, where the sulphurous Matter being raised above the Superficies, has form'd the two new Islands mention'd in my first Volume.

On the 17th I continued my Journey along the Lake to the North West, and came to *Wastena*, which was formerly (as they say) the largest and finest City in *Gothland* ; there is a Castle still remaining, which has all the Beauties of the Time wherein 'twas built : It is surrounded with a square Wall, and flank'd at each Corner with four Bastions, and wash'd by the *Wetter*, having a Ditch pretty deep that encompasses it, fill'd with the Water of the Lake, and a Draw-Bridge that guards its principal Passage. There are yet remaining two Churches out of four which were in the City formerly : That which they call *Closter-Kirka*, or the Cloister Church, is covered with Brass, (as are all those which had zealous and rich Founders,) and is reckon'd one of the greatest and most magnificent in *Sweden* ; nor does the second yield to it but in Bigness. The first had a Monastery adjoining to it, which has been converted into an Hospital since the Reformation ; and was founded, as well as the Church, by *St. Bridget*, a Noble and Pious *Swedish* Maiden. This Saint is well enough known among the *Roman* Catholics by her Revelations, the Institution of her Monastick Order, and by the Foundation of several Convents for both Sexes. In the Cloister that was converted into an Hospital, (as I've before observ'd) they still shew you the Oratory of this Saint, where she used to offer

Wastena.

up her Devotions. The City is at present neither large nor well peopled; but it still displays some Marks of its former Magnificence in its Churches and the Castle aforementioned, as well as in several Brick Houses, a Rarity hardly to be found but there and at *Stockholm*. Near *Wastena* is a Tract of Land dependent on it, and consisting of several Fields and Meadows, a large and pleasant Park, and some Villages that formerly belong'd to the late Queen, Grand-mother to King *Charles XII.* and is call'd *Wastena-Lahn*, or the District of *Wastena*. It has a particular Governor call'd *Hopman*, who rules it independently of *Ostro-Gothland*.

Kenings.

Leaving the *Wetter*, I pursued my Journey to the Eastward, and pass'd thro' *Kenings* on the 18th, having only allowed myself time for Dinner, and about an Hour to visit it. It deserves at present to be rank'd only amongst Villages, having no Remains of that Splendor which they attribute to it in former Times. What is most remarkable, according to the Tradition of this Country, is, that in the middle of the Town, at the Market-Place, there was formerly the *Colossus* of a Giant, a Statue much larger than the Life; where, during the Times of *Paganism*, they used to put Malefactors, as Adulterers, single Women who had Bastards, together with the Fathers of such Bastards, to a sort of Torture, by fastening them (as they say) with an Iron Chain between the Arms of this Statue which were open, and exposing them there for a whole Day to the Insults and Jeers of the Mob, as a Punishment for their respective Crimes; but such Offenders don't come off at present in this Country at so easy a Rate, the first being either whip'd or condemn'd to Death, according to the Nature and Quality of the Offence, the second beheaded without Mercy, and the last exposed in publick, both Men and Women, by setting them for three *Sundays* at the Gates of the Church, on a Seat call'd the *Penitential Seat*; tho' a Sum of Money given for the Service of the Church, which often exceeds the Ability of the Persons, may exempt them from this Spiritual Pillory. The Shame of this Punishment for Bastards, is the Occasion of many Mothers being delivered without Midwives, and murdering or dropping their Children at the Peril of their Lives if discovered, to avoid being so exposed. I have my self seen two young Gentlewomen, of good Families, beheaded for not calling Midwives to assist them when in Labour, tho' their Children (as they affirm'd at their last Moments) were dead born. I can't but remark on this Account, that 'tis great pity both here, and in other Parts of *Christendom*, that they have not Hospitals like that *des Enfants trouvez* at *Paris*, for Children that are dropt. And I think some old Batchelors, who have in their Lives helped to get several, shou'd make it a Matter of Conscience to leave their Estates towards building such an Hospital at their Deaths, to make the Publick some amends for the Damage it has suffer'd from their clandestine Amours. *Kenings* has now but one Church, more than large enough for the Number of the Inhabitants, out of four and two Monasteries, which (as they say) it had formerly. From thence, at about a quarter of a Mile from *Lincoping*, I pass'd over *Stongebro*, or the Bridge of Stakes, which is indeed built clumsily enough of them, and has nothing to make it worth our regard, but on account of the Battle gain'd near it in 1599, by the Duke Regent *Charles* over the Army of *Sigismund*: A Battle, the Loss of which was follow'd by that of the Kingdom, which was given to the Conqueror under the Name of *Charles IX.* by

Stongebro.

by virtue of the Election of the States assembled in 1600 at *Lincoping*, *Lincoping*, where I lay that Night, and staid till the Morrow after Dinner. This City is reckon'd one of the most ancient in *Ostro-Gothland*, and has two great Churches; the largest of which was built, according to their Ecclesiastical Annals, in the Year 813 after the Christian Æra, at which Time its Bishoprick was also instituted. These two Churches are built after the *Gothick* Order, and have nothing remarkable in them, excepting some Tombs of Kings in the first, as of *Olaus*, *Skothonung*, *Amund*, &c. which have all the Beauties of the Times wherein they were erected. There is also a *Gymnasium*, not so finely built as that at *Scara*, but much better fill'd with Students. Nor does a large Edifice call'd the *Royal Castle*, as having formerly lodged there some of their Kings, deserve that Title; it is at present the Residence of the Governor of *Ostro-Gothland*, whose Jurisdiction extends to *Norkoping*, *Brabe-Grenna*, *Akelsand*, and the adjacent Country, as well as over *Lincoping*.

I departed hence on the 19th, and took up my Abode that Night at *Norkoping*, *Norkoping*, distant thence about four Miles. This City is said to be founded A. D. 980. and they pretend it to have been one of the largest in *Sweden*; but the Fire has so considerably impaired it several times, and so often impoverished its Inhabitants, that 'twas not possible to keep it in its former Grandeur; and it could only pass for a little Town when I saw it in 1716 and 17, tho' there were still three Churches remaining. It was both advantageously and agreeably situated at the furthest End of a Gulph about 13 or 14 Miles long, very commodious for its Commerce, consisting in Copper, Iron, Pitch, Tar and Planks; having the River *Mottala* running through it with such Rapidity, as to work the Mills built either upon it, or on the Sides of it, for whatsoever use they put them to; especially their Machines at the Bottom of an Island to manufacture their Brasses and Copper, for which they were the most famous in this Country, there being reckon'd therein to the Number of Seven Foundaries, and above Twenty Furnaces. I speak of what has been; for this City has since been reduced to Ashes by the *Muscovites* in 1719, with all the afore-mention'd, excepting one Church which was without the Town. There are found in the River abundance of Fish, and a great Quantity of Salmon at the proper Season, &c. It has its Rise from the *Wetter*, and having run thro' the City, empties it self into the Gulph. The Admirers of Prodigies ascribe to it the Faculty of prognosticating Events, whether Good or Bad, tho' generally the latter, by its drying up and stopping on a sudden, spite of the natural Impetuosity of its Waters; as they say it did a little before the Battle of *Lutzen*; at the same time when, as Mr. *Schefferus* says, they heard the Noise of their Arms, and the Sound of the Battle, as far as *Upland*. They add, that it was dry'd up also to that degree some time before the Death of *Charles IX.* that they cou'd pass over its Channel dry-footed for several Days at *Norkoping*; which Mr. *Schefferus* also confirms upon other Occasions. There are in the Neighbourhood several good Forges of Iron; and at two Miles thence to the Northward, is the most famous Foundary for Cannons of that Metal that is in *Sweden*: It belongs to Mr. *John Dygeer*.

Having spent the 20th and 21st in visiting this Town and its Neighbourhood, they inform'd me at the Post-House, (a Place where they don't always speak the Truth, no more than in the *Gazettes*) that the King had made himself Master of *Christiana* in *Norway*. The likeli-

hood of a Thaw, more than any Credit I gave to the News, made me resolve to take the Opportunity of the Snow and Ice, which lasted as yet, to return in a Sledge to *Gottenbourg*; where, I thought, I might be in greater probability of being inform'd of the King's true Motions, and have a better Convenience of joining him, whenever he was fix'd any where to Advantage. I enquir'd, as well as I could, what Road was best for me to take in my intended Journey, and was directed to take my Course back again thro' *Lincoping* as far as *Yonekoping*; and from thence in a strait Line, or near upon it, to cross *Halland* to the North West. I began my Journey the 22d, early in the Morning, and arrived the 26th before Night at *Gottenbourg*, without being obliged to get on Horse back for more than five or six Miles in above thirty; but instead of hearing the News of *Norkoping* confirm'd there, I was inform'd on the contrary every thing that was sufficient to alter my Design of going on to *Norway*; as of several Officers and Expresses, who in attempting to pass and repass, had been either kill'd or wounded by the *Norwegian Snappanars*. They also assured me, that the King's Army, which as they represented it, was not a jot better furnish'd with Provisions than the Knight Errants are said to be in Romances, or than a Party of *Tartars* when upon their Inroads, (tho' it was incomparably more numerous than the first) destroy'd itself by degrees, being perpetually obliged to Encounters, besides a continual Hunger, Cold and Fatigues, even worse than in *Ukrania* in 1709; that the *Hero* who commanded them, partook of all their Hardships, and gave the most constant Examples of severe Fasting, even to the not eating in three Days, any thing but a little Barley Bread and wild Oats, which he providentially found among some Peasants of *Norway*; and that he underwent all this without suffering the least Change in his Countenance, or being in the least cast down. That in the mean while the *Danes*, Enemies much less to be feared than the others aforementioned, kept themselves very prudently in their strong Holds, under Cover of their Artillery, avoiding any Engagement with the *Swedes*, by whom they had been formerly so often and so unfortunately defeated.

Gotten-
bourg.

Whilst I waited for a favourable Opportunity to join his Majesty in *Norway*, I passed part of my Time in viewing this City and its adjacent Parts, described in my Map of *Sweden*. It is very regularly fortified after the Modern Way; nor has Nature contributed less thereunto than Art; its Forts as well by the Sea as by Land, and its high Rocks, render all Approaches to it very difficult and dangerous, as its Enemies have more than once experienced to their Disadvantage. Its Figure is Spherical, and its exterior Circumference does not exceed 800 Geometrical Paces; it has three little Ditches which are cut through the Middle of three of its Streets, border'd with Trees set very regularly; and serve both for its Ornament and to keep it neat, receiving all its Filth, and carrying it with their Waters into the great one, wherewith they have a Communication. There are two Churches pretty large, whose Building and Shape differ little from the other principal ones in *Sweden*, and have nothing worth our Notice, excepting their Brazen Roofs: However, that which had formerly its Name from Queen *Christina*, and is now commonly call'd the *German Church*, has a great deal of the *Italian* manner. As to the other Publick Buildings, all but the Town-House and the Governour's, are little worthy our Curiosity; no more than those of the Inhabitants, which are

all!

all wooden and low, and have nothing to recommend them but their being uniform.

There was formerly only a Superintendent, but 'tis now a Bishop's See, and has a *Gymnasium* or College, and a School; it is now the ordinary Residence of the Governour of the Provinces of *Elfbourg*, *Dahl*, *Babuus*, *Halland*, &c. The Civil Government is in the Hands of two Consuls and twelve Senators, who are generally call'd Magistrates, or Burgomasters, and have one Secretary: The Military is in the Hands of the forementioned Governour, who was then Count *Morner*; and in his Absence, under a Deputy-Governour, or Simple-Commandant, as they there call him. It is situated very advantageously for Trade in general, but their principal Traffick consists in Iron; and I have been credibly informed, that before the Publication of the Royal *Placaert* or Edict in favour of the Privateers, which I have taken Notice of, they exported Yearly from thence to the Value of 600,000 Crowns of that Metal. Besides that *Placaert* requiring Conditions so hard, that they were almost impracticable; 'twas said that the Privateers abused it both without Scruple and Punishment, under the Protection of some of the King's Favourites, and even of the Admiralty it self, whom they had brib'd into their Interests; and who becoming both Judges and Parties, made the Ships of their Friends as good Prize, as their Enemies, whatever Passes or Certificates they might have for their Justification; in-somuch that they seem'd as if they wou'd revive the ancient Piracies, which their Ancestors, the first *Goths*, esteem'd an honourable Profession: Nay, they even went farther, since they would plunder their own Countrymen in their own Ports, after their Ships were laden, and they had pay'd Custom for their Cargoes. The Merchants of this Country not daring to trade under their own Names, managed their Affairs under the Names of Nations in Alliance with them, and took Flags and Instructions conformable thereunto, to protect them from their Enemies; but thinking to avoid one Rock, they split upon another, for these Names, Flags, and Instructions, which served so luckily to deceive their Enemies, rendred them lawful Prizes to their good Countrymen at *Gottenbourg*. Many of these Merchants, having been almost ruin'd by the Privateers, were forc'd with the little they had remaining, to become Associates with them, for fear of being reduced to Beggary. As happened to me in a very different Case, when passing to *Constantinople* from *Malta* in a Greek Vessel (which they call a *Saick*) consisting of 30 Sailors, all *Greeks*, they were so nauseous to my Smell, by reason of their eating Garlick at every Meal, that I was obliged to do the same in my own Defence. The King, on the 26th of *January* 1715. ennobled one *Gatheson*, the Son of a Peasant, who was Chief of the Privateers of all the Ports of *Westro-Gothland*; and chang'd his Name for that of *Gathinkielm*, or *Gath's* Helmet, in consideration of his lucky Adventures in Privateering. His Majesty had also given him, at the Recommendation of Count *Morner*, the Command of two Men of War, with the Title of Commodore, to encourage him to pursue his Maritime Conquests with Vigour; and he had likewise a great Quantity of Privateers belonging to him, and under his own Pay. His Majesty, who had heaped so much Honour upon *Gathinkielm*, and had procur'd him such immense Riches, was so generous, that he wou'd not only not have any share in his Prizes, but exempted him from any extraordinary Contributions; and as this Prince was always wedded to any Opinion which

which he first conceived, whether relating to Glory, Love, or Hatred, the Protectors of the Privateers, (who made the greatest Advantages thereby, without running any Risque) had perswaded him that his Honour was concerned in maintaining this Edict; and that by that Means he wou'd reduce the *English* and *Hollanders* to the necessity of taking his Part against his Enemies; according to some Treaties which were expir'd with the Former, tho' still in force with the Latter. The Haven of *Gottenbourg* is very large and very commodious; it has two chief Harbours for Shipping; the first is about 300 Geometrical Paces from the Town, and is call'd the Old Port, where they generally build their Vessels, and where the Fleet, belonging to the Northern Ocean, used to shelter it self; it consisted at that time only of ten Men of War, or Frigates, from 30 to 50 Guns, and not in a condition to put to Sea, excepting the two which *Gathinhielm* commanded, and some Galleys and Brigantines of too little Force to oppose the *Danes*, who have since taken and destroy'd the greatest part of them. This Fleet, or rather Squadron, was commanded by Count *Axel Leyonhafoud*. The second Harbour, or the New Port, is at the Mouth of the River, about Seven Hundred Geometrical Paces below the former; it is guarded at its Entrance by a good Castle, call'd *Nie Elfbourg*, or *New Elfbourg*. The Fortifications of this Castle are very regular, but too much commanded by some high Mountains. *Maestrand* is upon an Isle, and is strong enough to promise a long Resistance; nor had it (as they say) been so soon nor so easily taken in the last War with the *Danes*, had it not been for the Cowardice or the Treachery of the Commanding Officer. The Forts *Gulberg* and *Riskans*, with the Mountains call'd *Ottrilla*, *Ramberg*, and the strong Fortifications which are at *Gottenbourg*, have acquired and confirmed to it the Name of Virgin, as never having been taken, tho' often attempted.

Towards the latter End of *April*, I had it from very good Hands, that the King being at last convinced of the Impossibility of subsisting an Army without Magazines, in a Country so barren as *Norway*, and cover'd only with Rocks and Pines, or of taking Castles Sword in Hand without any great Artillery, had abandon'd *Christiana*, and was retir'd to *Torpum*, a little Country-House belonging to a *Danish* Colonel, about a quarter of a Mile from *Swinsund*, a Gulph over which his Majesty had laid a Bridge of Boats, in order to receive out of *Sweden*, by that Means, Provisions and Ammunition sufficient for the Siege of *Fredericks-Hall*, which that Prince had resolv'd upon. Having heard this News confirm'd by several Persons of Honour, I determin'd to go thither, and meet his Majesty.

I left *Gottenbourg* the 3d of *May*, and took the ordinary Road by *Konungs Elbe*, and continued it by *Wodwalla*, a small Town 6 Miles farther, formerly a Free Port, till its Privileges were transferr'd to *Gottenbourg*, which is distant thence about 8 Miles, and nearer to the open Sea; at present it hardly deserves the Name of a Town. Between this Place and *Swinsund*, which is but 19 Miles from it, I found the Country agreeably diversified by Woods, which here and there cover the Rocks and Mountains; and by Torrents, which put in Motion the Mills to saw their Planks. The Highways, both strait along, and cross the Country, are generally better than one wou'd think they cou'd possibly be; for 'twere hardly imaginable (as I have before hinted) that human Art cou'd form such fine and regular Roads, which

which must be cut over so many Mountains and Rocks, and to finish which so many Woods must have been burnt; and yet I can't say, that I ever found better in any of the finest Countries, where Nature alone has contributed to their Goodness, without the Assistance or Help of Art. These Roads are kept in Repair by the Peasants, who receive their Orders from the Governours of the respective Provinces, which are punctually executed at the Times they set them, and that all over *Sweden*. One Travels here in as much Safety, as in any Country whatsoever; and the Charge of hiring Horses is almost as moderate as in *Turkey*; a Murder, or Robbery upon the Highways being hardly ever heard of, and the Expences of a Horse amounting to no more than six Pence for each *Swedish* Mile, and twelve Pence for the first Mile after every Town you pass thro'. But I can't say that Traveling is as pleasant and commodious here as elsewhere, by reason of the bad Entertainment and the miserable Inns wherewith one must often be contented; and in fine, I found the Roads to *Norway* very good, but intolerably tainted with dead Horses, especially near *Swinsund*, which also made it very difficult to provide others to pursue my Journey, insomuch that I was seven Days in going, what I might otherwise have compass'd in less than three, and did not arrive at *Swinsund* till the 10th, after having cross'd a Ridge of Mountains which separate, thereabouts, the *Swedish* *Norway* from that of *Denmark*. I pass'd from the one to the other, over the Bridge afore-mention'd, at the End whereof which belong'd to *Sweden*, the King had built a little Fort call'd *Sundbourg*. Passing over this Bridge, I saw an old *Danish* Fort, call'd *Sponwick*, about a quarter of a Mile below it. All these Places in the North, and the others already mentioned in *Norway*, are set down in the *Theatrum Belli Suecici* of my Map D. Having set Foot to Ground, I soon reach'd the *Swedish* Camp, finding there, and on the Road, Numbers of dead Horses, which they drag'd aside into the Water or the Woods. The living were left to themselves, and were gnawing the Barks of Pines, being hardly able to trail their Legs; and so starved, that had it been possible, without killing them, to thrust lighted Candles into their Bellies, they might have serv'd the Army in the Night for walking Lanthorns, that being the only Service of which they were capable. As for the Men, one might see in their Faces authentick Marks of their hard Fare, which was not then to brag on, tho' not quite so severe as formerly, since they began to bring them Provisions out of *Sweden* by the Bridge of *Swinsund*. I went immediately to the King's Quarters, where I was very civilly receiv'd by Captain *Tillerot*, for whom I had a Letter from his Father, since enobled under the Title of *Gothenstier-na*: He invited me obligingly to lodge with him, in his Hut made of Pine, which was one of the best of the sort. I accepted his Offer, and had hardly been there an Hour, before I saw 40 Prisoners brought, which the King, who was then at the Head of a Party of 150 Men, had taken from the Enemy, who cover'd *Fredericks-Hall*, to which he had approached so near, that they had kill'd a Horse under him; wherewith he seem'd as well pleas'd, as if he had kill'd 100 of theirs. In the mean while I did my self the Honour to visit Major General *Hamilton*, *Irish* by Extraction, but a naturalized, or native *Swede*, who receiv'd me very handsomely. I told him it was an agreeable Surprize to me, to see him in as good a state of Health as I had formerly at *Stockholm*, notwithstanding the Fatigues he had endured,

dured (so little suiting with a Man at least 60 Years old) and the Severity of a sharp Winter. He said, that Cold and Hunger, which had been the Army's severest Enemies, had not done him the least Injury; and that he did not know, whether War had ever been carried on elsewhere after the manner they had in *Norway*, or whether the World wou'd speak in favour of their Winter Campaign; but that he was himself surpriz'd his Health was no ways impair'd, tho' he believ'd he was oblig'd to a small reserve of Biskets, Wine and Brandy, wherewith he had the Precaution to provide himself, as well as with a Tent and Mattress, &c. He added, that tho' there was not the least reason to hope for Success before *Christiania*, and that the Army moulder'd away perceptibly, that he, with some more of the Chief Officers, were forced to take all the Pains imaginable to induce the King to retire, tho' he at last compass'd it; that he was no less put to a Nonplus how to dissuade his Majesty from commanding the Retreat in Person; that he was oblig'd in a manner to be rude with him, and to pique in Point of Honour in these Terms, *Your Majesty knows only how to Advance, and does not yet understand what 'tis to give Way or Retreat; if you please to leave that Care to me, who have experienc'd it more than once, and I'll warrant to preserve your Army*; and that the King finding himself rather flatter'd than offended by it, answer'd him smiling, *Well then do so, teach me the Way*. I here met, in my Walks up and down, several of my *Swedish* Friends, whom I had formerly known in *Turky*, who in general were very discontented at their Campaign. Their Discourse ran almost wholly upon the Miseries they had already undergone, and which they were not yet freed from. Some of them melancholily reckon'd up how many Soldiers had perished daily, as well by Cold as Hunger, and summ'd their Loss up to above 4000 since their first Entrance into *Norway*, out of which the *Danes* had not kill'd above 400. They added, that they had done just as in *Muscovy*, where they had, as it were, destroy'd and conquer'd themselves, by their unseasonable out of the way Marches. Others, after regretting the having left *Poland* and *Saxony*, (where they had reap'd such a glorious Harvest,) extolling the Plenty they had lived in at *Bender*, or the Riches of Nature in *Turky*, which they had enjoy'd for some Years, wou'd break out into these Exclamations, *What, have not we Rocks enough at Home! without coming to face Hunger, and the Injuries of the Weather, and lie upon the bare Ground, to conquer those in Norway?* In fine, the whole Army had no other Canopy than the Heavens; and even those who were best lodged, (except General *Hamilton*, Count *Morner*, and a few more) had for Mattresses Branches of Pine, laid in Huts of the same Nature; and the King himself had no better Bed till he came to *Torpum*, where he had a little Straw. For all this, the whole Army shew'd a constant and unshaken Obedience for any Orders that his Majesty pleased to give them. In the mean while, the Provisions which were brought out of *Sweden* (tho' in a small Quantity) were some Mitigation of their Hardships, insomuch, that they began almost to forget them; and I, being very willing to contribute thereunto, inform'd them that the Magazines of *Wodwalla* and *Stromstat* were plentifully stored, as I had been assured at the first of those Places by Baron *Goertz*, whom I had left there, and who was immediately to follow into *Norway*. He added moreover, that he had made such Dispositions that the Army shou'd want nothing necessary for the Siege of *Fredericks-Hall*, which

was

was talked on as a thing resolv'd on by the King. I had used myself to tell my Thoughts too freely to some of my Friends, for them to be ignorant of my real Sentiments, as to the Difficulties I had observed in my Journey, that must necessarily occur, to hinder the Passage of the great Artillery ; as the traversing narrow Defiles and steep Mountains, such as those I had just passed over, where the Highway had been cut ; not to mention the Badness of the Horses, how hard it was to meet with them, and that there was no other Way by Land ; for as to any Passage by Water, it was yet less practicable and more dangerous, the Squadron at *Gottenbourg* rotting in the Harbour, and being in no Condition ever to come out. They answered, that if the King shou'd think even the little Artillery (which might be brought more easily) too long in coming, he wou'd be so far from waiting for the great Pieces, that he wou'd attack the Place without any of them, as he did *Christiania*. They added, that long Experience had plainly shewn that any Difficulties, Disappointments, Dangers, ill Success, &c. which dishearten so many others, and overthrow so many Resolutions, served only to animate and confirm him ; and that there were no Austerities whatever, (even such as seem'd not in Humane Power to suffer,) of which he wou'd not give the most resolute Example to his Soldiers, and which he did not support with the most invincible Courage ; that he would live two or three Days only on some Bread made of wild Oats, which cou'd be found but seldom among the Peasants of *Norway* ; and that he had but one Shirt during all that Campaign, and whenever he was weary of it, by reason of its extream Foulness, wou'd send for a clean one to the first Officer that he supposed had one, and wou'd fling the other in the Fire. I was farther inform'd, that his Majesty had already order'd them to attack the little Fort *Sponwick*, with some little Field Pieces, no ways proper for such an Expedition.

Baron *Goertz* arriving on the 12th at *Torpum* ; and having (as is well known) such an Ascendant over the King, I thought it my Duty to go and make my Court to him. Having inform'd him of some Affairs which were the principal Motives of my Journey, I shew'd him a Petition drawn up for the King in *Latin*, which I begg'd him to back with his Recommendation : He very courteously granted my Request, and offered to present it himself to his Majesty, whom he expected every Moment ; for which I return'd him Thanks, and said, that 'twas a Favour I shou'd always acknowledge. The King being now come back with some more *Danish* Prisoners, the Baron was the first who accosted him, and was receiv'd with a Smile ; which shewed plain enough how acceptable his Presence was to his Majesty, who led him immediately into a Chamber, and the Door was shut instantly upon them. What their Conversation was, I don't know ; but I was inform'd the next Morning, from the King's own Mouth, that my Petition had been presented to him. For, having been told by Capt. *Tillerot*, that this Prince, ever indefatigable, used to rise at Three in the Morning, (whenever he was not on some Party, or all Night on Horseback,) and wou'd generally go alone, without calling or suffering any one to be call'd, into a Garden, upon which the Windows of his Chamber, which was as customary the worst in the House, looked ; and after having taken some Turns there, wou'd come where the Soldiers were a-sleep, and without awakening any of them, talk very familiarly with those upon the Guard ; I resolv'd to rise before that time, and so endeavour to meet him as it were

Fredericks-
Hall.

by Chance, which happened very luckily: For having entred the Garden a little after Four, I had not been there a quarter of an Hour before his Majesty appear'd without any Attendance in the greatest Alley. I was in another which crossed that about the Middle, and I took my Measures so well, that I just reached the crossing of the two Allies at the same time with his Majesty. I stopt short, and seem'd as embarrass'd and surpris'd, bowing down lower than I had ever before, in order to give him time to go on, in case he shou'd not think fit to take Notice of me: But his Majesty, without giving me time to speak, after I had recovered my self, stopt; and with a pleasant and gracious Smile ask'd me the following Questions in *Latin*, *What, are you still Travelling; are you come hither to make a Description of Norway?* To which I answer'd, *May it please your Majesty, I ought then to have come sooner, and might have travell'd in Safety without Passport, in an Enemy's Country under your Majesty's Protection; but if Baron Goertz has presented my humble Petition to your Majesty, you may perceive that my present Journey has quite a different Motive.* Yes, yes, answer'd this Prince very graciously, *he has already my Orders about your Affair; it shall be done.* I humbly thank'd his Majesty, and seeing two Officers whom I did not know, coming to accost him, I retired bowing as low as before, very well satisfied with the Word of a Prince, whose every Action shew'd that he never gave it without an Intention to keep it; tho' he had it not always so much in his Power as he thought he had. The King discoursed these Officers but few Minutes, and then went from the Garden into a neighbouring Place, where some *Swedish* Peasants had brought Provisions to sell. He ask'd them several familiar Questions; and then went back again to his Chamber, where he eat two pickled Herrings with a good Quantity of Bread. If he knew well how to fast, he cou'd eat as heartily, and ought to have had a good Stomach, having (as they assured me) had but a little wild Oat or Barley Bread in three Days. No Man ever heard him complain of a Cook, or of any sort of Victuals or Sauce; nor did he ever find any Bed too hard, not even the bare Ground; yet had he as good a Countenance as if he had all the Refreshments that Nature cou'd require. He never thought (as I've before hinted) to provide himself better with Linnen than Provisions. On the 14th I had a Desire, from a secure Distance, to view *Fredericks-Hall*, which is but a Mile from *Torpum*: To this Intent I went on Horseback, in Company of a *Swedish* Party that the King sent thither; and Capt. *Tillerot*, who undertook to favour my Curiosity, posted me upon an Eminence covered with Pines, from whence I might see the Town pretty distinctly with the help of a Telescope; and I was also pretty safe, as having the aforesaid Party, consisting of 500 Men between me and the Town. It is advantageously situated at the Mouth of the River *Dahls*, (which has its Rise among the Mountains that separate the District of *Dahl* from *Norway*) washes it to the North East, and to the South where it discharges itself into the *Swinsund*. It is defended to the South West by a Fortreis call'd *Fredericksteen*, and a little Fort call'd *Gyllenlof*; and to the North West it has two others, the Eastermost of which is call'd *Mitteberg*, and the other *Oberberg*, with three lesser Redoubts, more to the North, mark'd in the Plan XXXIX. As I had nothing to say to the *Danes*, nor to their Camp which was at a good Distance; and had not the least desire to be seen by them, or to be any nearer to them,

them, I return'd back to *Torpum* with the Captain, who had no Orders that Day ; but was commanded at Night to be of another Party of about 200 Men, to attempt to surprize *Sponwick*, defended by about as many *Danes*, whither my Curiosity did not invite me to follow him. He return'd about Two or Three in the Morning, with his Coat pierc'd by two Balls ; which, however, luckily had done him no harm ; and the Design miscarried for that Night, the *Danes* being very much upon their Guard. They brought along with them some *Snappanars* or *Norwegian* Peasants, who had fired upon the Soldiers from among the Trees and Rocks ; but having missed their Aim, were taken Prisoners. The King, instead of punishing them as he was advis'd, gave each of them two Ducats, and bid them inform their Fellows, if ever they committed the like and were taken, that they shou'd be immediately shot to Death. The same Day, which was the 15th, the King dined in publick with Baron *Goertz*, M. *Poniatowsky*, and some other Officers of the first Rank, who had the Honour to keep him Company. The Dinner was (as they told me) one of the best and most plentiful that had been served to his Majesty during the whole Campaign, some Countrymen having brought fresh Provisions into the Camp to sell. Ten or Twelve Officers of the second Rank waited, in Expectation to make amends, at the second Table, for their hard Fare and long Abstinence ; when the King (who generally at Meals talked no more than a *Turk*, or a *Carthusian*,) ask'd when Dinner was over, what was become of some Dragoons who had been wounded in going on an Expedition with him, or had fallen sick by the Fastings and Fatigues they had endured ? and having been answered that they were better, his Majesty order'd all the Provisions that remain'd to be carried to them, to the great Mortification of those Officers, who were obliged to go seek a Dinner elsewhere.

His Majesty went thence into his little Parlour, whether he was followed by Baron *Goertz*, who drawing some Papers out of his Pockets, presented them to him. They contained (as I was afterwards inform'd) some Proposals from the Pyrates of *Madagascar*, to come with all their Effects and settle themselves in *Sweden* ; and another Project of the Baron's own, to give his own Passports to Foreign Merchants to bring Provisions into *Sweden*, whereof they had need enough, without prejudicing nevertheless the *Regulation of the Privateers*, (who had render'd them so dear and scarce) of any Violation of which the King was extream jealous. The Baron had already proposed these Things to the King by Word of Mouth, whereunto his Majesty made several very strong Objections ; but as never any Man knew better how to humour this Prince than the Baron did, 'twas his Custom whenever he found him unwilling to hearken to his Proposals, to say, *I'll give them your Majesty in Writing, that you may correct and change whatever you dislike* : Which having done, he wou'd suppress in the Paper whatever was disagreeable ; or else he wou'd give it such a Turn with his Pen, (of which he was a Master) as he was sure wou'd make it pass upon him, and compass his Design. Nor did ever Servant know better how to find out the blind Side of his Master, than this Minister did of his Majesty ; over whom he had gained such an Ascendant, that he seem'd, when they were together in Council, to quit the heroic Air so natural to him at the Head of an Army, and to take that of a Pupil before his Tutor ; and he wou'd hear him with such Atten-

tion and Confidence, as surpris'd and stirr'd up the Jealousy of all the *Swedes*. In the mean while I watch'd the Baron's Motions, in order to address him whenever he should leave the King; which I did accordingly upon his quitting him, and going into his Chamber, whither I follow'd him. As there was nothing but Water at the King's Table, he immediately order'd his *Valet de Chambre* to give him a Glass of Burgundy, which he took care never to want any where; he order'd me another, and gave me a very handsome Reception, being generally pretty affable to his Inferiours, but seemingly haughty to his Equals, and even to his Superiours. As I had been inform'd he was to go thence next Morning, I went to take my leave of him, and beg him to remember what I had the Honour of speaking about, and his Majesty had the Goodness to tell me he had recommended to him. He promis'd me he wou'd, and bid me draw up a Plan conformable to the first, and let him see it; and if he found it right, he would procure me the King's Approbation and Order, and that we shou'd make a sort of Contract, which should be counter-sign'd by us both. I did as he directed me; and after he had alter'd some things in it, and had shewn it the King, who had (as he said) approv'd of it, he sign'd it, subscribing his own Name on the King's Part, and made me sign it also; and take a Copy of it, which we also sign'd alternatively, and then kept one himself, and deliver'd me the other; saying, That I had nothing to do when I came to *Stockholm*, but to go to *C. Vandernath*, who would put it in Execution in his Absence, as well as if himself were there in Person.

In the interim, the King went on Horseback upon a Party with 300 Men, and Baron *Goertz* left *Torpum* without any one's being then able to guess whether he was gone; but we were inform'd in a little Time after he was beyond Sea, and his Letters since printed in *England* and *Holland*, have very well appris'd the World what his Business was there. I left *Torpum* on the 17th, in order to proceed to *Gottenbourg*, whither I arriv'd on the 21st, having been more fortunate in meeting with Horses than before. There was then there a *Frenchman*, known by the Name of *Cobuë*, who had formerly been in the *Czar's* Service, which he had quitted, and made a Journey into *Turky* (where I first knew him) expressly to communicate himself to the King, a Secret (as he pretended) of great Importance; which was, That he had found out an infallible Way, by the help of some *Swedish* Frigates, to burn the *Czar's* Men of War in their own Harbour. He was sent back into *Sweden*, with a Present in ready Money (which was very acceptable to him) a Pension of the Crown of between 3 and 400 Rix Dollars, and the Command of a *Swedish* Man of War, besides Orders to the Admiralty to furnish him with whatever was necessary for the Execution of his Design: But the Project came to nothing, by reason of his being (as he would have it) but ill seconded. The King of *Sweden*, out of his natural Generosity, contenting himself with the Goodness of the Intention, continued his Pension even after this Miscarriage. This Man, (without my asking him any Question, or shewing the least Curiosity to examine into any of his Affairs) inform'd me that he was order'd by his Majesty to follow Baron *Goertz* into *Holland*, and to buy those four Men of War to fill up the decay'd Squadron at *Gottenbourg*. This same *Cobuë* was the Person mentioned in one of *C. Gyllemborg's* Answers to Baron *Goertz*, whom they have falsly stil'd in the Margin one of the Burgomasters of *Gottenbourg*. Having

Having stay'd some Days there, I went on to *Stockholm*, which I reach'd on the 12th of *June*; and I heard there some time after, that the King having attack'd *Fredericks-Hall*, as my Friends apprehended, had burnt the Suburbs and great part of the Town, but had lost 700 Men in the Attack, with two Generals, *Delwick* and *Chambers*, and a Number of Subaltern Officers, among which was Captain *Tillerot*.

About the middle of *July* *C. Vandernath* inform'd me that he thought it proper I should go to *Istads*, to receive from the *Ombutzrod Fief*, some Instructions and Insight into the Affairs, that had occasioned my Journey into *Norway*, they being necessary for him, *C. Vandernath*, in order to his executing the King's Orders therein. Upon this I left *Stockholm*, and set out for that Place, which is about 70 Miles distant, from thence taking my Road by *Telgia*, about 3 Miles and a half from *Stockholm*, to the Eastward; on a Branch of the *Mellern*, that has a Communication with the Sea a little below it. *Telgia* is a small Town, in appearance little better than a Village, where they extol the Fountain of *St. Regnyld*, purely for the Sweetness and Wholesomeness of its Waters; it was frequented, before the *Reformation*, for some miraculous Virtues which were attributed to it. About 8 Miles to the S. W. I crossed *Nycoping*, a good pretty Town, tho' built all of Wood, except the Town-House and the Church. It is agreeably situated at the End of a Gulph, very commodious for its Commerce, consisting in Iron, Planks, Pitch, &c. and before the Manufacture of Copper was given over, partly in Copper Wire. There are also some Forges in its Neighbourhood, as *Westerbohlsofa*, *Sandwich*, *Newquarn*, *Holkwighe*, &c. At *Newquarn* there is a Foundry for Cannons, now disused, (I ought to say was) for since 1719, the *Muscovites* have made it undergo the same Fate as *Norkoping*, and so many others with their Works, &c.

There is an old Brick Castle a little distant from it, remarkable for nothing but a Chamber, where they say King *Birgerus*, in 1319, shut up his two Brothers, *Eric* and *Waldemarr*, and starv'd them to death, that he might not share the Kingdom with them, but enjoy it without Rivals. Some will have, that it was in the same Castle that *John* confined his Brother *Eric* (whose Tomb, as I observed, is at *Westeras*) and gave his Steward, *Eric Anderson*, that barbarous Order, under his own Hand and Seal, to carry him Poison, and in case of Resistance, or Refusal to drink it, to bind him, and open all his Veins and let him bleed to death. The Prisoner drank it, not making any Opposition, and was buried without any Ceremony. I went on from hence to *Norkoping*, *Lincoping*, *Tonecoping*, *Wexiu*, and *Christianstadt*, and arrived on the 26th at *Istads*; and having finished the Affairs which brought me thither, left that Place on the 29th; and having an Inclination to visit *Carlsham*, *Carlescroon*, and *Calmar*, bent my Course to the N. W. on my Way back to *Stockholm*.

On the 30th I lodg'd at *Carlsham*, about 12 Miles thence; it is a very pretty Town, and has a good Harbour, deep enough for the largest Vessels, and defended by a good Castle regularly fortified. Its Commerce consists in Soap-Ashes, Pitch, Tar, and Stones for Building, and chiefly useful in paving Apartments, and making Tombs. It is brought from the Isle of *Oeland*, and is generally call'd for shortness *Oeland Marble*.

Carlsroon.

The next Day in the Afternoon I arriv'd at *Carlsroon*, 6 Miles and a quarter farther; where General *Leven*, Chief Director of the Admiralty (with whom I was first acquainted in *Turky*) detained me two Days, and loaded me with Civilities. This Town was founded in 1680, by the late King *Charles XI.* on account of the *Swedish* Fleet, which used before to lye at *Stockholm*, and was invited to *Carlsroon* by its advantageous Situation, and the Goodness and Security of its Harbour, whose Entrance is guarded, 1st. by two pretty regular Forts, about a Mile from thence, opposite to each other, at about the 8th part of a Mile's Distance. 2^{dly}, Near the Town, by a sort of a Basen, well guarded with Artillery, whose Entrance, which is narrow, is forbidden by two Rocks on the Right and Left even with the Water, upon which there was Orders given to build two other Forts. What contributes more than all this to its Security, against all Surprizes or Approaches of the Enemy, is a great Quantity of Rocks, that Nature has scattered up and down, and between which one must sail with great Caution and Circumspection, from the Mouth of the Harbour, as far as the Town. These Rocks often make the most daring Pilots tremble, especially in a dark Night, and require all their Care and Skill, even at Noon-Day, if the Wind blows any thing hard. All these Advantages, which the Fleet enjoy'd in that Harbour, were not so compleat, but that there was something defective, there being no other way to work at the Keel of their Vessels, but by laying them on their Sides, in the open Harbour, by main Strength. Every one was sensible enough of the necessity of a Dock; but whether they did not know where, or how to make it, or whether they were deterr'd by the Difficulties of the Enterprize, as the want of Ebbings and Flowings of the Tide so requisite to fill and empty it naturally, no body had dar'd undertake it, till Mr. *Polhammer*, a Man very well vers'd in Mechanics, engaged to accomplish it, and presented a Plan of it to the King, *Charles XII.* which receiv'd the Royal Approbation. This *Polhammar* was then in that Town, in order to give Directions therein; and one *Sheldon*, an *Englishman* by extraction, a Master Shipwright, undertook the Execution of it, and had a Commission as Inspector. The first shew'd his Plan before me to General *Leven*. This Dock has been since begun, and was not finish'd at the End of the Year 1720; but (as they said) very near it, and had been made an end of long since, if Copper and Paper Money (which was current at the beginning of it) had not lost its imaginary Value, and if good Silver had not been so scarce in *Sweden*. It will be all dug out of a Rock, 220 Foot long, and about 100 broad, and 50 deep; the Water is to enter a Sluce large enough for a Ship of the Size in the Print XXXIV. and when 'tis shut, they are to let it out, and lay the Ships dry, by the help of a Machine, which is to be put in Motion by a Windmill, or in case there should be no Wind, by Horses. The same Person propos'd also some other Projects, which had the good Fortune to be approv'd by the King, and especially by Baron *Goertz*, who was naturally inclined to favour Projects that were any thing extraordinary, and was himself a great Projector. One was to make *Trohletta* (of which I've before spoken) navigable; and not only to open a Communication, by Water, between *Gottenbourg* and *Stockholm*, but also with the *Venner*, the *Wetter*, and *Norkoping*, in order to facilitate the Passage of the largest Barks. He also had another Scheme, which was much more agreeable to the People

ple of *Stockholm*, for they don't care to have any Obligation to those of *Gottenbourg* for many Things, which they might have by Water, if the first Communication were once opened. This was to settle Salt Works at *Maestrand* and *Stromstadt*; where the Water (as he said) was as proper for that Use as in *England* or *Holland*, besides the Advantage of Wood which they have not there. The King, in Consideration of his Merit, ennobled him, and chang'd his Name from *Polhammar* to *Polhielm*. He had begun to put his first Project in Execution; but I believe, the Changes that have since happen'd in *Sweden* have hindered the Continuance of it.

Carlskroon stands upon a Rock which has no Communication with the main Land but by a Wooden Bridge 600 Paces long, and two little Forts defend this Passage which is to the North. It has two pretty handsome Churches, a great many good Houses, and is very well peopled. The Place where the Fleet lies is to the South East, near another Wooden Bridge which makes a half Moon, and serves for a Foot Passage between several of the principal Ships that are made fast there on each side. Between this Place, where the Ships retire, and the Town, is a long and large Space inclosed by good strong Walls, within which is the Marine Arsenal, and the Houses of General *Leven*, and some other Officers belonging to the Admiralty. This Fleet is now kept but in ill Repair, and diminished very much since the Beginning of the late War; before which they reckon'd up 30 Ships of the Line with three Decks, carrying from 60 to 80 Guns, 30 Frigates from 48 to 52 ditto, 40 Brigantines from 14 to 36, 7 Bomb Ketches, 5 Fireships, and 12 Store Ships; of which there was then only 14 of the first, 9 of the second, 15 of the third, 4 of the fourth, 1 of the fifth, and 6 of the sixth, remaining there; which Number is still lessened by the Loss of one or two of the largest Ships that were carried to *Revel* by the *Muscovites* in 1719, and three or four Frigates more in 1720. Before the Privileges and Liberty of the *Swedes* were taken away, the Admiral was always a Senator as at this Day; but that was altered by *Charles XII.* who created one of his Marine Officers Admiral-General; and *Charles XII.* afterwards made another under the Title of first Admiral, and join'd two Colleagues to assist him, both Officers of the Infantry; the first whereof was General *Leven*, under the Title of Director-General of the Admiralty, without whose Consent the others cou'd not dispose of a single Sloop. Their Sessions were kept in the Admiralty Chamber, where the afore-said General sat as President. The second Colleague, whose Business was to exercise the Sailors, in order to form two Regiments, was at that Time Mr. *Rose*, Colonel of Foot, under the Title of *Vice-Director*; who, in the Absence of the other, had the sole Authority, and had jointly with him the Inspection over the Works and Accounts for fitting out the Navy.

I left that Place on the 4th of *August* early in the Morning, and view'd a Soap Work call'd *Warnas* about six Miles thence, belonging to Madam *Gyllnstierna*, and another of Vice-Admiral *Ornefelt's*, about a quarter of a Mile farther, where they clean and refine the Ashes for that purpose; which two are the most considerable Works of that Nature in all *Sweden*. After this I took up my Lodging near *Calmar*, being hindred from entring that Town by the Lateness of the Night, which had occasioned the shutting up of the Gates; but I got in early in the Morning,

Calmar.

ing, and staid there till the Afternoon. It passes for one of the most antient of the Southern *Gothland*, now commonly call'd *Smoland*, and is pretty regularly fortified with thick Walls well cemented, and good deep Ditches. To the East of it is an old Castle, built (as they say) by *John III.* who kept his Court there for some time. Near this are to be seen, either the Ruins or Beginnings of another, founded by *Eric* his Brother, which (as they superstitiously pretend) 'twas impossible to finish, whatever they built by Day being destroy'd by the Devil or some Magician in the Night. It is now a Bishop's See, whose Spiritual Jurisdiction extends over a part of *Smoland* and *Bleking*. Its Cathedral Church is such a Piece of Architecture, as can hardly be parallel'd in respect to its Building in all *Sweden*. It is also the Residence of a Governor, whose Authority reaches from the District of *Calmar*, call'd *Calmarlahn*, even to the Isle of *Oëland*. The Stone that is dug out of this Island, and is commonly call'd *Oëland* Marble (as I have hinted before) has very much contributed to the Ornament of the City, both in the Church before-mentioned, which is almost wholly built of it; and in several other Edifices, as the *Town-House*. It has a good Haven well shelter'd from the Winds by the Island, which is between 16 and 17 Miles long, and but one broad: Its Commerce consists in *Oëland* Marble, Pitch, Tar, Soap Ashes, Masts and Planks. I left *Calmar* on the 5th, and saw at some Distance thence more Oaks than I had ever before met together in any Part of *Sweden*; and among the rest, one in particular surrounded by a little Pallisade, which was (as they say) planted by *Gustavus* the First. I now steer'd my Course directly for *Stockholm*, where I arrived on the 11th, having passed thro' *Wexiu*, *Tonekoping*, &c. viz. the ordinary Highway.

C H A P. X.

Of Sightuna, Upsala, Danmora, &c.

Sightuna.

HAVING given *C. Vandernath* the Instructions required of me, I resolved to go on to *Northern Upland*, to see *Sightuna*, *Upsala* and *Danmora*. The first is an old ruin'd Town four Miles from *Stockholm*; the second is another that has suffer'd very much by Fire; but has always been rebuilt, tho' worse and worse for the Poverty of its Inhabitants; it is about three Miles and a half, and the third is four Miles further to the North, and has the most famous and most considerable Iron Mine in this Country; but I deferr'd in part the Execution of my Resolution. I began my Journey the 15th of *August* in the Afternoon, and arriving at *Sightuna* towards Six in the Evening, found its Ruins very remarkable for their Height, but without any Halls of fine Stones, *Basso Relievo's*, Pillars or Inscriptions, which cou'd give any Testimony of the Magnificence, which the Histories of that Country boasts it to have had formerly. The most apparent are those of seven Churches which they reckon to have been built there since the Time that *Christianity* has prevailed; and to have been distinguish'd by the Names of several

several Saints to whom they were dedicated. Of these, That only remains entire, which was adjoining to a Monastery of the *Dominicans*, but the Monastery itself is wholly decay'd; and (in my Mind) these pretended Ruins look more like some square Towers, formerly incorporated within the City Walls, than any thing else. A *Swedish* Author, call'd *Skierhielm*, makes this City not only the most antient in all *Scandinavia*, but even of all *Europe* and *Asia*; and affirms it to have been the Seat of the first Kings, and consequently of the Northern *Trium Deat*, *Thor*, *Woden* or *Othein* and *Frigga*, who had there their first Temple, according to him. Having crossed the *Mellern* about a quarter of a Mile to the North West of these Ruins, on the other Side, they shew'd me a Stone, wash'd by its Waters, whereon the Figures of Keys are to be seen distinctly enough. These, as some say, were made by Nature alone without the Assistance of Art; concerning which the Tradition of the Country has handed down several extravagant Stories, which deserve not to be mentioned. *Sightuna*, at this Time, has hardly Houses sufficient to make it esteem'd a Village; they are modern and low, and for the most part only miserable Huts for Fishermen. I cou'd not even get any fresh Horses; insomuch, that I was forced to go on to another Stage, where I lay the rest of that Night, which was already far advanced when I came there.

The 16th before Noon I reach'd *Upsal*, six Miles and half from *Stockholm* in a direct Road, and between seven or eight by the way of *Sightuna* to the Northward. There the late Mr. *Rudbeck*, with the most part of the Northern Authors, place the Favourite Temple of the said *Trium Deat*, or rather at *Gamla Upsal*, or old *Upsal*, about a quarter of a Mile distant. This Temple was the most celebrated among the Northern Heathens, as *Jerusalem* was among the *Jews*, and as are now *Rome* among the Roman Catholicks, and *Mecca* among the *Mahometans*. To avoid as much as possible being tiresome in vain Repetitions, I shall only say, that according to the same Authors it was infinitely magnificent, within all shining with Gold, and having without two large and massy Chains of the same Metal to compleat its Ornament: One of these encompass'd the Body of the Church, and the other was fasten'd from one End to the other of its Roof, (which was at least Silver) to six Towers, which were three at the East, and three at the West. A Bishop, call'd *John Magnus*, gives an Account, that the *Flamens* and *Arch-Flamens*, or first Ministers of these pretended Gods, exercis'd their Power even over the Kings of their Time, as well as their Subjects; who esteem'd it a Principle of Religion to execute their Orders, which they received as Divine Decrees pronounced by the Mouths of the Gods themselves. And being guided by this Submission and Belief, they wou'd courageously and piously sacrifice each other, the Kings their Subjects, Fathers their Children, Husbands their Wives, Masters and Mistresses their Servants. These Pagan Sacrifices were not always equally barbarous and cruel, they being used to offer up Men but on extraordinary Occasions, and only Beasts at other common Times. Such were the Festivals call'd *Jule*, which, according to the *Swedish* Authors, were celebrated about the Winter Solstice, near upon the Time that the *Christians* celebrate *Christmas*, which they call here *Jule* from thence, signifying in this Country Language Diversion; which the learned derive from *ἱδλος*, the Song used by the Woollen Spinsters, and sung by them in Honour of *Frigga* or *Disa*, the

Venus, Ceres, Isis and Diana of these Northern Countries. The said Mr. Rudbeck, following the Opinion of *Ulphila*, believes that this Word signifies the *Sun*, and makes them offer their Sacrifices at the Winter Solstice, for Joy of the return of that Planet towards their Climate. However it be, or whatever is the Reason, I shall only add these Circumstances which I have been inform'd by these Authors, *viz.* that they crown'd the Festival that follow'd these Sacrifices with three large Bumpers successively of *Metheglin*, or * *Ohl*, which is the Name that the ancient *Goths* gave to the Liquor call'd by the *Latins* *Cerevisia*, and by the *English* *Ale*, which seem'd to be then their favourite Drink, Wine not having perhaps yet been imported into the North. For their Authors give it the Preheminence so far, as to compare it with the Celestial *Nectar*. These three Bumpers every one drank in their Turn, out of a Vessel in the Shape of a Horn, to *Thor, Woden* and *Frigga*; and these three were follow'd by a fourth, which they drank out of a Man's Skull, who had been kill'd in some Fight, to the Memory of their great *Heroes*; and after this they added a fifth, in Memory of their Friends who had died a natural Death. This Health was call'd in their Language *Minde*, and the Cup *Braggebagaren*, and was accompanied with Hymns and Songs according to the Musick of that Time. Some Moderns have said, that the *Swedes* drink at this Day to the Memory of the God *Thor* in these Terms *Gud Thor*; and the *Muscovites* to that of the *Trinity* and their Saints. I must own, that I have often heard the *Swedes*, when drinking, say to their Countrymen *Gud Thor*, or at least two Syllables that have founded like it; but when I have enquired the meaning of People not suspected to be guilty of Superstition, they have answer'd, that 'twas properly *Good Year to You*; and that it ought to be written in their Tongue and Spelling *God' Abr*, which sounds in their Mouths very like *Gud Thor*, and had occasion'd its being so understood. And when I have ask'd the same Question of the common People, they cou'd give me no other Answer, but said that they did not understand it, only that 'twas an old Custom for them to drink to each in these Terms. The *Muscovites*, of the best Sense say, that such Healths are only drunk by the Vulgar; but these Reasons will not convince a great many but that these Customs are the Remains of *Paganism*. All the Northern Writers don't agree concerning the Situation of the abovemention'd magnificent Temple. Some pretend it was at *Gamla Upsala*, or *Old Upsala*, where there is still a little Church dedicated to St. *Lawrence*, which is (as they say) the same as to the Model of it, in the lower part of the Edifice, in its Arches or Openings which are to be seen walled up. As for my part, I view'd and consider'd it with all the Curiosity and Exactness imaginable; but cou'd not find that it differed as to its Model from the first and most simple of the *Christian* Churches. Entering into the Porch, one treads upon a *Runick* Stone, with the Figures of a large Boat and great Cross, such as belongs to the *Knights of Malta*, upon it; and coming into the Church, one may see another which serves for the Altar Table, as N. (3) in the Print XXXII. The Explication of which is as follows, *Sigvidicus, famous for his Military Expeditions in England, erected this*

Old Upsala.

* *Invitant me Deæ, Valkgræ quas Othinus mihi misit ex aula Lætus Cerevisiam cum*
† *Asis in summa sede bibam, vitæ elapsæ sunt horæ, ridens Moriar, &c. Nymphs so call'd,*
who were believed to serve Otheim, and the Dead with Ohl, as Ganymede was Jupiter with
Nectar. † *Asis, i. e. The Gods. Edda Mythol. Stroph. 50.*

Monument to the Memory of his good Father Vitarfus; the Lord have Mercy upon his Soul; which shews, that these Characters and Stones have been continued and adapted to the Times of Christianity. This is all that is remarkable about the Church; and as for the Town, it has not now a sufficient Number of Houses to make even a Village. Those which are neighbouring to it are very mean, and fit only for the Peasants who inhabit them; nor are there any Traces of Palaces or large Buildings, to confirm what has been wrote of it. They pretend, that there was the See of the first Bishops and Archbishops of *Upsal*; and their Ecclesiastical History reckons up to the Number of five Bishops who preceded the Archbishops. To the South West of this Church they shew a long Ridge of Hills, extending from East to West, which they pretend to have been the Tombs of the former Kings of this Country; but they, as well as the others that one meets with up and down, seem rather the Works of Nature than of Art. However, the late Mr. *Rudbeck*, who had the Curiosity to have them dug, and found there some Arms which they pretend belong'd to the ancient Heroes, has stopt the Mouths of any incredulous Persons; at least seems to believe that he has done so. Other Authors of the same Nation affirm, that the genuine Temple of the Northern Triple Deity, was formerly at *Ostenöös*, where now the City of *Upsal* is, which some call New *Upsal*; and that it stood on the same Foundation where now is the Church of the *Holy Trinity*, to whom it was consecrated by the *Christians*, and thus ceased to be subservient to the Worship of the three Pagan *Trium Deat* of the North. In favour of this Opinion they cite the River *Sakla*, now *Upsal ö ö*, which the most ancient History makes to have pass'd thro' the City where the Temple stood, and where was *Woden's* Fountain, wherein they washed the Victims, as well Men as Beasts, who were destin'd to be sacrificed; which Fountain was near the Temple, and is not to be found at *Gamla Upsala*, but in this City. What they now take for this Fountain of *Woden's*, is a Well, surrounded by some Pales, near the said old Church of the *Holy Trinity*. Those who are of the first Opinion elude or refute this Argument, by excusing the want of the River and Fountain at *Gamla Upsala*, by the Changes that have happen'd thro' the Distance of Time in Geography; the *Ancients* describing (as they say) Lakes, Woods, Rivers and Forests, where they now find Arable Fields and Meadows. But the Beginning of the History or rather Histories of this Country, are so obscure, that I shall be entirely Neuter as to all their Opinions. I shall only add, that the two Churches which serve now for the *Christian* Assemblies of the Peasants round about, have equally the same Antique and Simple, or rather Rustick Aspect; the Stone, and other Materials wherewith they are built, are the most common and unhew'd, and by no means answer the Magnificence of that which we are in quest of. But if Mr. *Schefferus*, that great Traveller in Theory, who has given the World an Account, so much admir'd, of *Lapland*, without having ever been there, and has found out that this Temple was wholly cover'd with Plates of Gold, fasten'd to Planks which cover'd the Stone Work, says true, I think the Goodness of the other Materials wou'd have been entirely superfluous: But let us leave what is not now to be seen in its *Chaos* and Obscurity, and pass on to what is still remaining, beginning if you please at the City of *Upsal*. 'Tis advantagiously New Up- situated in the midst of several large Plains, which properly make sala.

but one, by reason of some little Mountains which distinguish them. Upon the highest of these are the Ruins of the Royal Castle, burnt about Eighteen Years ago ; and from the Brow of it to the Bottom, the City extends itself from the South East to the North West. It has suffer'd very much by Fire, which at several times has quite chang'd its Shape ; and the last almost consum'd it to Ashes, together with the Castle before spoken of. Nor was the Cathedral, commonly call'd the Three Saints Church, from its having been consecrated to St. *Olaus*, St. *Eric* and St. *Lawrence*, secured by its Stone and Brick Walls, or its Brazen Roof ; no more than the House of the late M. *Rudbeck* was, by its being entirely covered with Iron. And this unmerciful Element has depriv'd the Publick of an Account of Travels into some Part of *Lapland*, and a Number of Observations upon the North of *Sweden*, made by Dr. *Ol. Rudbeck*, his eldest and worthy Son, a great Vertuoso, who had already begun to print some Sheets ; but was prevented from compleating it by the Fire's breaking in thro' a Window which was unhappily left open, and burning his Library and Manuscripts that were therein. Its Buildings are generally of Wood, excepting some few which are of Brick, as that of the Archbishop, and those of some Professors and Citizens. The Cathedral, the Library, and the Physick Garden, are the Places best worth a Traveller's Curiosity. The first (all rebuilt but its Spires, which are not finish'd ; nor (as they say) so high by one third as they were before, viz. 700 Foot) is cover'd with Brass as formerly ; and is, notwithstanding its *Gothick* Architecture, a fine Piece of Building, Seven Hundred and Forty Foot long, and One Hundred and Forty broad on the Inside, and about Two Hundred and Thirty Foot high from the Pavement to the Vaulted Roof ; and it is the largest, and best lighted, that I have seen in *Sweden*, excepting that of *Closterkirka*, at *Wastena*. As to its additional Ornaments within, consisting in fine Pictures and Statues of Saints, &c. the same cruel Element has almost wholly consumed them, but spared an Urn, or Shrine of Silver gilt, wherein they preserve, to this Day, the Bones of St. *Eric*, one of the Kings of this Country, whom they make the Founder of this Church, and who was Beheaded by the *Danes*, at that Time *Pagans*. It is in a sort of Coffin, or Chest, which serves it for a Case, and is covered with Sattin, and shut up within an Iron Grate, on the N. W. of the Altar, by the Side of the Choir. The Fall of the Vaulted Roof, which crack'd and sunk in, by reason of the Weight of its burning and melted Brass, mutilated and maimed the Tombs of the Kings and Queens, and great Noblemen. These are to be seen mostly in its 16 Antique Chappels, which had as many Altars, taken away by the Reformation. They are of Marble, and yet shew the Magnificence of the Times in which they were erected. That of *Gustavus* the 1st. lying in St. *Mary's* Chappel, with his three Wives, has been one of the best preserved. They shew'd me on both Sides of the Entry of this old Chappel, which is behind the Altar, two *Runic* Stones, lying even with the Ground, under two Pillars, which jut out enough for one to see part of their Characters, as that N^o. 6. Print XXXXII. of which they could only make this, *This Stone was erected for Katiulpe, by his Son Kimon, and by his Daughter Dohra, who have taken times a Journey to Jerusalem.* The Name of his Grand-Child *Girha*. These sort of Stones are flat, and generally so little polished, or rather so unhew'd, that they look as if Art had nothing to do with them, but only in the engraving of the Characters,

as I have already said elsewhere ; and in the Figures of Animals, which are ordinarily Dragons or Serpents, interwoven with each other, as may be seen in the said Print. Mr. *Olaus Rudbeck* resolves the Poetical Fictions, which have changed the Dead into Stones and Serpents, in this manner, *viz.* That they meant no more but to imply metaphorically that they were dead, because their Memories were preserv'd by these Stones ; and he makes their Arms, and other things which they used to bury with them, to be preserved by *Genies*, or *invisible and tutelary Beings*, represented under these Figures, to inspire Terror into those, who might be provoked by Avarice to unbury them, contrary to the Religion of those Times, deriving the Etymology of the Word *Dragon* from *Δρακόν* *intueri*. But the *Pagan* Superstition pushed this Imagination yet farther, and (not content credulously to attribute the Preservation of the Ashes, and the Treasures of the Dead, to these pretended *Genies* represented under these Figures) believed also farther (according to this Author, and several others) that they took likewise care of the Living ; and under this Belief used to honour them with a religious Worship, and even the great Men themselves, to whom these Monuments were erected, by numbring them amongst the Gods, by touching their Cloaths with the *Runastennar*, and scraping off the Dust, and breaking little Pieces to carry about with them as Remedies and Preservatives against all sorts of Sickness or fatal Accidents. The same Author hands down this Superstition of sweeping and touching these Stones, not only to the Time of the *Roman* Catholicks, who transferred it to the Urns and Statues of their Saints, but even some time after the prevailing of Protestantism. Amongst other Proofs, he brings an Instance of *Gustavus* the First, who was obliged to bury or hide under Ground the Statue of St. *Eric*, which was over the principal Gate of the Church, in order to take away the Opportunity from the common People ; who, spight of the *Reformation*, and all the Sermons of their Spiritual Ministers, continu'd to go and rub their own Cloaths, or those of their Friends and Kinsmen who were Sick, with the same View and Design as the *Roman* Catholicks had before them. He adds moreover, that a Reader in Divinity at *Westeras* was obliged to do the same by a *Runick* Stone in his Garden, into which the common People wou'd get in the Night upon the like Motive ; and also cites other Examples in his own Time in *Ostro-Gothland*, where some of the Inhabitants cou'd not even then get rid of that (says he) superstitious Infection. There is great reason to believe, that these Stones, of which I've taken Notice, as well in the Church as without, have been so laid down to be trodden under Feet, or not exposed to the Eyes of the first *Christians*, who had not quite worn out the Remains of *Paganism* ; it being contrary to the Posture intended by those who first erected them, as all their Inscriptions confirm. When I went into the Vestry they shew'd me several fine Altar Cloths and a Silver Cross ; in the body of which there is enclos'd some Wood, which was sent there formerly by Pope *Alexander III.* for a Piece of the True Cross of *Jesus Christ*, as also several Vessels and Candlesticks of Silver gilt, and especially some fine Chalices ; among which was one of massy Gold, enriched with several pretious Stones, taken at *Prague*, with the other before-mention'd in speaking of the Cathedral at *Stockholm*. There was another of Silver gilt, set with Stones of a lesser Value, which was taken in *Poland* at the Beginning of the late War, together with some Chasubles, or Priestly Habits,

Habits, richly embroider'd ; not to mention those belonging to the former Bishops and Archbishops of this Place, together with a Crosier and some Mitres, &c. They shew'd me likewise a little Trunk of Brass gilt, where they used to gather and keep the Money arising from Indulgences : There was also a larger, all of Steel, whose Lock was a very Ingenious Piece of Workmanship for the Time wherein it was made ; and in this Trunk they kept the black Robes, which they pretend to have been worn (according to the antient Mode) by the three Senators *Swante*, *Nicholas*, and *Eric Sture*, when they were inhumanly stabbed by King *Eric XIV.* with the Manifesto drawn upon Parchment by the States of the Kingdom, in Vindication of their Innocency. There was also a little Hat in the Shape of a Cap, to which a Glove was fastened of a very small Size, whereon the Name of *Sophia Juliana* was interwoven in Wooll and fine Silk. It belonged (as is believed) to the youngest of these Noble Martyrs, who carried it (according to the Gallantry of those Times) as a Favour from that Lady who had honour'd him with it. They shew'd me moreover a Whetstone, very strait, about three *English* Yards long, and the Bigness of one's Hand, which was carried (as they say) like a sort of a Standard before the *Swedish* Noblemen who were beheaded by the Order of *Christian the Tyrant*. Lastly, there was an old wooden Statue, or rather a Trunk of a Statue, very much maim'd, like that of *Pasquin's* at *Rome*, lying neglected upon the Ground in a Corner of the Vestry, which some will have to be the Statue of the God *Thor*, tho' I don't know upon what Grounds ; it being very unlikely, the *Pagan* Temple before-mention'd, being so sumptuous and magnificent as they represent it, that the Divinity who was principally therein worshipp'd, shou'd have had his Image of so despicable, corruptible, and combustible a Nature. Going out of this Church, at the Western Door, they made me observe in a Corner of it a Well, that had formerly been very famous for its miraculous Virtues ; and this is all that I found remarkable in it. Upon leaving it, they shew'd me over one of the *Porticoes* (which have nothing magnificent in them) a *Rose* in *Basso Relievo* ; which signifies, according to Mr. *Schefferus*, that the *Christian* Religion was introduced into *Sweden* by the *English*, who have a *Rose* in their Arms. There are also three *Crowns* on a *Escutcheon* in *Basso Relievo*, by which they pretend to prove, that *Sweden* had those Arms before the Union at *Calmar*.

Coming out of the Church in its Yard, by the Southern Gate, they shew'd me a sort of a Throne of Brick and Stone, with two little Pillars of a kind of Grey Marble ; which, together with a great deal more of another sort wherewith the Church is beautified, is dug out of the Heart of two Mountains in the Parish of *Licena*, about two Miles from *Upsal* : This latter sort is a little whiter than *Granite*. 'Twas upon the aforesaid Throne (as they say) that the Apostolical *Nuncios* used to sit and distribute their Indulgences, with the little Trunk aforementioned beside them ; and when I was got out of the Church-yard they made me observe some Ruins, pretended to be those of an ancient Church, (dedicated to *St. Barbara*, which they have not thought fit to rebuild) no more than several others that have been burned, as being now superfluous.

The next principal Edifice is that which is call'd *Auditorium Gustavianum*, and *Auditorium Anatomicum*. 'Tis a large Pile of Building,
more

more considerable for what it contains, than for its own intrinsic Value ; it had the good Fortune to escape the Fire very luckily, and consists of several handsome Rooms and Chambers divided into three Stories, each of them very proper for the Use for which they were design'd. On the Ground Floor they teach the *Learn'd Languages* ; on the first Story they perform *Academical Exercises*, and keep their *Assemblies* ; and on the second is the *Anatomical Theatre*, disposed according to the Directions of the late Mr. *Rudbeck*. In this latter is to be seen a *Humane Skin* curried, a *Mummy*, and among several other *Skeletons*, that of an *Ostrich*. The *Library*, which is what is there most considerable, takes up two large Rooms well lighted, and each of them 100 Foot long and 50 broad. It is kept in very good Order by the Care of Dr. *Benzelius*, a Man of distinguish'd Merit, and consists of more than 30,000 Volumes, as well rare and curious Manuscripts as printed Books, admirably well chosen, and drawn for the most part from the best Libraries the *Roman Catholick* Clergy possessed, before the Reduction of the Ecclesiastical Revenues at the *Reformation*. Amongst others, from that of the *Capuchins* at *Stockholm* ; that of the *Dominicans* at *Sigtuna*, and that of St. *Bridget* at *Wastena* : Also out of *Germany* from the Monasteries of *Riga* and *Marienburg*, from the Bishop of *Wurtzburg*, from *Prague*, &c. Not to mention those out of *Poland* from *Cracow* and *Wilna* ; and since the Reduction of the Revenues of the Nobility from the Library of C. *Jacob de la Gardie*, out of which King *Charles XI.* sent 2000 of the best Volumes to this Academy. They shew there, among others, the Original Translation of the Evangelists by *Ulphila*, as one of the most curious Pieces in *Europe*. 'Tis well enough known what this Translation is, by what has been written concerning it, and by the several Copies which are to be seen elsewhere, tho' incorrect in themselves ; but I don't know whether the World is inform'd of its Fortune, since its being taken at *Prague* ; and tho' the Account of it may not seem of great Importance, yet I shall take the Liberty to relate what I had from very good Hands ; it was thus. Being brought out of *Germany* by C. *Koningmark* with a great Quantity of other rich Spoil, Queen *Christina* made a Present of it to *Vossius*, her Library Keeper ; who, upon his leaving *Sweden*, carried it into *Holland* ; where he kept it during his Life as one of the greatest Rarities in his Cabinet. After his Death C. *Gabriel de la Gardie* bought it of his Heirs for 2000 Florins of that Country ; and after having cover'd it with Silver (whence it is now call'd the Silver Manuscript) he presented it to the Academical Library, where it now is.

The Northern Writers make this *Ulphila* Author of the *Gothick Characters*, Column (b) Print XXXII. which succeeded the *Runick* ones in the same Print, Column (a). Others confound the *Gothick* with what they call in *Sweden*, *Munk Styl*, or the Characters of the *Monks*. Col. (c) (d).

In the midst of the Southern Chamber is a very curious Cabinet, presented to *Gustavus Adolphus* by the Magistrates of *Augsbourg*. Its Body is of Cedar and Ebony, embellish'd with several sorts of precious Stones, and adorn'd with many fine Pieces in Miniature and inlaid Work, which are ingenious Imitations of Nature, and represent for the most part some Stories in Sacred History. There are also in divers little Drawers a Number of Rarities of different sorts, amongst which are some very curious Mathematical Instruments and Medals, for the most

most part Gold or Silver, but which are not so uncommon or valuable as to deserve to be here enumerated. It is about three Yards high; and ends in a sort of artificial Rock, made of Chrystal, of Branches of Coral, and several sorts of Minerals; upon the Summit whereof is a great Vessel of *Cocoa* in the Form of a Shell. In a Gallery between the two Rooms aforementioned are to be seen several other Curiosities, as Mathematical Instruments, Pictures of the Archbishops and Chancellors of the Academy; with some Busts, among which is that of *Charles XI.* of *Genoese* Marble. In one of the Chambers upon this Floor was formerly perform'd the Ceremony call'd *Deposition*, as Singular as Comical, which was within a little after this manner:

The Master of the Ceremony call'd *Heer Depositor*, had the *Dieknar* or young Students, who were desirous to be received into the University, dress'd in Habits of different Pieces and Colours; after which their Faces were black'd, long Ears and Horns fasten'd to the Borders of their Hats which were let down, and two Boar's Tusks put at each Corner of their Mouths, which they were obliged to hold fast like little Pipes, and not let fall on pain of a Cudgelling; and lastly, a long black Mantle was flung over their Shoulders. They being thus disguis'd, full as monstrously and more ridiculously than those who are designed to be burned by the Inquisition, the *Depositor* having in his Hand a long Stick, with a little Axe fasten'd to the End of it, drove them before him out of the *Deposition* Chamber like a Drove of Oxen or Asses into another Room, where the Spectators expected them. Then he ranged them into a Circle, standing himself in the Middle; and after having measur'd them, he made them stand equal with his Stick, as a Serjeant does the Soldiers with his Halbert, in order to make them keep their Ranks. Then making several wry Faces and dumb Congees, he used to rally them upon their ridiculous Equipage and Appearance; after which, altering his Stile from the Burlesque to the serious, he harangued them, reckoning up the several Vices and Follies that Youth are prone to, and shewing the Necessity of their being corrected, chastised and polished by the Study of good Literature. Then changing again for the Burlesque, or rather Tragi-comick, he asked them several Questions, which they were obliged to answer; but the Boar's Tusks, which they held in their Mouths, hindering them from speaking distinctly or intelligibly, and making them grunt like Hogs; he from thence took Occasion to call them so, giving them some slight Blows over the Shoulders with his Stick, or boxing them with his Gloves, accompanying his Cuffs with Reprimands; explaining to them, that the Tusks signify'd the Intemperance and Debauches of Youth; who, by the Excess of Eating and Drinking, cloud their Understandings by overcharging their Stomachs. Then he drew a Pair of Wooden Pincers out of a Bag, like those which are used by the Juglers; these he lock'd fast in their Necks, shaking them up and down, till the Tusks fell out of their Mouths; telling them, that if they were docible, and endeavoured to profit by the Lessons of the Academy, into which they desired to enter, they shou'd shake off their intemperate and gluttonous Inclinations, as they had those Tusks. After this he pluck'd off their long Ears, by which he gave them to understand, that they ought to apply themselves diligently to their Studies, that they might not be like the Animal that wears them: He next took off their Horns, by which Act he signify'd, as he said, that Learning would

would take all savage and brutish Dispositions : Lastly, drawing a Plane out of the same Bag, he made them one after another lie down upon their Bellies, then on their Backs, and their two Sides ; and in each Posture he rubbed them all over with the Plane, telling them then, that as the Plane polishes Wood, so good Literature and the Liberal Arts wou'd polish their Understandings. After several other ridiculous Acts of the same Pedantick and Burlesque Nature, he fill'd a great Vessel with Water, which he pour'd all over their bare Heads till he had almost drown'd them, and then wip'd their Faces roughly with a hard Towel ; but if any generous Candidate was too tender of his Flesh to have it so curry'd, he might avoid this rubbing by drawing a white Handkerchief out of his Pocket, in one Corner whereof were tied some little Pieces of Silver, which the *Depositor* (who understood the Meaning of it) took from him ; and after wiping him with it, put it in his own. The Farce or Ceremony being ended by this Ablution, the *Depositor* exhorted this planed, curry'd and washed Troop of Students to lead a new Course of Life ; to resist and relinquish their evil Inclinations and Habits, which wou'd disfigure their Minds as much as the different Parts of their Disguise had done their Bodies. This done, he declared them free Students of the Academy, upon Condition that they shou'd wear long black Mantles, like those which they had at the *Deposition*, for the Space of Six Months, and longer ; to go each of them every Day to those of their respective Provinces who had been received Students before, and offer them their Services, as well at their Ordinaries as in their Chambers ; and that they shou'd obey the Orders they receiv'd from them, and submit without murmuring to all the Railleries and Reproaches which they shou'd put upon them. This was call'd the *Penales*. The Day after the Expiration of the Six Months, they were obliged to give a good Entertainment to those whom they had served, in order to be receiv'd as their Companions.

C. Piper, when he was Chancellor of the Academy, abolished the Ceremony of the *Deposition* ; nevertheless the Students still wear the black Cloaks for a certain Time, and continue the Services call'd *Penales* ; at least the poorest of them, and such as are design'd for the Priesthood, who are generally Peasants ; because the Nobility of that Country never take Orders, chusing rather to be Officers. The *Chancellor* of the Academy, before the *Reformation*, was always an Archbishop, till the Time of *Gustavus Adolphus*, who substituted a Senator, which is continued to this Day ; but the Vice-Chancellor is the Archbishop of *Upsal*, (the only Archbishop that the *Lutherans* have either in *Sweden*, *Germany*, or elsewhere.) There is also a *Rector Magnificus*, who is chosen every Six Months from amongst the Professors, or some Noble Students, who are distinguished by their Merit, and the Credit of their Parents ; there are 17 Professors, to wit, four in *Divinity*, two in *Equity*, nine in *Philosophy*, and two in *Physick*, with one *Library-Keeper*, one *Treasurer*, and one *Secretary*. The Students are divided into three Classes ; the first are the Counts and Barons, the second Gentlemen, and the third the Sons of Citizens and Countrymen, out of which (as I said already) the Priests are chosen. Besides the *Gustavian* Auditory, there is also that which they call the *Caroline*, adjoining to the Church-yard Wall towards the South. It has nothing to recommend it but its Convenience, and a Physick Garden

pretty curious ; but which was yet more so in the Time of the late Mr. *Rudbeck*, by reason of several Foreign Plants which he had taken care to procure and cherish there ; which having perish'd after his Death, have not been supply'd by others, on account of the Difficulty of getting them, and of the Expence of the Purchase, which the Academy is at present less able to sustain than ever.

Morasten.

Having seen all that was remarkable there, I went to view *Morasten*, a fine Meadow at this Time, about a Mile and a quarter from *Upsal* to the South East, where they formerly elected their Kings after the following Manner : The greatest Part of the People being met there, the Chief *Lagman of Upland*, whose Office answer'd to that of *Tribune of the People* among the *Romans*, made a Speech to them agreeable to the Occasion upon which they were assembled together, and desired they wou'd give their Suffrages disinterestedly, without having any other Aim than the Publick Good and Welfare ; after which every one gave his Vote, and he that had most Voices was proclaimed King thus : They placed him upon the highest of several Stones, of which some are still remaining there ; after which Twelve *Lagmans* set themselves on Twelve others ; then the *Lagman of Upland* saluted him, or paid him Homage as Sovereign ; then the others did the same in their Turns. Then the King took in this open Field an Oath to protect and defend his Subjects ; but they did not take the Oaths of Fidelity and Obedience to him till they returned to *Upsala*. There are now no more than Nine of these Stones to be seen, surrounded by a Pallisade ; they are of the Marble of *Licena*, of an Octangular Figure ; some of them of different Bigness, but for the most part maimed or broken. Upon one of the principal ones is to be seen a Globe and a Cross, on a second a plain Cross, on the third which is square are three Crowns, on the fourth the Numbers and Letters following, O... DO... MCCC.. I.. II.. EL.. CIS.. E.. I.. Reg.. S.. I.. D.. N.. R.. DO.. ER.. which is thus explain'd, *Ann. Dom. 1396. 23 Julii Electus est in Regem Sueciæ item Daniae & Norvegiæ; Rugiæ Dominus Ericus*. The History of *Sweden* shews, that this was *Eric the Pomeranian*, and gives some Light into the Characters which are hardly distinguishable, any more than those upon the largest of these Stones ; whereon, with a great deal of Difficulty one may make out Ao. D. M. CD. XLVIII. XXVIII. I. V. A. P. P. E. N. C. K. M. S. R. S... which they decypher and interpret thus, *Ann. Dom. 1448. 28 Die Mensis Junij in Vigilia Apostolorum Petri & Pauli, electus est Nobilis Vir Carolus Knutsen Miles, Natione Suecus in Regem Sueciæ*. These Figures and Characters are all so barbarously cut, that they seem to have been made with the Point of a Knife ; and the greatest part is so effaced, that one can hardly read or see any thing without the help of Divination.

Danmora.

Mr. *Benzelius*, the Library-Keeper, among other Civilities that I receiv'd from him during the Week I staid at *Upsal*, having given me the Perusal of the most curious Books in the Library, and loaded me with Favours, I proceeded on the 26th in the Morning for *Danmora*, where I arrived that Night. 'Tis a little Village, to which the Lake (D) (D) (D) (D) in the Print XXXV. gives its Name, at a good Distance from the Mine likewise so call'd ; from which the Houses of the *Directors*, *Inspectors* or chief Miners, &c. and Workmen are separated, and situated as (3) (34) (40) (45) (49) (50) &c. This Mine is not only one, but a Legion of Mines and Pits, wherewith the Earth is pierc'd here and there ; the

the richest of which are situated on the Borders of this Lake, and have their Mouths level (or within a little of it) with the Surface of the Water, and their Bottoms under its Channel; from the Overflowings whereof they are defended by artificial Banks (a) (a). As for the Water which runs into it thro' little narrow subterraneous Cavities, which it either makes or finds between the Lake and the Mine, they draw it away principally by a Water Engine, or else by a Machine which is set a going by a Windmill. I shall not presume to give any Description of either; but shall only say, that the first consists of a great Wheel above 100 Foot in Circumference, put in Motion by a running Water brought from a little Hamlet call'd *Harwick*, an *Arm*, as they call it there, a sort of Machine above 886 Perches long, and mark'd (43) (43) (43) fasten'd to its Axis, which moves backwards and forwards, reaches to the Mouth of the Openings, and has Communication with several Pumps with which it corresponds by other lesser Machines, and draws the Water out of the Mines, as well as the Mineral. These Mines are nothing near so deep as those of *Sahlberg* and *Falun*, the deepest being scarce 60 Fathoms. They are distinguish'd by different Names, as *Soedra Jord-grufwan* 45 Fathom deep; *Soedra Silfbergz-grufwan* 30, that is to say the *Southern Mine of Jord*, and the *Southern Silver Mine*; it having been so call'd on account of some wandering Veins of that Metal found in it, but without running any length. There are also two other Mines of the same Name, but to the North; the first 50, and the second between 27 and 28 Fathom deep. The other Openings are *Loeffstadtz*, *Ekerotz-Skierpningen*, cultivated at the Expences of the Proprietors of the Forges at *Loeffstadtz*, N. (6.) and about 12 Fathom deep and 8 wide. *Tunfrugrufwar*, or the *Virgin Mine*, so call'd, because some young Maidens were the first who discovered its rich Veins, and got thereby both a great deal of Reputation and Money; and *Apal Skierpningen*, N. (5.) and *Fisksumgrufwar*, N. (7.) both abandoned, with a great many others, as No. (8) (10), and all those which have no Machine, or Figures in the said Print; it being impossible to work them by reason of the Water, which is predominant in them. The Way of going into these Mines is by a sort of a Leather Sack fastened to a Chain, which is likewise tied to a Cable, like the Bucket at *Sahlberg*. In this dismal subterraneous Kingdom of *Pluto*, (which is only enlighten'd by the Fire they use, in order to cleave the Rock with the greater ease) there are to be seen more Women than Men, who are employ'd in burning and breaking this Metallick Rock, and in filling the Vessels which are drawn up by the divers Machines. I have already hinted, that this Sex being the most numerous by reason of the War, which has taken away the most part of the other, Women are employ'd in any sort of hard Labour, as Tilling the Ground, Mowing, Rowing, Riding *Postillions*, &c. so that if the late King had lived and continu'd the War, he would have been oblig'd perhaps to try the Female Courage for want of Men. *Danmora* is the most general Magazine, and the richest Treasure for Iron that has been as yet found out in *Sweden*; and its Veins are the most abundant, more fix'd, and of greatest Extent. It sends its Iron to an infinite Number of Forges above 25 Miles round.

* The Plan from which the Print was engraven being too long to be inserted, it was necessary to divide it into three Parts; whereof (A) is the Beginning, (B) the Middle, and (C) the End. It being requisite the Middle shou'd be kept entire, to shew the whole Length of the Arm or Machine.

Loefstar-
bruck.

Hearing much Talk of *Loefstarbruck*, about two Miles from thence, as being the most famous Forge in the Country, I went thither on the 28th, and found they had but done it Justice. It belongs to Mr. *Charles Dehgeer*, Brother to him who owns the Foundery of Cannons before-mention'd: There was a very handsome House, tho' built for the most part of Wood, with a Garden and Green-House answerable to it; also Houses for above 200 Workmen employ'd there, with a Church and Hospital, which made as it were a little Town; it was by the *Muscovites* laid all waste in 1719 and 1720, with a great many other neighbouring Forges near the Sea-side; and I question whether the Owners will ever rebuild there so fine a Palace as that House might be call'd.

I return'd in the Evening to *Upsal*, where I staid only that Night; and in the Morning, I took the directest and the shortest Way to *Stockholm*. Going by *Alfich*, about a Mile and a quarter thence, I discover'd a *Runick* Stone; and about two Miles farther at *Hammarby*, I met another. The Explication of the first has a Cross in the Middle, as that N. (1) in the Print XXXII. and the Explication of the Characters is as follows: *Hulmair and Uni erected this Stone in Memory of their Father Sola*; those of the second signify, *That Olaf and Gunile raised this Monument for their Son Guna, and Kitil with them for his Brother*; and that the Letters were carved by *Ubick*.

C H A P. XI.

Of the King's leaving Norway, and retiring to Lund. Of this City. Of an Aphage there. Count Gyllenbourg, Baron Goertz, and Mr. Jackson's being arrested. Of Falun, and its Mine; and the Opening of the Congress at Lofto, &c.

IN the mean while, the Winter Campaign for the Year 1716 being ended in *Norway* after the manner before-mention'd, the King had retired to *Lund*, as into Summer Quarters; his Majesty delighting always in Hardships and Difficulties, seem'd by his Choice to find the hot Season too commodious in so cold a Climate as that of *Norway* to make War during it. The Voyage of Baron *Goertz*, whose Arrival on the other Side the *Baltick* was publickly known before his Departure from *Sweden* was talk'd of, employ'd the People's Thoughts, and gave Birth to divers Speculations. They who were acquainted with the Proposals which had been made by him to the King, in behalf of the Deputies of *Madagascar*, (who were come to desire Permission for a Colony of Pyrates of that Country to settle at *Gottenbourg*, and bring with them 60 Vessels laden with their Riches,) gave out that he was gone to *Holland* to buy there some Ships, wherein to send them the Arms and Ammunition

tion they had demanded for their Security in their Passage. Others would have it, that 'twas only to borrow a Sum in good Gold and Silver Specie, to support the Credit of the imaginary Brads and Paper Money, which was then almost the only Coin that was current in *Sweden*. The most penetrating said it was for both; because (added they) our *Muntetekens* won't purchase Vessels to send to the Pyrates of *Madagascar*. But in *February 1717*, News was brought to *Gotten-*
bourg, by a Master of a *Dutch* Ship, of the Baron and Count *Gyllen-*
bourg being arrested for projecting a Descent upon *Scotland*, in order to set the *Chevalier de St. George* on the Throne of *Great Britain*; and their Letters intercepted and published thereupon, alter'd and divided again the Sentiments and Opinions of the *Swedes*. They who best knew the Weakness of their State, as well by Sea as Land, said there was either a great deal of Folly in projecting such an Invasion, or else 'twas a Trick and Piece of State Policy; and they who were acquainted with the Baron suspected the latter, as being a thing allowable in some degree in Publick Ministers. Others comparing the Letters of Count *Gyllenbourg* and Baron *Sparre*, with those of Baron *Goertz*, said 'twas the strangest Conspiracy in the World, between three Persons who did not seem reciprocally to understand each other: "Baron
 " *Goertz* (added they) discovers visibly by his Letters, that the Inva-
 " sion is but a Pretence to get Money from the *Chevalier* and his Ad-
 " herents; the Credit of *Sweden* being no longer current amongst Fo-
 " reign Bankers and Merchants. This (say they) is evident from the
 " Proposals of certain Friends (as he calls them) which must be re-
 " ceived but on the foot of a Loan; as the Manifesto also shews to
 " any one that has Eyes, as well as the great Care taken to save the
 " Honour of the King of *Sweden*, whose Generosity and Delicacy in
 " such Points he well knows. In fine, (continued they) if Count *Gyl-*
 " *lenbourg's* Calculation of the *British* Subjects, (amongst whom he
 " reckons Nine in Ten to be Rebels) were true but by half, they would
 " stand in no need of our Assistance, or any Foreign Force to change
 " their King. Besides that, our Fleet at *Carelskroon* is in no Condition
 " to put to Sea, and is block'd up in that Harbour by the superior
 " Force of the *Czar* and the King of *Denmark*; and our Squadron at
 " *Gottenbourg* lies rotting in that Port; all which is very improper to
 " give Credit to the transporting of 10000 Soldiers into *Scotland*:
 " And either they to whom this Succour was promised, must be the
 " most misinform'd in the World of the State of our Affairs; or they
 " would know that we have not so many Men as we want to defend our
 " own Territories, or be contented with Women, whereof we have enough
 " and to spare; as well as Officers to command ten times the promis'd
 " Number." To conclude, they believ'd that the only real Design of
 the Baron's Scheme was to borrow a Sum of Money of the *English* Male-
 contents, without entring into any other formal and publick Engage-
 ment in the King's Name, than to repay it; and that such other Promises
 as flatter'd their Disaffection to King *George*, and Inclination for a
 Change, were necessary to get it, considering the little Credit of *Sweden*;
 that he had need of this to buy Shipping and Ammunition, to send the
 Arms to the Pyrates of *Madagascar*, which had been promised them;
 their Riches being very necessary in *Sweden*, which had no Prospect of
 retrieving her low Estate, but what was very distant: And that, as
 for the rest, if there was any more than Pretence in the afore-men-
 tion'd

1717.

tion'd Invasion, it could not be put in Execution, till after the Arrival of the Fleet with that Colony at *Gottenbourg*.

To leave these Political Conjectures, let us see in what Manner the King receiv'd the News of the Imprisonment of his Ministers, the Seizure of their Papers, and the Printing of their Letters, which were presented to him at the same Time, not long after his Arrival at *Lund*. At the Words *Invasion projected*, and *Letters printed*, that Prince fell a laughing, and ask'd, If there were none of his Writing? They shew'd him his full Power amongst them; upon which he said, *Have they any thing of the Invasion in that?* Mr. *Mullern* answer'd, That to his Eyes there appeared nothing in it. So, after some serious Remonstrances of his Council, who call'd the Arrest a Violation of the Law of Nations, His Majesty dispatch'd an Order to the *Statdholder* of *Stockholm*, to use Reprisals, by arresting Mr. *Jackson*, the *British Resident*, with his whole Family; which was done accordingly, even to his younger Son, who was at the University of *Upsala*, and seizing of all their Papers and most ordinary Letters. And whether somebody had aggravated to his Guards the Rigour used to Count *Gyllenbourg* or not, he was much more severely treated in *Sweden* than that Count was in *England*, not having so much as the Liberty of lying in the same Chamber with his Lady. I went to *Lund* about that Time, and lodg'd in the same House with one of the two Secretaries, to whom the Examination of their Papers was committed; they found nothing in them against his Majesty's and his People's Interest, but many Trifles in the Letters of his Children, which made them laugh. I received there the first Letter upon the War, and prodigious Success of the *Porte* against *Venice*.

Lund.

Lund is an old City, the Capital of *Scania*, about half a Mile from *Malmoe*, and has nothing praise-worthy either in its Churches or Houses, the Number whereof is very much diminished for want of Inhabitants; 'tis a Bishop's See, and the Residence of a Governour of a Province. It was formerly an Archbishoprick, and had the famous *Abfalom* for one, if not the first of its Archbishops, of whom I shall take farther Notice in the Chapter of *Denmark*. Its Academy is pretty well known, but has not near so many Students as the *Gymnasium* at *Scara*, or some other Cities in *Sweden*: However, its Cathedral Church partakes of the Beauties of the Time wherein it was built. 'Tis a lofty large Building, cover'd with Lead, about whose Roof the superstitious Traditions of the Country have handed down many Stories; whereof one says, that a certain mischievous Spirit spoil'd and destroy'd in the Night-time what was built in the Day. The King was in perfect Health, and lodged at the House of one of the Professors; the Chamber where his Majesty lay, was suitable to his ordinary Choice, and his Bed was only some Trusses of Straw laid upon the Ground, where he us'd to rest himself but from 9 or 10 at Night, till 1 in the Morning, without any Sheets, or other Covering than a Cloak, sometimes not that, and bare-headed as usual. One might have Audience of this Prince every Day, or rather every Night, before two in the Morning, and he was commonly on Horseback at 7 or 8, and wou'd return by 1 or 2 in the Afternoon, and sometimes at Night, and that without eating any thing. His Majesty had, some time after my Arrival, the Curiosity to see one of his Subjects, in the Neighbourhood, who had lived (as they say of the Camelions) between 6 and 7 Years without eating, if we can call it living,

living, to have lost the Use of all her Limbs, excepting her Tongue and Eyes: For 'twas reported that she would talk very much, and with incomparable Sense, (which is very uncommon) that she had Visions, and saw Things invisible to other Eyes, as God and his Angels; and that she cou'd discover corporal Objects as distinctly in the Night, as at Noon-Day, as they say by Owls. They added likewise, that during the Time of her Fasting, she had never slept, without you will call it sleeping, to fall into long and frequent Syncopes and Faintings, as she often did; during which, she would so far lose her Senses, as not to be sensible of any Pain, whatever Part of her Body you pierc'd; nor could she hear the Sound of a Pistol or Musquet, when fir'd at her Ears. They said also, that during these Syncopes and Fits, she made Journeys into Heaven; which when she came to her self she would describe like a fine white Temple, where she had discoursed with God himself, and a hundred other Imaginations. This *Aphage* or *Faster*, whose Name was *Esther Johnsdotter*, had nothing but Skin and Bones. She was celebrated for her so long and extraordinary Fasting, in the Writings of several Divines and Philosophers of that Country, whose Speculations, Tongues and Pens she sufficiently employed; among others, the Bishop of *Scara* reckons that she liv'd by Faith and the Word of God, which she often quoted. Dr. *Block*, a very learned Physitian, says 'twas *Spiritu Universi*, by the Spirit of the Universe; or by the Air, which encloses and contains that nutritive Moisture, which they call *Principium Materiale cujuscumq; Nutritionis*, or the Material Principal of all Nourishment. Thus they, and many others, Divines and Philosophers, have made her subsist till 1713. when a Common Soldier, who was quarter'd in the same House, restor'd her both to the Use of her Limbs and Appetite, by getting her with Child; made her (as he and she confessed afterwards) first live upon Milk, then upon a little Meat Broth, and lastly on other Victuals; by the help of which she recover'd her Strength and her Flesh, has began to walk, and to perform all the natural Functions of Life; she was delivered of a Daughter the 29th of *September* of the said Year, and ran away with the Father, to avoid the Penitential Bench of the Church; but they married together for greater Security, and she has since brought him many other Children. She was not ugly, but her Complexion was a little upon the tawny since she had been expos'd to the Weather; before which (as they say) it had been very fine. The King ask'd her several Questions concerning her Distemper, to which she gave very satisfactory and reasonable Answers; but he put her extreamly to the blush, upon his asking her how the Soldier could have any carnal Copulation with her, in that lifeless Condition wherein she was represented to have been? She stood speechless and confus'd, without opening her Mouth, till his Majesty encourag'd her, by saying, with that Familiarity which he always us'd to his Inferiors, *Don't fear, speak freely*; then, being come to her self, she answer'd, That he had done it during one of her Syncopes, and that she was not at all sensible; the King gave her some Ducats, and advanced her Husband to be Corporal.

Mr. *Grelot*, in his Travels, tells us of an old Man amongst the *Maronites*, who at Ninety Years of Age observ'd the Custom he had long us'd, of eating but seven times during the Lent of that Sect, which lasts seven Weeks. And even whilst I am writing this, there is an Account in the *English* News Papers of a Woman at *Bodenham* in *Herefordshire* yet living, who for the Space of Thirty five Weeks has not touch'd any

any Victuals but once or twice, and even then but a very small Quantity. I won't aver either of these to be Fact; but of this I'm sure, that the Story of the *Swedish Aphage* is believ'd, and asserted for a Truth, by the best Quality in that Kingdom.

Some time after, his Majesty being in perfect Health, and being perhaps afraid of too much, or of growing too fat; or, as some say, having a mind to try whether 'twas impossible to live without eating, exceeded his fasting in *Norway*, by a voluntary Abstinence for Seven Days; during which, they assured me, that he eat no more than the *Aphage* aforementioned had done for so many Years, but was always on Horseback as usual, and even more: For on the 6th Day he rode 16 Miles, but on the seventh his Majesty seem'd to be very sensible of Hunger, by eating very heartily at the present King's, whither he invited himself.

His Majesty finding me some Days after at Baron *Mullern's*, ask'd me whether I could not induce a Colony of *French* Refugees of all Professions to settle at *Gottenbourg*, to whom he would grant Twelve Years of Immunities and Freedom from all Contributions, Wood to build, with full Liberty of Conscience? I offer'd my Endeavours for it; and Count *Morner*, Governor of the Place, had Orders to encourage the Undertaking with all his Power; and I was to Travel to *Brandenburg*, *Holland*, &c. at his Majesty's Expence for that purpose, as soon as some Affairs which I had then in *Sweden* were finish'd. We heard about that time that my Lord *Duffus*, who escaped the Winter before from the Pretender's vain Attempt on *Scotland*, with many of that Nation, most Part Highlanders, on board a *French* Ship, which by contrary Winds was driven to *Gottenbourg*, had been arrested at *Hambourgh* by the *British* Resident, as a Rebel against the King of *Great Britain*. Some of these were still remaining at *Gottenbourg*, and were very ill satisfy'd with their Master's Expedition and Conduct, as well as with that of their Leaders; even to the saying to me, in their Brogue, *By G — he is not worth fighting for.* And not long after, I was inform'd from *Hambourgh*, of the Seizure of Mr. *Wouranowsky* by the *Muscovite* Minister, tho' he had been advised by his Friends not to trust himself in that City, alledging the Example of that Lord's being taken up, and much doubting whether he wou'd be so well treated by the *Czar*, as his Lordship by his *Britannick* Majesty.

Some particular Business calling me to *Gottenbourg*, I went thither in the latter End of *March*, where I hardly heard any thing, but Complaints of the Merchants against the Commodore *Gathenhielm*, and his Gang of Privateers. They reckon'd up about 50 Vessels, which he had taken since the second time of my coming thither, both *English* and *Dutch*, in the greatest Part of which the *Swedes* were concerned; and I was assured, by Persons of Honour, who were wholly disinterested, that of all the Vessels which were taken and condemned, there were not two that were good and lawful Prize, even according to the Regulation of the Privateers. Amongst others, they named a *Dutch* Vessel, in which the Hereditary Prince of *Hesse Cassel*, the present King of *Sweden*, had a great Quantity of *Champaign* and *Burgundy*, with several things for the Princess, his Spouse; as a Table and Dressing-Glass for her Toilet, a little *China* Cabinet, some fine Cages with *Canary* Birds, which were all condemn'd and sold publickly to the best Bidder, without any regard to their Highnesses, or without giving them any civil Notice, or Time to send any Orders to redeem them.

I my

I my self saw the little wing'd Captives at Merchants Houses who had bought them, and were become their Owners, instead of those whom they had the Honour to be design'd for.

This Noble Chief of the Privateers afore-mention'd had, besides the two Frigates that the King had given him with the Title of Commodore, several Brigantines and Cruisers depending on him, and under his own Pay ; among others one *Norcross*, who had twice escaped out of Prison in *Great Britain*, was thought worthy to command one, and had already signaliz'd himself (as I was inform'd) by cruising even into the Ports of their Allies. I will only mention the two freshest of his Exploits, the first was his taking a small *English* Vessel that had on Board a Courier dispatched secretly by the Friends of Count *Gyllenbourg* to the Court of *Sweden*, in order to inform them of his being detain'd ; the News of which was brought before by a *Dutch* Ship. This Courier, a *Swede* by Extraction, was strip'd of all he had by the same *Norcross*, and reduced to borrow of one Mr. *Alstrom*, a Merchant of my Acquaintance, Linnen, Stockings, and even Buckles for his Shoes, the new Privateer having taken his, which were Silver ; and the Sailors were obliged to ask Alms of the Merchants : The second was his plundering the *Dutch* Packet Boat, which he brought in Triumph to *Gathenbielm*, who is now dead. This *Gothick Hero* is buried in the great Church at *Gottenbourg*, under a magnificent brazen Tomb, which he had erected before his Death. During the Twenty Days that I staid in that City, I saw almost as many Merchant Ships taken by the Fleet of this Commander.

I return'd to *Lund* the Beginning of *May*, where I presented a Petition to his Majesty, to which he had the Goodness to make a favourable Answer ; and I owe this Acknowledgment to the Memory of this Prince, to say that he never refused me any thing I ever desired, tho' indeed I never did ask for my self. In the mean while, some Peasants, deputed from the Mines, and other principal Places in the Country, being come to congratulate their Sovereign upon his Return into his own Dominions, his Majesty received them very graciously, ordered them to be well treated, and made them carry away the great Silver Cups, out of which they had drank some of the best Wines that could be found in that Place ; commanding for the future, that they shou'd bring his Water, which was always his constant Liquor, in those Tin ones that Mr. *Polhielm* made with his Water Engine. This Prince was so well satisfy'd with these Tin Cups, that he forbid the Use of Silver, either at his Table, or in his Chamber ; and wou'd have all his Dishes, Plates, Spoons, Salt-fellers, Candlesticks, &c. of Tin from that new Manufacture, or rather Aquafacture, if I may use that Term, as being the most proper, since Water has the greatest Share in the making of it, as I'll observe afterwards.

Several *Turks*, of those who had followed the King on account of Money lent to his People since the Action of *Varnitza*, came there from *Carlsbam*, where they most part lived, and had a very gracious Audience of that Prince ; who allow'd them a Dollar Silver Mint, viz. Thirty two Pence a-Day each for their Maintenance, and that in *Mun-tetekens*, with their Lodgings gratis, till he had enough of good Money to pay them. They wonder'd much at his Majesty's Authority in giving to a small Piece of Copper that Value ; and at his Peoples Submission in receiving it as such, and were pleased that they could live so

well upon it. The Occasion of their Visit was to demand Justice upon one among them there, who had kill'd another. His Majesty bid them chuse a Judge and an Executioner of their own Nation, to condemn and punish all the Guilty according to their Crimes, which Counsel they liked; and being return'd to *Carlsbam* follow'd it, beheading the Murtherer.

In the mean while, the two *Swedish* Ministers being set at Liberty, by the Regent of *France's* Interposition, the *British* Resident was releas'd likewise, and Count *Gyllenbourg* being sent back into *Sweden* on Board a Man of War belonging to his *Britannick* Majesty, Mr. *Jackson* was carried by the same into *England*. Baron *Goertz* return'd into *Sweden* by the way of *Revel*, *Abo*, &c. with a Passport of the *Czar's*, which seem'd as a good Prefage of a Peace, after which the People had so long sigh'd, and render'd the Presence of that Minister more agreeable to them than it used to be; and he was observ'd to be rather greater with the King than before. In the mean while, an Envoy from the Chevalier *de St. George* arrived in *Sweden incognito*, to demand of the King (as was believ'd) the Accomplishment of the Promises wherewith his Ministers had flatter'd him; and for which they had receiv'd at *Paris* a Million of *French* Livres, and were offer'd yet greater Sums. But whether Baron *Goertz* (to whom he at first address'd himself) did not think it a proper Time, or that he had never design'd it, he return'd even without having Audience of his Majesty. These Conferences with the Baron were kept very secret; and 'twas known afterwards that the Envoy was gone to *Mittau* in *Courland*, to the Duke of *Ormond*, who was also there *incognito*, with a Commission of the Chevalier, to whom some wou'd have it that the *Czar* had given Hopes, that he wou'd favour his ascending the *British* Throne, in case the King of *Sweden* wou'd consent to the Conditions of Peace proposed by Baron *Goertz*, make an Offensive and Defensive Alliance against King *George*, and on his Side lend a helping Hand towards the dethroning his Majesty. The Measures taken by the King of *Great Britain* (in Quality of Condirector of the Circle of *Lower Saxony*) to oblige the *Czar* to withdraw his Forces from *Mecklemburg*, may have given rise to these Thoughts, and served at least for a Pretence to his *Czarian* Majesty for the Designs ascrib'd to him, the *Hanoverian* Troops, in executing the Imperial Mandate, not having spared the 3000 *Muscovites* left in the Service of the Duke of *Mecklemburg*; who increased his Forces, in order to maintain his Refusal of giving Satisfaction to his Nobility. The Peace with *Sweden*, in which his *Britannick* Majesty as *Elect* prevented him since, in 1719, and his procuring it to the other Northern Allies, have a little heighten'd his Resentment, altho' his *Czarian* Majesty had for a long time begun to treat separately, exclusive of them: In fine, the Coolness subsists still between those two Princes.

1718. But, to return to my Subject; they who had put the Construction aforementioned to the Favour shown by the *Czar* to Baron *Goertz*, and the Passport granted him, were not a little pleased at finding themselves not mistaken; when in the Beginning of 1718, they heard for certain that *Abo* was already nam'd for the Place of Congress to treat of a Peace, and that the *Russian* Plenipotentiaries were on the Road thither. They were out, however, in some part of their politick Conjectures, in that the Treaty was not likely to be general, as they had

had flattered themselves; for they were inform'd at the same time, that the Court of *Petersburg*, far from inviting their Allies to send Plenipotentiaries thither, had at first made a perfect Mystery of it to their Ministers. That when they cou'd no longer hide it from them, they pretended 'twas only to hear some Proposals of the King of *Sweden*, which concern'd his *Czarian* Majesty in particular. That as for the rest, Care shou'd be taken not to conclude any thing to their Prejudice; and that Permission had been refused to all these Ministers, except that of *Prussia*, to accompany his *Czarian* Majesty, who was to sail with his Fleet into that Neighbourhood, in order to be nearer at hand to hear these Proposals, and give his Answers and Resolutions. On the other hand, the Emperor did not cease exhorting their Majesties and their Allies to conclude a general Peace, by a Meeting both of the Plenipotentiaries of the Parties concern'd, and of the Potentates who were to be Mediators; but *Sweden* and *Muscovy* had already agreed to do their Business by themselves, without his Imperial Majesty's Counsel or Mediation; and whether *Abo*, the Place nam'd before by the *Muscovites* for a Place of Congress, was not agreeable to the *Swedes*, they preferred to it one of the Isles of *Aland*, and the Choice fell upon that of *Lofto*; and as every tolerable Habitation there had been before burnt and demolish'd by the *Muscovites*, a House for the Conferences, and Lodgings for the Plenipotentiaries, were built on each side.

In *January* some Business call'd me to *Orebro*, which being finish'd, and the Weather being admirably good for travelling on Sledges, I took the Opportunity to go to *Falun* to see its famous Copper Mine. Leaving *Orebro* on the 27th in the Afternoon, and taking my Road to the North, I stop'd about a Mile off at the House of the *Ombutznod* Mr. *Fief*, which is pretty well built, tho' of Wood, with an agreeable Garden and Green-House: It is also very beneficial, by reason of the Sulphur Mine and Foundry that are dependent upon it, and are reckon'd the most considerable of any in *Sweden*. The House is call'd *Swavelbruk*, from the Name of the Foundry. I was receiv'd there very civilly by the Servants, in the Absence of their Master and Mistress, and I lodged there that Night. I proceeded on the 28th to *Wedwo*, where Mr. *Erenpreus*, who was there with Mr. *Fief*'s Lady, and a great deal of Company of their Relations, treated me according to his usual manner, that is to say, extraordinary well, and kept me with him till the 30th in the Evening, when I went to lie at *Linda* or *Lindberg* according to the Maps, in Company with the Curate of this little Town, which is about a Mile from *Wedwo* to the North West. It is ancient, and that is all that is remarkable in it.

The next Day, passing by the South West of *Westmania*, I saw *Ramhytta*, with the Forges and Foundry of this Name, which are kept in Repair at the Expence, and for the Benefit of the Curate and the Inhabitants of that Place, and yield a good Quantity of Iron. Half a Mile farther I saw the Mine call'd *Strossa Grufwan*, which promised (as they say) very well at its first breaking open; but now yields but little Metal, tho' very good. From thence I went on by the South of *Dalecarlia*, to the Forges and Foundries call'd *Riddar Hyttar*. On the 31st, I entered into *Gestrícia*, and pursued my Journey to the North, by several Mines of Iron and above Thirty Forges, and almost as many Foundaries, which this Province has in three or four Pa-

rishes. Those of *Forföcker* are reckon'd to be 300 Years old ; but are now so overflow'd with Water for the most part, that they have been obliged to abandon them. They have begun again within these Thirty Years to work with some Advantage at that call'd *Stillgrufwan*. *Gyoskgrufwan*, which they have broken open in the Neighbourhood within these Forty Years, produced (as they say) at first a great Quantity of good Metal ; but the falling in of a grey and barren Rock call'd in *Swedish Groberg*, has closed its richest Veins. There are besides several others, known by different Names, that have been open'd at divers times here and there with tolerable Success within few Years. These Mines, with the abundance of Wood in the Neighbourhood, and the Rapidity of many running Waters so favourable or rather necessary for the Forges and Foundries, make amends for the Barrenness both of this Province and *Dalecarlia* its Neighbour. The poorest Inhabitants who have no concern in the Mines, &c. are far from the Sea, eat seldom any other Bread but what they make of the Bark of Trees ; of which I'll speak hereafter.

Falun.

On the 2d of *February* I arrived at *Falun*, a City in this latter Province, about whose Situation I shall take the Liberty to say, that the ancient Geographers are generally deceiv'd, and have been followed therein by most of the Moderns : They extending the Bounds of *Gestrucia* as far as Lake *Sillian*, and regulating those of *Dalecarlia* proportionably, between the Limits whereof and the other they place this Town ; whereas, according to the Account of the Inhabitants, 'tis six Miles within the Province of *Dalecarlia* to the North West. I view'd this City on the 3d, which is the largest, tho' not the handsomest in *Sweden* next *Stockholm* ; it has two pretty large Churches, whereof that which they call the Town Church is well built, at least according to the manner of the Country ; the other is not so handsome ; and for its Houses, they are generally low and little. 'Tis very agreeably situated to the South of it near Lake *Rund*, into which the River *Aa* discharges itself, after having divided it into two Parts almost equal ; and to the East, at the Foot of the great Mountain call'd *Stora Koparberg*. It has to the North East and North West several barren and disagreeable Hills ; but to make amends, they are accompanied with Variety of fertile Vallies, Gardens and Meadows, which lie between them. I went from the side of this Lake about the eighth part of a Mile to the East, and passed thro' a sort of Hutts, where there are Furnaces continually burning to melt and new cast the Mineral ; near which I found the Mine, which had no City near it till 1624. I ought to have said I found a Company of Mines, for they distinguish and reckon up to the Number of 17 different ones, or rather they divide it into 17 Parts, as having so many Openings that are dug in the Heart of *Stora Koparberg*, * or the great Copper Mountain, which is

* (a) (b) (c) (d) &c. at the Top of the Plan represents only the Openings of the Mines, whereby you descend into them, with their respective Wheels and Machines. (a) (b) (c) (d) &c. with the Figures at the Bottom of the Plan represent the Openings, together with their respective Bottoms, and the Canals that put the Wheels and Machines in Motion. (q) At the Bottom of the same Plan is *Koparberg House*, and is a fine Building, accompanied with a Chappel, where Divine Service is regularly perform'd by a Chaplain paid out of the Revenues of the Mine. What they call the great Senate meets sometimes in this House with 75 Deputies. (23) Is the Director's House. (r) Is the Old Court of Justice. (s) Is an Hospital for the Miners who are wounded or disabled. (20) Are Markets where the Miners are furnished with Provisions at a moderate Price. The other Buildings round about are Houses and Shops for Carpenters and Smiths, who keep the Machines in Repair, and Lodgings for the Master Miners.

the

the proper Name of this Mine. The largest Opening, (A) (A) (B) Print XXXVI. is in the Middle of these Mines, which are call'd to the East *Langgrufwa*, mark'd (18) (19), and *Marostines Grufwan* (f) to the West *Skiargrufwan*, and to the South *Drottning-grufwan* or the *Queen's Mine* (15). *Nilsgrufwan* (16). *Sharsgrufwan* the oldest of all (12). This Artificial Abyfs seem'd to me like that of Mount *Vesuvius*, for the Largeness and Depth of it, which is very visible to any one who looks down from the Sides of it. The Smoke which issues from it, as well as out of the Furnaces aforementioned, is not less offensive and disagreeable than that of the aforesaid Mountain, and the sulphurous Smell which strikes the Nostrils, causes frequent Sneezings in them who are not used to it. 'Tis reckon'd about 260 Fathom in Circumference, about 70 in visible Depth, and as much more when you descend to the last Bottom, if I may so speak; in which there are also several Mouths call'd *Schachtets*, or Holes, which have their different Names as those mark'd (a) (b) (c) (d) (e) (e) (f) (g) (h) (i) (k) (l) (m) (n) (o) (p) (q) (r) (s) (t) (x) (y) (14) *Regerings Schachtet*, or the *Government's Hole*; *Drottning Ulricks Schachtet*, that of *Queen Ulrica*. Without the Mine are divers large Receptacles for Water, which passing thro' Pipes and Canals (1) (2) (4) (5) (6) (10) &c. set them at work; and each Machine is accompanied with two Houses, one for the Director of it, and another for a Notary, as at *Queen Ulrick's Hole* mark'd (k); (b) King *Charles XI.* and *XII.* Holes, and (n) that of the Regency, which last is 450 Foot deep.

Some of these Mines, as I have already hinted, are cultivated; and others rendred useless by the falling in of the Earth and Rocks, which kill or bury alive every Year, or rather every Month, several of their Workmen, who unwillingly dig their own Graves; and, in searching for Treasures, find their Deaths in this Infernal or Subterraneous Kingdom; but a Week before my Arrival two had been crush'd to pieces, and three more lamed. These fresh and frequent Examples of Danger setting some Bounds to my Curiosity, I went down into the least perillous Places, partly by Steps cut in the Rock or by Ladders, and partly perched upon Buckets, fastened to Chains like those at *Sahlberg*. I came from out of this Subterraneous World as black as a Chimney Sweeper, and almost suffocated by the sulphurous and virriolous Smell which it casts forth; after having observ'd the People employ'd therein in breaking the Rock, filling the Basket and Buckets with the Mineral, call'd *Malm*, which is drawn up into it by several Machines and Wheels; besides the Wheels that are at several of the Openings turn'd by Horses, several very curious and ingenious Machines. The most curious of these is the most useless, or rather of no Use at all; and cost the Master Miners, who are concern'd in the Charges of working the Mine, above 9000 Crowns; it was the Invention of Mr. *Polhielm*; and the Draught of it was engraven and printed at *Amsterdam* by *Sam. Buschenfeld*.

The Mine of *Koparberg* is esteem'd the most ancient and most famous for that Metal in *Europe*. They make it to have been discovered time out of Mind; because the Monks of a famous Monastery that was in the Town, being dispersed or driven away by the Reformation, carried away with them, as they say, the Records. Some affirm, that they began to transport Copper from hence into Foreign Parts long before the Birth of Jesus Christ; and some Manuscripts that
are

are to be found in private Hands speak of its flourishing State 500 Years ago, but no longer.

The old Utenfils, made entirely of Brass, as Mattocks, Hatchets, Nails, &c. besides the Arms of the same Metal, as Sabres, Poniards, Knives, Arrows, &c. which are yet to be seen in the College of Antiquities, prove plain enough that this Metal was first in Use here; and I am apt to believe, that, after Leather, it was the first Money throughout the World. We are sufficiently inform'd in History, that Brass Money was first used among the *Romans* during the Consulship of *Servius Tullius*; that Silver was not coined till under that of *C. Ogulnius* and *C. Fabius*, about five Years before the *Punick* War; and that Gold was not known till 62 Years afterwards.

This Mine has annually produced (according to the Accounts kept in the Miner's College) 20321 weight of Brass for Eighty Years together, but it has begun to decay since 1650; for, they say, that within these 30 Years, that there happened a terrible falling in of the Earth, which has cost the Workmen a great deal of dangerous and unprofitable Trouble, it has yielded but 6000 *Shippunds*, tho' they work with more Application, Force and Assiduity, and employ a greater Number than ever.

The Master Miners were complaining at the time I was there, that the Government, instead of encouraging them by new Privileges, had taken from them those they had, as a Power of giving Liberty and Shelter to Criminals, or those who were prosecuted for Debts, and the Liberty of selling their Brass to whom they pleased, and to transport it whither they wou'd, and Coin Money, &c. and that their Contributions were increased, and a new Tax laid upon that Metal; inso-much, that, according to a Calculation that I have seen among some of them, they paid more than a half of what they got to the Crown; and their Charges and Labour deducted, they have not above a Twenty Fifth part to themselves.

The Comptroller of the Mines at *Kopparberg*, and of all the Coal which is brought thither, used me with all the Civility that was in his Power, in the Absence of Mr. *Swabe*, the Director. He is a very honest Man, but being subject to walk in his Sleep, had the Misfortune, 6 Years before, to throw himself out of a Window, 3 or 4 Stories high, into the Street, at *Stockholm*, dreaming he was upon a Sledge, and that it was overturn'd. He fell directly upon his Back-side, which probably sav'd his Life, but he could never recover the Use of his Limbs; and indeed it was a Wonder all his Bones were not broke in pieces by so terrible a Shock. He gave me a great Insight into this Mine, and presented me with several Pieces of the Mineral, among which was some Virgin Copper, which they found as well refin'd and purified by Nature, as 'tis possible to render it by Art. He gave me also two Sorts of small Money, which were formerly coin'd by the Proprietors of the Mine, when they had that Privilege: The 1st has on one side the Arms and Name of the Prince who gave it them, and on the other those of *Dalecarlia*, and two Arrows laid a-cross; and the biggest of that Sort, which is about the size of a *Silver* Crown, went for a Penny. The 2d Sort have a Pair of Bellows with a Furnace, and this Inscription in *Swedish* upon the Reverse, *Sligh Katt Koll*, i. e. a Tun of Coals. These are Marks which they give to those who furnish Coals as Obligations to pay the Value of them, and they receive them again when they pay them.

Leaving

Leaving *Falun* on the 3d, I went to lye 3 Miles and a half from it, ^{Finspon.} at Mr. *Polhielm's*, who was then with the King, about the Project of *Throllhetta*. I saw his Water Engines with abundance of Admiration; by the Means whereof four Persons putting them in Motion in my Presence, and directing and applying the Tin between the Hammers, Anvils, Wheels, and other Instruments, made different Parts of the Vessels which the King had prefer'd to Silver, and turn'd them into any Shape, as neatly, more conveniently, in greater Quantity, and with more Expedition, than 30 of the most diligent Workmen could do by the ordinary Methods.

On the 4th I arriv'd at *Gefle*, about 5 Miles farther upon the ^{Gefle.} Borders, and almost at the Mouth of the Gulph of *Bothnia*: This Town is agreeably situated at the Bottom of a long Bay, where the largest Shipping may cast Anchor; and a little River, very full of Fish, discharges itself into this Bay, after running thro' the City, and gliding by the Side of a great publick Magazine for Iron, which is called the *fiernwagh* or *Ballance*, on Account of the great Scales there kept to weigh that Metal. 'Tis a very large Building, having within a handsome square Court, which takes its Figure from it; it is the finest and most regular of the Sort of any in *Sweden*, comprehending several little Magazines belonging to particular Persons, besides the *Ballance*. The Entrances into them are under Arches, disposed and ranged with abundance of Symmetry, and rail'd in for the most Part with Balusters of the same Metal; there are also some very good Rooms for Offices.

The Town has two Churches, and a number of good Houses, with a Castle, which, tho' built after the antique Manner, may make it esteem'd a very pretty Place. General *Hamilton*, who had a little before been made Governour of *Helsingia*, *Gestricia*, *Heridalia*, *Temptia*, and *Anghermania*, being there, I went to pay him my Respects, and was very obligingly receiv'd by him. I left *Gefle* on the 5th in the Evening, and the Night being very clear, and the Road very fit for Travelling in a Sledge, I stop'd no where but to change Horses, reach'd *Upsal* the 6th, before eight in the Morning, tho' at 10 Miles Distance, and having rested my self till Noon, I got again into my Sledge, in order to go to *Stockholm*, whither I arrived about six at Night. A few Days after I received from *Constantinople* the Letter in the *Appendix*, concerning the War declared by *Germany* against the *Porte*, and its happy Success.

Nevertheless, my Curiosity was not quite satisfied, it having long inspired me with a Design to visit *Lapland*, before I left *Scandinavia*; my Desire of travelling and seeing the World before my leaving it, being rather encreas'd than decreas'd.

C H A P. XII.

Of Lapland ; its Inhabitants ; their Manner of Encamping and Living ; their Rhen-Deers.

SCARCE had I begun to enjoy the Sweets of Repose, after having run from Place to Place, visiting the several Towns, Provinces, Mines and Forges of *Sweden*, and making the above-mention'd Remarks ; when Mr. *Otho Clinkonstrom*, one of his *Swedish* Majesty's Secretaries, ask'd me if I continued in the Resolution he had heard of, of adding an Account of *Lapland* to my other Travels ; for if I did, he wou'd accompany me thither. I immediately accepted the Offer, without consulting any thing but my usual Curiosity ; and on the 7th of *April* we set out from *Stockholm*. Instead of beginning directly and regularly our Journey as we ought to have done, thro' *Upland*, *Gestricksland* and *Helsingland*, and continuing it Northward, Coasting the *Bothnick* Gulph, we began it very irregularly towards the South West, thro' *Fierdundria*, *Westmania*, *Nericia* and *Wermerlandia*, where we were obliged to make use sometimes of a Chaise, sometimes of Horses, the Season for the Sledge, one of the quickest and easiest ways of travelling, being at that time over. The Roads proving very bad, we did not reach *Carlstadt* till the 12th, from whence we proceeded to the North West of *Dalecarlia*, where the Ground was cover'd with Snow, and the Lakes and Rivers with Ice ; and if I may use the Expression, we overtook the Winter, which seem'd to fly before us. We cross'd a good part of this Province, without seeing any thing but a great Number of Woods, Mountains and Rocks, some Lakes and some Rivers ; and on their Banks a few Villages, the common Food of whose Inhabitants is Bread made with the Rind of Trees.

On the 17th we enter'd *Heridalia*, which, they tell us, was formerly call'd *Ridgöthia* ; its Situation is between the 62d and 63d Degree of Latitude, and the 35th and 36th of Longitude. Some Authors give it its Name from *Heriulfs*, a quondam King of that Province. Others from *Heriadalen*, or the Defart of *Herian*, nothing being formerly seen but wild Beasts, who fled for shelter to its Woods ; but these having since been cut and burnt down, 'tis become the most fruitful Part of the whole Province, especially in the Meadows and Pasture Grounds, of which an infinite Number are to be found along the River *Herian*, which flows thro' this wild Country. Such fertile Pastures are also to be met with upon the Banks of several Lakes, as *Heriasco*, *Hundfion*, *Watfion*, &c. and also upon those of several Rivers which wash the Country. The most considerable of these Rivers is *Lusna*, famous in Fable, which tells us she was the eldest of three Sisters, who upon a Dispute between 'em, (which, as 'tis wholly foreign to my Purpose, I shall omit), were chang'd into three Rivers ; of whom the eldest first rising from the Mountains, which on that Side parts *Sweden* from *Norway*, rouled her Silver Waters, as she does to this Day thro' *Heridalia* and *Helsingland*, as far as the *Bothnick* Gulph ; the second, named *Liogna*, out of mere Contradiction

Contradiction and Antipathy, a thing at that time perhaps already common enough amongst Sisters, turn'd her Current into *Norway*; and that *Gloma*, the youngest, endeavouring to get at a good Distance from the other two, took her Course thro' *Jemptland* and *Madelpad*.

On the 22d we left *Heridalia*, and that Evening entering into *Jemptland*, we lay at the first Stage, and amongst several Rivers and Lakes, which we crossed. The next Day we travell'd between Four and Five * *Swedish* Miles upon that Lake, which the Inhabitants of this Province call *Storazion*, or the great Sea, Twelve Miles long and Six over, which, to the best of my Knowledge, none of the *Hydrographists* have named; after which we crossed three or four other lesser Lakes and two Rivers, the former call'd *Quinslinstrom*, and the latter *Meursell-* Jemptia!
strom. We then met Major-General *Horn*, who was going to visit and give some necessary Orders to the Garrisons of *Yerpskantz* and *Dovers-*
skantz, two little Forts upon the Frontiers, to whom my Fellow Traveller was also to carry some Orders from the King his Master; and joining Companies, we lay that Night at *Meursill*, a pretty good Village, just on the Banks of a River to which it gives or from which it receives its Name.

On the 24th we continued our Journey, which had already been favour'd by 15 Lakes, and as many Rivers at least, in Sledges, then on the Snow for above a quarter of a Mile, and then upon the Ice of *Underzion*, a Lake near two Miles long; and at about a Mile beyond that we came to the River *Kalstrom*, on the East side of which stood the abovemention'd little Fort of *Yerpskantz*, where we dined; and Yerpskantz.
whilst Messieurs *Horn* and *Clinkonstrom* were taken up with Business, I made it mine to look about me, but cou'd find nothing either remarkable or advantageous in the Fort but its Situation, by which it commanded the Passage of the River; whose Waters, tho' at that time low, were very deep, and its Banks here and there bordered the high Mountains. The Fort itself was a heavy antique Piece of Building, and its Garrison consisted of about 55 or 60 Men. Leaving this Place, we crossed the River upon a wooden Bridge about 80 Paces long, and travell'd upon the Snow for about three quarters of a Mile; and then upon the Ice of the Lake *Orezion*, or *Sea of Oars*, in which the River *Dover* runs, which was still frozen; and between three and four in the Afternoon we reach'd *Doverskantz*, situated upon its Western Shore, Doverf-
skantz.
and to which it gives its Name. This River rises in the Neighbourhood of *Drontheim* or *Nydrosia* in *Norway*, not above seven or eight Miles from this Fort, which was pretty well cover'd with Gabions, but had no Advantage beyond *Yerpskantz*, excepting that its Garrison consisted of about 20 Men more. Beyond this we cou'd find no Road leading directly to *Umeo*; as far as which my Fellow Traveller was ordered by the King to regulate the *Posts*, pursuant to a new Scheme drawn up by the Baron *de Goertz*; upon which we determin'd to return back, in Company with General *Horn*, who had invited us to *Frozenhoff*, his usual Place of Residence, about nine Miles from *Doverskantz*, on the East side of *Storazion*. That Night it rain'd excessively, inso-much that we were obliged to lay at *Meruitza*, a little Village about a Mile on this side of the Fort which we had just left. This Village stands at the Bottom of a Hill call'd *Oreskutta*, or *Vessels with Oars*, and Oreskutta!

* I'll continue to reckon, even in *Lapland*, by *Swedish* Miles, viz. of six English ones per Mile measured and more.

which gives part of its Name to *Orezion*. Upon this Hill it is, that a great many of those who deal in ancient wonderful Stories, tell us very seriously and positively, that *Noah's Ark* first rested. The late Mr. *Olaus Rudbeck* assures us, that several Oars, and other Pieces of Shipwreck, were found upon this Mountain; which doubtless were brought there, he says, by the Waters of the Deluge, and which have given this Mountain its Name. The same Author has very poetically lodged *Pluto*, with his whole Court, in *Jemptland*; tho' begging Pardon for contradicting so vast and fruitful a Genius; that Deity, who derives his Name from Πλῆτος, *Rich*, might much more agreeably to his Character, have been placed amongst the Mines of *Sahlberg*, *Falun* and *Danmora*, or in some other Province where Mines abound, than in this which can boast of one only call'd *Alderfield Silvergruva*; in which, indeed, they say several Veins of *Silver* and of *Copper* have been discover'd; but which, notwithstanding this, they have abandon'd.

The next Day, being the 25th, we repass'd the several Lakes and Rivers which I before mention'd; and having reach'd *Storazion*, we travell'd five Miles upon that Lake with incredible Swiftnefs, and about Seven in the Evening we arriv'd at *Frozzenhoff*, where we were receiv'd and treated as kindly as we had been invited. This *Frozzenhoff* is one of those Houses, which with some fertile Fields, good Pastures, Woods, and other Appurtenances, were reunited to the Crown under the Reign of *Charles XI.* and are assign'd over to some Officers of the Army, as an honourable and settled Income, almost as the *Timarots* and others have amongst the *Turks*. Amongst other Things, I employ'd some time here in examining their *Skidders*, for so they call a kind of Pattin, as (k) in the Print XXXVII. of which (6) and (11) are represented making use of in the Print XXXVIII. with which they slide upon the Snow when well frozen, and which I had taken some little Notice of, while I pass'd thro' *Dalecarlia*, where they chiefly make use of them in hunting the Elk, and the Wild *Rhen-Deer*. These Pattins are made with Wood; and I have been very seriously assur'd, that those who know how to use 'em very cleverly, can in sliding out-strip the very swiftest Beasts of the Field. The General shew'd us two of these *Skidders*, which were lined at the Bottom with *Elk Skin*; and told us, that the best of 'em were all lined, either with that or some other Skin, whose Bristles are strong, short, smooth, and so contrived, that the Hair which grows against the Grain may not only prevent their sliding backwards, but may be made use of to stop themselves at any time, when they are sliding up an Ascent. Measuring these *Skidders*, I found one of them to be 18 Palms in length, and the other 13; for there must always be this difference in a Pair, the longest being worn upon the Right Foot. As for the breadth, 'tis made exactly fit to the Sole of the Wearer's Foot, who puts his Feet directly in the middle of the Pattins; and when he makes use of 'em, he must have a Stick in his Hand which they call *Prick*, with a flat wooden Head as broad as the Palm of one's Hand, that it may not sink into the Snow, as the said Figure of the last Print, for they carry the Head of it downwards; and every now and then, when they are weary of sliding, they rest upon it. Others, who carry their Bows in their Hands, have such a Head, or Piece of Wood fasten'd to one End, and make use of them instead of their *Pricks*.
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They tell us, that these *Skidders* were first invented by the People of *Lapland*. 'Twas with such Pattins as these, that a Detachment of *Swedes* the Winter before cross'd the *Doverskantz* into *Norway*, and brought a *Danish* Captain and 14 of his Soldiers away Prisoners.

On the 27th, in the Afternoon we left *Frozzenhoff*; and pursuant to the Invitation of one *Alunder*, a * *Beffalingzman*, we supped and lay at his House about two Miles further; but in the new Road we had taken for *Lapland*. The next Day, (the 28th) the Curate of *Brownfluod* came and invited us to take a small Pastoral Dinner, as he call'd it, at his House, which was about a small quarter of a Mile further; we excused our selves from going to dine with him, but on his saying that our Road lay between the Church and his House, we promised to call in upon him. The *Beffalingzman*, to return the Curate's Civility, made him stay and dine with us at his House; in the Afternoon we went away with *Magister Biddenius Rhenhorn*, for so was nam'd our Reverend Host, and I finding that he spoke *Latin* very fluently (a thing not common there, especially amongst the Country Priests,) I ask'd him several Questions about *Lapland*, in some Parts of which he told me that he had been; he answer'd me in a very civil, and indeed satisfactory manner, as to what he had seen, which I found was not very much, he never having been far in *Lapland*, and knowing more of some of its Inhabitants that in Winter come near the *Botnick* Gulph, than he did of the Country itself: He told me, that Forty or Fifty Families of *Laplanders* came every Winter, and encamped here and there in the Neighbourhood of *Storazion*; but that they were already retired amongst the Mountains of *Norway*, for fear of the returning hot Weather, which always prov'd so fatal to their *Rhen-Deers*; inso-much, that they were *Swedes* in Winter, and *Norwegians* in Summer. To this he added, that he had used his utmost Endeavours to fill 'em with a true Sense of the Christian Religion, the Hopes of a future Happiness, but in vain; for they had no other concern but for the present, and for their *Rhen-Deer*: He also told us, that some few of these People use to Winter in *Heridalia*. In the Evening we left the good Priest, after having taken a cold Collation with him; which, to warm in our Stomachs, we drank several Glasses of Wine, and some of the best Beer that ever I tasted, and continued our Journey sometimes in Chariots, and sometimes on Horseback; but seldom in Sledges, the Roads being quite spoiled by the continual Rain which had fallen ever since our leaving *Doverskantz*; and on the 29th, about 10 at Night, we entred the Province of *Madelpad*.

The afore said Mr. *Rudbeck* makes *Sweden*, his Native Country, that of the most famous People in the World; whether really such, or only in his Imagination, I shall not pretend to decide; as also that of the antient Heathen Gods, or at least as look'd upon as such for many Ages. The *Gauls* he first derives from a *Swedish* Province, and part of this, which he names *Gallia*; and consequently attributes the Glory of their Arms and Expeditions on the other side the *Hellespont* to the ancient *Swedes*. This too he makes the Native Place of the old *Giants*, having in the Parishes of *Tuna* and *Utmar* taken Notice of Tombs five or six Yards long; as those of the *Amazons* and the *Trojans*, as I have already hinted, in *Smoland*.

* A *Beffalingzman* is a Country Magistrate, who receives his Orders from the Governor, puts the Laws in Execution, collects Taxes, and gives the Governor an Account of them.

and *Ostrogotland*; and he also sends the *Argonauts* to *Colchis* from the North. He has traced out even their very Names, which are still preserved in *Sweden*; and this Etimological Reason he gives us as an undeniable Proof of what he advances. Of *Femptland*, *Madelpad* and *Helsingland* he composes an antient Kingdom, which he calls *Gleswallia*, which, tho' but one Word, he tells us signifies *Bright Bulwark*; to prove this, he quotes the Names of some Villages and Houses, as *Liustadt* the Town of Light, and *Liustorp* the bright Farm. Here he discovers the *Elysian Fields*, the *Hesperian Gardens*, and the *Hell*, with its three Judges *Minos*, *Æacus* and *Rhadamanthus*; and endeavours to shew, that the manner of distributing Justice amongst the antient People of the North, gave rise to the Poetical Stories of the Proceedings of the Infernal Courts of Justice.

I am very willing to digress a little from my main Subject in favour of the imaginary Regions, in the Description of which he has taken so much Pains, and employ'd whole Volumes in Folio; and I shall observe in the first place, that even now and then there are agreeable Places and delicious Plains; and tho' the Number and Extent of them be very small, yet no body can suppose that the *Gods*, or the Souls of departed Men, take up much room in the *Elysian Fields*. Secondly, That the Woods we meet in *Scandinavia*, which are so large and so frequent, that they make almost the whole Province, but especially the North of it, one continued Forrest, might very well be taken for a Retreat grateful to *Sylvans*, *Fawns*, *Nymphs* and *Satyrs*. Thirdly, That the Rocks and Mountains which abound here, may have given Birth to the Story of the *Riphean Mountains*, which this Author places in *Sweden*, or at least finds the Names of them there; and indeed a great Number of them seem by Nature contrived for the Use which the People in those distant Times, pursuant to the Dictates of their Religion, made of them; for those which are so vastly high, so cragged and so steep, seem to have invited those who were oppress'd with Poverty, Age or Sicknes to fly to them for Relief; from whose Summit casting themselves down, they in a Moment's time may put an End to all their Cares and Troubles, and change the Miseries of this unhappy Life for the Sweets of the *Elysian Fields*. Fourthly, Those who placed the *Giants* in *Thessaly*, when they made them heap Mountains upon Mountains, and pluck large Rocks out of the Sea, when they attempted to scale the *Heavens*, and drive *Jupiter* out of his Dominions, had never been in *Sweden*; for there Mountains and Rocks are so plenty, that they wou'd certainly have sent the *Giants* upon that Expedition into this Country, much sooner than in *Thessaly*. Fifthly, The prodigious Number of Trees and Beasts wou'd give us some Appearance of reason to believe the Auxiliary Troops of *Gods* who came in to *Jove's* Assistance were hid, and had chang'd themselves into Animals and Vegetables here much more probably than in *Egypt*, where compared to these there are scarce any. Sixthly, That we may not place the *Tartarus* too far from the *Elysian*, those prodigious Mountains which are here and there to be found in the Country, may well be supposed to cover the *Titans* in Hell; and the Rocks of various Forms and Sizes may still bear a Resemblance to those People which the *Heathen Mythology* tells us were petrified. Seventhly, A great many of these Mountains, in which several Veins of valuable Metals have been discovered, may better be thought the Habitation and Shop of *Vulcan* and his *Cyclops*, than *Ethna* in *Sicily*, where no such Metals are

are to be found : And lastly, That the rich Booty which the *Goths* brought away with them, after having plundered the Country round the *Black Sea*, the *Palus Maotis*, &c. might very probably be called a *Golden Fleece*, and give Occasion to that Fable.

On the 30th, we arrived before Noon at *Sundwal*, the Capital of *Sundwal*. *Madelpad*, situated at the very Extremity of a long Bay of the *Bothnick* Gulph, where the Water will carry Ships of Burthen sufficient for their Trade, which consists in some Iron, Planks, Rosin, Butter and Fish. All the Buildings of this Place, even the very Church, are of Wood. Here we were inform'd, that in the Neighbourhood of this Town, there were generally during the Winter four or five Camps of *Laplanders*, who were already marched off. We made no long Stay in the Place; for at about Two in the Afternoon, having dined and changed Horses, we pursued our Journey; and having rode a few Miles, we entered *Angermeland*, or *Angermania*, part of which Province we crossed on Horseback, and part in Sledges, according as our Roads proved. Passing over the River *Angerman*, which is generally supposed to give that Province its Name, we heard that some *Laplanders* came also every Winter, and encamped on its Banks; who, before the End of that Season, retired with the rest of their Countrymen among the Mountains which part *Sweden* from *Norway*. This Province, they say, was formerly the Retreat of Pyrates, who were surnamed *Capers*; because, as some tell us, they cover'd themselves with Goat Skins; and this probably has given rise to the Fables of the Satyrs, unless the *Laplanders* did the same before them: Nor cou'd any Place in the World be a fitter Retreat for Pyrates, it being so very easy a matter for them to hide themselves, either in the Forrests or amongst the Mountains, in which are several Caves; but whether made by Art or Nature, I cannot tell. The said Mr. *Rudbeck*, with several other Northern Authors, has made the People of *Scandinavia* the first Founders of Piracy; which, as I have already observed, amongst its antient Inhabitants was accounted a noble Profession. He calls the Pyrates of those Days *Osivar*, Wolves; which is an old Word, and he sometimes uses *Warg*, a more Modern one, and which has the same Signification; and he places it under the Government and Protection of *Jupiter Licæus*. Superstitious Traditions have also placed several *Nymphs* in this Province, to one of whom it has given the Superintendence of a Fountain in the Parish of *Sanga*; by washing in whose Waters the Blind, the Lame, and the Paralytick were supposed to recover their Sight, and the Use of their Limbs; which done, they left their walking Staffs and Crutches behind them in Token of their Cure, with some small Presents for the Nymph: However, with all these Virtues the Fountain is become a common Watering-Place for Cattle, and cures no Distemper now a-days that I know of, but Thirst. In the Parish of *Nordingrod*, in the same Province, there is another Fountain, which I cannot hear was ever famous in Tradition; but which is of great Service to the Shoemakers of that Country, who die their Leather in it, the Waters being as black as Ink. The Roads and the Horses here were so very bad, that we did not pass by the famous Mount *Sculla*, about 25 Miles above *Sundwal*, till the Fifth of May. Towards the Top of this Mount there is a Cave, which seems to have been the Dwelling and Store-house of some Pyrate; but where the superstitious have lodged Spirits, which they call *Bergtrollar*, that is,

Angermania.

Mount Sculla.

Moun-

Mountain Spirits: The late King *Charles XI.* in his Journey to *Torne* passing by this Mountain, heard, amongst other Things, that a certain Priest, whose Name was Master *Andrew*, having rashly attempted to enter the Cave, was so very ill used by the Spirits, that he run mad upon it. The King, willing to undeceive the People, order'd one of his Soldiers to go in, which he accordingly did; and at his return reported, that he met neither Body nor Spirit, and cou'd see nothing but a large empty Cave: However, this superstitious Tradition still remain'd amongst them; and that they might not be perswaded out of their Fear, they urged that their *Bergtrollars* did not appear indifferently to every body. As for our Parts, indeed we had not Curiosity enough to enter the Cave, but continued our Journey very diligently, the Sledges being still in Season in those Parts; and on the 6th, before Noon, we enter'd into *Umesland*, now call'd *Wester Bottom* or *West Bothnick Gulph*. This little Province is parted from *Angermania* by the River *Witelfva*, which rises about six Miles and a half above the Mount which I just now made mention of; and at about four in the Afternoon we reach'd *Umeo*, about three Miles further.

Umesland.

Umeo.

This is the *Metropolis*, and indeed the only Town of *Umesland*; a Province, which, considered in its antient Limits with *Uma-Lapmark*, composes but one quarter of *Wester Bottom*. It is situated on the North side of the River *Uma*, which was still frozen, and which gives both to it and *Uma-Lapmark* their Names. As it had been burnt down by the *Muscovites* some Years before, they were then rebuilding it; however, it was again burnt down, with the adjacent Villages, by the same Enemy in 1720. We were received and treated here very civilly by Major-General *Cronberg*, the Governor of the Town, who lives in a large but very plain House built with Wood, upon the Ruins of that which was inhabited by his Predecessors the Governors of *West Bothnick*, which extends from the above-mention'd little River as far as *Torne*, and comprehends *Uma-Pitha-Lula-Torne* and *Kimi-Lapmark*; the last of these indeed more properly belongs to *East Bothnick Gulph*, but has been added to the *Western* Government for some Reasons which I am ignorant of. Here we staid together till the 10th, in which Time Mr. *Clinkonstrom* having made an end of his Business, took the nearest and directest Road he cou'd for *Stockholm*. As for my part, I had determin'd to see as much of the Country as possibly I cou'd, and therefore wou'd not return with him.

Skelefra.

On the 12th, I set out from *Umeo* with Letters of Recommendation from the Major-General to the *Bessalingzmans* of *Torne*, and those of the other Countries thro' which I was to pass; ordering them to supply me with Interpreters, and other Assistance, for the Performance of my Journey; and here I found the Roads so very good, and the Horses so very strong and swift, that before Midnight I reached *Skelefra*, 14 Miles above *Umeo*. 'Tis a large Village situated on the North side of the River of that Name, at the End of a Bay above a Mile long, into which this River falls, and there mixes its Waters with those of the *Bothnick Gulph*. There are some Salmons here, with several other kinds of Fishes; but this Bay is particularly famous for the Number and Goodness of the *Stromlins*, a kind of small Herring, or rather Pilchard. There are a great Number of these Fishes in the *Bothnick Gulph*; but 'tis always allow'd that those in this Place are the very best; and indeed they are no inconsiderable Branch of its Trade.

Having

Having spent the remaining part of the Night at *Skelefta*, I set out on the 13th; and betimes in the Afternoon I reach'd the Shore of the River *Pitha*, about Eight Miles higher. I found it still frozen over, but the Ice began to thaw, and I was informed that there was no crossing the River in a Sledge; however I ventured, nor did I see the least sign of Danger. The Remainder of that Day, and part of the next, I spent in observing the Situation both of the Old and New Town of *Pitha*, to which the River gives its Name; as it doth also to that part of *Lapland* call'd *Pitha-Lapmark*. The former I thought *Pitha*. very agreeably situated, not only in having the River running near it, but in its being surrounded by some few Meadows and Pieces of Arable Land; but on the other hand, it lays very inconvenient for their Trade, the Water not being deep enough to bear any thing of a Ship; whereas the New Town, which lies about half a Mile lower, is just at the Mouth of the River where Ships of Burthen can come up.

On the 14th I continued my Journey, and in the Evening arrived upon the Shores of the River *Lulo*, five Miles higher: Its Waters were also frozen; but the Ice being thought too weak to bear a Sledge, I crossed it on Foot. This River, as well as that of *Pitha*, abounds in Fish, but especially in Salmons. The next Day, which was the 15th, I spent in viewing the Old and New Town of *Lulo*. In the former I observed the same agreeable Situation as in Old *Pitha*; over which it has this one Advantage, that in the Neighbourhood there is a pretty large Lake very full of Fish, call'd *Kerwick*; but on the other hand, in regard to Trade it has even less Advantage than the other, for being five quarters of a Mile distant from the Sea, there can come nothing up here but middling Boats. As for New *Lulo*, it is built just at the Mouth of the River, and has all the Conveniences belonging to it which are not in New *Pitha*. I cou'd not in either of these four Towns see any thing remarkable; the Houses and other Buildings are all of Wood, the Churches of Old *Pitha* and *Lulo* excepted, which indeed are Stone and very plain. In the Vestry of the Church of Old *Lulo*, they shew'd me the dry'd Head of a Perch, which, by reason of its uncommon Bigness, is preserved there. This Head is as long as the Palm of ones Hand, and very near as broad; the Perch to which it belong'd was caught, they told me, in the above-mention'd Lake. *Lulo*.

On the 16th, I cross'd on Foot about three Miles higher the River *Rono*, which was still frozen over, and reached a large Parochial Village, to which it gave its Name. This Village is situated on the North side of the River. It is the Native Place of a certain famous Vagabond, one *Nicholas Ohorn*, who wandered almost all over *Christendom*, under the Name of the Prince of *Lapland*, and by this means impos'd upon all Admirers of Novelties and far-fetched Things. He understood a little *Latin*, having served a Professor at *Upsal*. *Rono*.

On the 17th, I cross'd another River in the same manner about six Miles higher call'd *Calis*, which also gives its Name to another Parochial Village. Mr. *Waltijer*, the Curate of this Place, whom I had known at *Bender* about five or six Years before, receiv'd me with a great deal of Kindness, and made me sup and lie at his House that Night; nor wou'd he let me pursue my Journey the next Day till after having dined, and promised him that at my return from *Lapland* I wou'd spend two whole Days with him. Amongst other things, this Curate *Calis*.

Curate told me, that the Father of the pretended *Lapland* Prince I just mention'd was a poor honest Cobler, who used to travel from Place to Place in crying old Boots and Shoes to mend, but was now settled and become one of his Parishioners. These two last Villages, being near upon two Miles from the Sea, suffer the same Inconveniences in regard to their Trade, as the two old Towns I just now talk'd of.

Torne.

On the 19th, I reach'd *Torne*, about seven Miles higher; and there I was obliged to stay till the Ice, which now began to thaw, was quite gone off from the Face of the Water, that I might take Boat and continue my Travels by Water, there being no Road beyond this Place, nor no Convenience or Possibility of travelling farther by Land. I observed the Ground on which this Town had been built; for we may say now of it as of *Uma*, and of the other Towns which have been burnt down by the *Muscovites*, *Nunc Seges est ubi Troja fuit*. There was no Buildings to be seen there, but a wooden Church, which by its Distance from the Houses, had escaped the Fury of the *Russian* Fire, with some few Warehouses, and two or three wooden Huts, which have lately been rebuilt. This Town is a little Island, the River just above it dividing itself into two Streams, and meeting in one again just below it; and about a Mile further it flows into the *Bothnick* Gulph. The former Inhabitants of this Town are dispersed here and there in Huts and Hamlets in the Neighbourhood of this Place, and are thoroughly sensible of the Inconvenience of living at above a Mile's Distance from the Sea. The chief Commerce of these People consists in salted Salmon, of which there are abundance in this River; in Pikes, either dried by the *Laplanders* who use no Salt, or by the People of *Finland*, of whom they buy them; and in the Skins of *Rhen-Deer*, and other Hides, which they carry to *Stockholm*. There are a great Number of Houses, most of which belong to *Finland* Fishermen, in several Places upon the Banks of this River for 16 or 18 Miles above *Torne*; and indeed there is a greater Plenty of Fish in this than in any of the Rivers which I have before spoken of. There are also on the Shores of this, as well as of the others, some Pieces of Arable Land, which have been made such more by Art than by Nature; but these are so few, and most of them so small, that the Corn which they produce is but just sufficient for a few Families. In *Angermeland* they are in the same case; and in both these Provinces, as well as in the other four which I have here made mention of, they make their Bread of the Rhind of Pines and Fir Trees in the following manner: They scrape the rough crusty Outside of the Rhind clean off the Peel, that part of it which is soft and white; this they dry, and with Water or Hand-Mills they grind it, and with the Meal they make their Bread in the same manner as we do with Wheaten Flower. There are some, who at the same time dry and mix it with the Powder of a certain Herb also dry'd up which they call *Myessein*, and which is very plenty on the River side and in shallow Waters; and others mix Meal made of wild Oats, which they gather in the Woods.

The Snow being thaw'd in some of the Fields, I saw them ploughing and sowing at the same time; a Custom I had also observed in some Places between *Umeo* and *Torne*; but notwithstanding this, I cou'd see no great sign of the returning Spring: All the Trees, the Pines and other Ever-Greens of Nature excepted, were still without Leaves, the greatest part of the Ground was covered with Snow, and the River

was

was still frozen, notwithstanding that the Sun had already banished the Night from the Hemisphere, which it does there every Year for the Space of above a Month : However, the Snow which melted running down to the River weaken'd the Ice, and the Waters being naturally very swift it broke in the middle, and was soon carried down the Stream ; infomuch, that on the 24th I hired an Interpreter with a Boat and two Men, which I changed as often as possibly I cou'd ; but the Streams which were to stem were so very swift and violent, that we cou'd not reach *Over Torne*, which is but six Miles above *Torne*, till the Evening of the 25th. This is the last Village that we meet with in going to *Torne-Lapmark* ; the Church is a little ill-contriv'd Piece of Stone Building ; and amongst the several Houses which surround it, there is but the Parsonage House which only deserves this Name. Having changed our Boat and Men, we left *Over Torne* on the 26th, and there being still new Torrents to stem, and new Cataracts to overcome, we were often obliged to land and drag our Boats upon the Shore beyond one of these Cataracts ; so that we could not reach *Kingis-Fors*, or the Torrent of *Kingis*, which is 11 Miles further, till the 30th.

As it was impossible to row against this Stream, I got on Shore with my Interpreter, and having paid off our Boat, we walked on Foot as far as the Forges of *Kingis*, which are call'd *Kingis-Bruks*. These Forges are situated as advantageously as they can possibly be, for the Reception of as much Water of this Torrent as they want, to heave their Bellows and their heavy Hammers. About four or five Years and a half ago they were plundered by the same Party of *Muscovites* as burnt *Torne*, who, favour'd by the Ice, came as far as this Place ; shortly after this were quite abandon'd, as well as the Copper and Iron Mines which used to send their Metals to be melted and worked here, and now for want of Repairs they are running to Ruin. There was still one Mr. *Laurent Sandells*, formerly the Supervisor of these Works upon the Place ; but no longer paid, and the unhappy Spectator of their approaching Ruin, he lives partly upon what he had saved before the Forges were given over, and partly upon Fishing, as does also the Clerk ; and their Houses, with those of some of their Workmen, who from Founders and Smiths are become Fishermen, are still in pretty good Repair. The Supervisor very kindly offer'd me a Bed at his House, after having given me a fine fresh Salmon for my Supper ; but as he told me, that they now began to see not only the Light of the Sun, but also a part of its Ring upon their Horizon, at the Time we call Midnight, and is so with us, but which with them was broad Day, I cou'd not think of going to Rest as yet ; but chose a rising Ground, on which I was told I might discern this bright Orb when at the lowest, and I did so, plainly discovering as much of it as one may of the Moon when 'tis but two Days old ; and just at Midnight (if I may be allow'd to call it so) the Sun rose again on the Horizon with a kind of whirling about, and with fresh Strength and Splendor. *Kingis-Bruks* were the *Nonplus ultra* of Bishop *Bilbert*, who has treated *de Sole Inocciduo*, and who came that way with Orders from *Charles XI.* to travel as far up that Country as possibly he cou'd ; but by reason of the vast Falls of Water, he dared venture no farther.

On the 1st of *June*, I took another Boat at about 200 Paces above *Kingis-Fors* ; and at about Four a-Clock in the Afternoon we reached that Place ; where the River *Lanio-Efva* with that of *Torne* form a

perfect Y, and where the former mixing its Waters with the other, loses its Name about five Miles from *Kingis-Brucks*; after which we stemm'd a violent Torrent about a Quarter of a Mile long, called *Torne-Fors*, or the *Tornian Torrent*, part of whose Waters, whilst the Trenches for that Purpose were kept open, fell upon the Wheels of a Founding or Casting-House, call'd *Nie-Mazzuna*, or the New Founding-House, belonging to an Iron Mine, known by the Name of *Jonaswandrogruwa*, and lays in the Wood two Miles and a half higher. From hence I went a Mile and a quarter upon the River; and then landing, walk'd another five Quarters out of my way to visit this Casting-House. Passing thro' the Wood, I observ'd in several Places Stakes drove into the Ground, the Ends almost meeting at Top, so that they resembled a Cone, or, to speak more intelligibly, a Sugar-Loaf. My Guide told me that the *Laplanders* had pitched their Tents, this being the wooden Work of 'em, which they cover'd with a large thick Stuff, call'd in their Dialect *Craan*, and of which I shall speak in the Sequel of my History. I observed that on the Ground, in several Places, there were red Berries, in Colour, Size, and Taste, not unlike our Currants, with green Leaves, very much resembling Box Leaves. The *Swedes* and *Norwegians*, the only People amongst whom I have seen such Fruit, call'd it *Lingon*; and their *Botanists* describe it in the following Latin Words, *Vitis Idæa semper virens fructu rubro*. This Fruit begins to ripen in the Autumn; but it having been cover'd the whole Winter with Snow, which now began to disappear, at least where the Sun shone with any Strength, the natural Acid of the Fruit was temper'd, and it was very agreeable to the Taste, insomuch that I very often stopped to pick 'em off the Ground. I reach'd the Mine of *Jonaswando* between eleven and twelve a Clock at Night, tho' at that Time there was no such Thing there; and having rested my self a little, I look'd out for the highest Ground I could, from whence I might observe the Sun; and about three quarters of an Hour afterwards, I saw it at lowest, but cou'd discern more of its Discuss than I had done at *Kingis-Brucks*; and having seen it begin its Course again with the same Motion that I took Notice of at that Place, my Guide led me to an old Woman's House of his Acquaintance, where I might lay me down to sleep a little; she told us she was the Widow of one of those Walloons, to whom the *Swedes* are very much obliged for having set their Mines on the Foot they are at present. At Five of the Clock in the Morning I got up and visited the Iron Mines, and those of Loadstone, which they were obliged to dig winding, and in Length, to follow the Veins which are not very rich, and not in Depth as those of *Danmora*: These are still in so good a Condition, that there is nothing wanting but Workmen, and some Body to pay and employ them. I cannot say the same of *Gamla-Mazzuna*, an old Casting-House belonging to it, nor of the Hammer for beating the Mineral after 'tis burnt, the Wheels and Bellows being quite spoiled, as are all the other Works; nor is there any Necessity for repairing them, the Works of the new Founding-House being in a much better Condition, and situated near that ever-flowing Torrent I just made mention of, whereas the old One had but a small Rivulet to drive its Wheels. The Workmen's Houses are still in good Repair, and most of 'em inhabited by quondam Workmen, who are now turned Fishermen. Having thus satisfy'd my Curiosity, I returned towards my Boat, which I did not reach

reach till Eleven, and sitting down upon the Bank, we eat a Bit of Victuals, and then pursued our Journey or Voyage. At about Three in the Afternoon I took Notice that the Sky, which had all along been clear, was now clouded, and it grew darker and darker; at last it snow'd for above the Space of ten Hours, without ceasing, and to the Snow succeeded a hard Frost; and between two and three in the Morning, the Third, the still Parts of the River which were not expos'd to the Sun, were cover'd with Ice as thick as a Crown-Piece.

On the 4th, we got as high as *Suappawara*, a Mountain so call'd, with *Suappawara* Copper Mines, where there are some Veins of Iron at about the same Distance from the River side as those of *Jonafwando*, and nine Miles higher. I immediately went out of my Boat with one of my Watermen to visit 'em, who pretended that he knew those Mines very well, and walk'd much better than my Interpreter. Instead of a Mile and a Quarter, I was oblig'd to walk two Miles and a half for the over-flowing of a little River call'd *Stemp-Elfva* in the Neighbourhood of *Suappawara*, and the Snow which was melted had formed a large Lake of marshy Ground, and we walked a great Way in hopes of finding a Boat; but there being no such Thing there, I berthought my self of making a Float, by tying several large Pieces of Wood together; and my Guide began to cut some down with his Hatchet, the inseparable Companion of all the Watermen and Fishermen of that Country, who being often obliged to lie in the Forrests, as I my self have sometimes been, carry their Hatchets with them, that they may fell Wood to light themselves Fires. Having help'd him to join his Float, we cross'd the River *Stamp-Elfva* upon it, and went first to see the Founding-Houses of *Suappawara* call'd *Suapawara-Hyttar*, which are above half a Quarter of a Mile further from this little River than the Mines, which are not above five hundred Paces distant from it; but in searching for a narrow Part of *Stamp-Elfva*, we had been oblig'd to walk a Mile at least above the Lake, and consequently had all that Ground to tread over again, before we could reach the Place we were bound for. These Mines and all their Appurtenances had the same Masters as those of *Kingis* and *Jonafwando*, and have shared their Fate, having been abandon'd at the same Time. In this Place I met an honest old Man, who had lived at the Mines in the same Character as the Supervisor of *Kingis-Brucks*, and had continued here, because he was too old to think of renewing his Quarters, and had not wherewith to keep him any where else. This old Man offered me a Lodging at his House, which I accepted as heartily as he seem'd to offer it. I enquired into his Profession, and he told me that he had been a Master Founder, and was Bailiff of those Mines, when they were forsaken: Upon this I ask'd him several Questions concerning them; and among other Things, he told me that he had lived there above thirty Years, and had seen 'em produce eight hundred * *Shippunds* of Brass a Year, and sometimes more, besides a great Quantity of Iron; and that besides the Mountain of *Suappawara*, in which three Mines are digged, and from which as well as the Casting-Houses they have taken their Name, there was another Mountain call'd *Middaberg*, in which they had discover'd some rich Veins of Copper. As soon as the old Man was gone to Bed, instead of following his Example, I went to look for some rising Ground, that I

* A Shippund is three hundred Pound Averdupoise Weight.

might observe the Sun, and found one from whence I cou'd see a Quarter, as near as I cou'd guess, of its Disk, when at lowest: And having seen it begin its Course again, I went and laid me down to sleep.

The next Morning, being the 5th, the old Man rose betimes, and carried me to see the Copper Casting-Houses, which he call'd *Copper-Hyttar*, which are almost ruined. As for the Workmen's Houses they are still in pretty good Repair, and inhabited by some of them, who have continued there with their Families; where they live upon the Fishes they catch, upon the Milk of a few Cows, and upon the Flesh of some *Rhen-Deer*, which their Wives and Children look after. Notwithstanding that the good old Man's House was a quarter of a Mile distant from the Mines, yet cou'd nothing divert him from accompanying me thither, that he might shew them me, and distinguish them by their particular Names, as *Westlong-Gruwa*, which was very long and 20 Yards deep; *Midda-Gruwa* 24 Yards deep; *Hen-Gruwa* about 27 or 28; *Gamla-Gruwa* about 28 also; *Storiaglingar* 30, and *Sud-Gruwa* 84 Yards deep; besides these there were three other little Mines call'd *Jacob-Abraham-Gruwa*, which they had just began to dig, and whose Depth did not exceed Five or Six Yards at most, and *Fern-Gruwa*, or the *Iron Mine*, digged in length and winding, but no deeper than the three last. All these Mines, (the four last excepted) abound with Metals, which may plainly be seen by the Verdigrease which surrounds the Outside of the Opening; but then on the other hand, they abound with Water too, which is a very great Prejudice to 'em; but yet I think they might be kept dry by the help of Water Engines, as I have seen it practis'd with Success at *Danmora*, where, by being near the Lake, their Mines are perpetually full of Water; and at that Place indeed they are exposed to one very great Inconvenience, which is, that the Lake is upon a Level with the Top of their Mines; whereas those of *Suappawara* lie much higher than any of the neighbouring Lakes or Rivers. This Water must proceed either from melted Snow or Rain, or what is much worse than either of them, from some Spring in the Mountain; but admitting this, is there no way of drying up this Spring, or drawing off the Waters by opening Trenches on the South side of the Mountain, on which it seems by Nature the most inclin'd to flow? The same Mines, as well as those of *Jonafwando*, have all the Advantages that can be desired, not only as they have Plenty of Wood every where; but as to the Carriage of this Wood, and of their Coals and Metal to the Casting-Houses and Forges. This Carriage in Winter is very cheap and easy; for tho' a Deer cannot draw so heavy a Burthen as a Horse, yet will he draw much swifter, and hold out much longer upon the Ice; insomuch, that they drive on with their Burdens, I am told, from *Suappawara* to *Torne* in three Days time, which is between Three and Four and Thirty *Swedish* Miles. The Food of these Creatures cost their Drivers nothing, Nature having taught them to seek it themselves; and it chiefly consists in Winter of a white Moss, which generally grows upon the Rocks; and which for that reason the *Swedes* call'd *Steen Mossa*, or *Stone Moss*, and the *Laplanders* *Tekelo*, and of a kind of Beard which hangs from the Branches of the old Pines, call'd by the *Swedes* *Laa* and by the *Laplanders* *Loppo*. Their way of coming at the first sort of Food is, by scraping with their Feet the Snow from off the former,

mer, and by shaking the Pine Trees with their Horns, to make the Branches fall which hide the latter. You may hire their *Rhen-Deer* for a Penny a Mile; or buy them for two, and the very dearest for three Crown Pieces. As for those which are fit to kill, you may purchase them for a Crown often, or less: And to the *Laplanders*, and Inhabitants of those Countries where there is no Bread, and who are generally strong hale Fellows, they are Food, Apparel and Bed-cloaths; those People living wholly upon their Flesh, and the Fish which they catch in the Lakes and Rivers. The Flesh of the *Rhen-Deer* being fresh, in Taste very much resembles to that of common Deer; and when it is dry'd, up to that of the Buffle, which I have seen and eat of amongst the *Asiatics*, and which they call *Pastremaab*, with this difference only, the latter salt their Meat, the *Laplanders* only dry it. The *Finlanders* and others, who have a mind to dress themselves in the *Swedish* Fashion, have the Skins of these Deers tanned, of which they make Waistcoats and Breeches, which will wash and last them between five and six Years, and don't stand them in above two Crown Pieces ready made.

Here I took Leave of my good old Host, and went with my Guide to a part of *Stamp-Elfva*, where he told me his Son was Fishing, and in whose Boat we might cross the River; accordingly we did so, and getting into the Road which led to our own, we stopped every now and then to eat some of the *Lingons*, which, however are not so common here as in the Neighbourhood of *Jonafwando*; but we met with another Fruit that was black, and its Leaves green and curled not unlike the Juniper; but which was not near so sharp, nor does it grow on so high a Shrub. The *Swedes* call it *Croberg*, but never eat it; the *Laplanders* *Moro*, and eat it in the Milk of their *Rhen-Deer*. This and the *Miolon* are the only Fruits the *Laplanders* have. The last is Red, neither the Colour of the Fruit nor the Leaf differing very much from the *Lingon*; but 'tis very insipid, and eat only by the *Rhen-Deer*, and some other Beasts of the Field. The Plants which bear three kinds of Fruit, are pretty much of a height, very little exceeding that of our Wood Strawberries.

Having reach'd our Boat, we row'd up against a very long and violent Torrent called *Lupa-Strom*; and we staid some few Hours at *Lupa Tresk*, or the Lake of *Lupa*, a Name it borrows from a little River there which falls into that of *Torne*, about two Miles and a half above the Road to *Suappawara*. This Lake is properly nothing more than a very broad part of the River *Torne*, whose Waters are here swell'd by the little River *Lupa*, and by some which fall from the Mountains, as *Sicka-Strom*, from the Mount *Sickawara*, from whom it borrows its Name. This Lake abounds with a particular Fish, by them call'd *Sike*; which the *Laplanders* having dry'd, sell to the *Swedish* Merchants who come to their Fairs. The Scale of this Fish resembles that of a Carp, nor does it very much differ from it in Taste when fresh; but the Belly of it is much narrower. Here we saw several *Laplanders* a fishing; amongst them one who was born a *Swede*, but turn'd *Laplander*. One of my Watermen it seems knew him, as having formerly work'd together in the Mines of *Suappawara*, who told me, that having saved some Money there, he laid it all out in the Purchase of *Rhen-Deer*; which done, he ask'd a *Laplander* to give him his Daughter in Marriage, which he did with a Portion of *Rhen-Deer*; and

Lupa-Strom

*Sickawara,
or Torrent of
the Sike.*

and since that time he has liv'd wholly after the Fashion of the *Laplanders*. Having invited me to his Tent, made as (1) Print XXXVIII. which was about a quarter of a Mile off on the North side of this Lake, upon the Mountain *Sickawara*, of which I have already made mention, I went with him, and found his Tent was built with long wooden Stakes drove into the Ground in a circular Form, and fasten'd together at the Top in the fashion of a Sugar Loaf; however, not quite so close, for as they make their Fire in the middle of their Tent, there was room left at the Top to let the Smoak out, and these Stakes were adorn'd with Branches which were tied round them; and this was the wooden Work of the Tent, which on the Outside was cover'd with a coarse Stuff, which my Host call'd *Rana*. To keep out the Wind and Rain, or rather the Snow (Rain not being very common there) there was a kind of Umbrello made of Branches interwoven in a Convex in one another about two Yards long and one broad, which being fastened to the End of a long Stake set in the Ground, they place opposite to the Wind, and by that means keep out the Weather. The Figure of this Green Umbrello is pretty like that of the *Nogay-Tartars*, as may be seen in my Map B. There is a Space between two of their Stakes also left uncovered, which is the coming in of their Tent. Their Door is a Bundle made with Branches, and cover'd with *Rana* also; and this is the Tent of a *Laplander*, which they themselves call *Cotta*. Herein we found our Host's Wife sitting cross legg'd after the manner of the *Turks* and *Tartars* upon the Skin of a *Rhen-Deer*, just at the Left Hand side of a Door. She was a middle siz'd Woman, but very well-set, and had a Child about two Years old standing by her: As soon as she saw me she rose, and giving me her Hand led me in, then spread another Skin on the Ground, on which I sat down in the same manner. Her Dress, for I cannot properly call it a Gown, was white, made much after the Fashion of a Man's Shirt, excepting that the Slit of the Bosom was not so long, that it came down lower, was more scanty, and was not gathered as that is at the Risbands. The Neck, which was about the Breadth of three Fingers, and the Bosom, were embroider'd with Lead or Pewter Wire; and upon the Embroidery were several Pewter Buttons and Nicknacks over her Garment. Round her Waste she wore a Leathern Belt, not quite so broad as the Palm of one's Hand, and very prettily inlaid in several places with little Pieces of Pewter. She had a Pair of Breeches on of the same Stuff, which she call'd *Paussa*, as narrow as those generally worn by the *Hungarians* and the Extremities coming down to her Ancles, were tied with Worsted Ribbands of different Colours to her Shoes; these Shoes were made of that part of the Skin of a *Rhen-Deer* which is stripped from his Legs, with the Hair outwards, without Heels, and a Peak at the end of the Toes near two Inches long, turning up at the end like the Boltsprit of a Ship. Her Headcloaths were nothing more than a little Biggin made of Red Cloth, and embroider'd round in the same manner as the Neck and Bosom of her Apparel. I desired her to shew me one of those Head-dresses she wore during the time that the Weather was more cold: She did so; and I found it to be a kind of an Eastern Head-dress, by the *Turks* call'd *Tarpouz*; or that I may be understood by those who never saw them, 'tis a Cap about as long, and cut out much after the same manner, as those which I have already said that the Eastern Women use,

and

and tie with an Handkerchief; but the *Lapland* Women tie theirs on with a Worsted Ribband, and pressing the Top of it down upon the Crowns of their Heads, it makes a large round Fold such a one as the *Gredians* represent their She Saints with, and is (13) Print XXXVIII. This Print shows the different Dresses both of Men and Women in the several Seasons of the Year. Instead of this Habit, the Stuff of which they buy of the *Swedes*, *Norwegians* or *Muscovites*, they wear in Winter one made of the Skin of the Fawns of the *Rhen-Deer*; the most esteem'd are those which die in their Mother's Bellies; and they make 'em in the same manner as they do their Stuff Gowns, with the Hair outwards, in the Fashion which may be seen in both Prints XXXVII and XXXVIII. The *Swedes* call this fur'd Robe, *Lapmud*; and the *Laplanders*, *Burkamudan*; under this we must not look for Stays, Shirt, or Shift: The next to this their outward Dress, is their Skin, whether fair or brown, *in puris Naturalibus*. The richest wear nothing more than the very poorest; and if their Dress differs in anything, 'tis only in the Fineness of the Stuffs, the Goodness of the Skins, and the Embroidery, Buttons and Nick-nacks upon them. Nor is there a Resemblance only between the furr'd and the stuff Dress of the rich and poor, but also between the Dresses of the two Sexes, excepting that the Man's is fuller upon the Body, but scantier and shorter below the Waste, and generally without any Embroidery either upon the Neck or Bosom-Slit; or if some of the most airy Sparks wear any, it does not exceed the Breadth of a Finger, and has no Buttons upon it; their Breeches and their Shoes too are very much alike, as are also their Girdles, from which there hangs down a large Purse, some of 'em embroider'd, others not, in which they carry some Money and some Nick-nacks, with a sheath Knife and a little leathern Bag with Thread in it, made of the Nerves and Guts of *Rhen-Deer*, the only Thread in Use amongst the *Laplanders*, with Needles, a Flint-Stone, Matches, a Steel, with some brass Rings, and several Pieces of Money more amongst the Women than Men. This Bag hangs down as low as their Knees, which as they walk makes a clicketting sort of Noise, very grateful, I suppose, to the Ears of the Inhabitants of that Country. Their Caps in Winter are a sort of Cowl or Camail, made of a coarse Stuff, or with Skins which cover their Necks, and hang down to their Shoulders; such a one as this the *Laplander* shewed me in his Tent, such I find all the old Women of the Country wear. In Summer the Men have Caps which cover but half their Ears, and they are made either with Stuffs, or oftner with the Skin of *Rhen-Deer*, and other Beasts, and even sometimes with that of Water Fowl, which they strip; such a Cap as this my Host had on, as had the other Fishermen whom we met at the same time, always wearing the Hair of Feathers outwards.

Our Hostess made us sit down to a cold Meal, which consisted of the dry'd Flesh of *Rhen-Deer*, and Cheese made with the Milk of the *Rhen-Doe*; for so in the Sequel of my History I shall call the She, for distinction sake, but which in her Language this Woman called *Halto*, and the Buck *Kerke*. Tho' there was no Salt in either, I must confess I lik'd the Relish of 'em; however, I eat much more heartily of the Cheese than I did of the Meat; he then gave me some Drink in a wooden Cup, which was the Milk of their Doe turn'd fower and curded, which however I liked very well. This Milk the *Laplanders* keep

keep in Barrels or Hides, as the *Tartars* do their Mares Milk. As for Bread, there was none served us; and indeed there is so far from being any such thing in the Country, that they have not so much as a Word in their Tongue to express *Bread*. The Repast ended, my Hostess made me a Present of a little Basket of her own working; it was made of small Roots of Trees so very neatly and closely work'd, that one may put Snuff or powder'd Tobacco in it, without any Danger of its coming through. In return I made her a Present of several little Nicknacks, which I had bought of a *Finland* Pedlar, who shew'd me such as the People of this Country most delighted in, and which therefore I carry'd in my Pockets for such Occasions as these; I also gave her some Tobacco, which the *Laplanders* both Men and Women generally chew, and they don't much care for smoaking it; nor did I forget my Landlord, with whom I went to see his *Rhen-Deer*, which were above an Hundred in Number; and I bought a Fawn of him Twelve or Thirteen Months old for Half a Crown, and going to take Leave of his Wife, he bid me pay her, for he would not take the Money himself. He then led the Fawn for me as far as our Boat, which having reach'd, I desired him to kill it, and he did so; not by cutting his Throat as our Butchers do their Calves and Sheep, but by plunging his Knife into its Heart, which he did with one Hand, and with the other he held him up by the Head whilst there was Life in it, and then let it fall upon some Snow which happen'd to be still there. This done, he stripped it without making the least Flaw in his Skin. He then cut the Body in Pieces, which I gave to my Interpreter and Watermen, and they took care it should neither be wasted nor spoiled. I eat some of it with them, and thought it much better and fuller of Gravy than the Fawn of Red or Fallow Deer. The *Rhen-Deer* has very much of the Stag as to his Size, nor is he unlike the Fallow Deer. He has four Branches or Horns, of which the two longest are upon the hind, the two shortest upon the fore Part of his Head. The Flesh of this Venison is not so dry, but is much more delicious to the Taste, than that of those I have just mention'd. That same Day I paid a Visit to another *Laplander*, whom we met a Fishing, and who lived on t'other side of the River, about three Quarters of a Mile higher.

Saucy
Tresk.

Riccaholm.

In this Place also the Waters were not confined within their own Banks, but cover'd a very handsome Tract of Ground; upon which I asked the *Laplander* whether this Extent had any particular Name belonging to it, and he told me 'twas called *Saucy Tresk*, or the Lake of *Saucy*. I never saw a Map that took Notice either of this or the former Lake, though more remarkable than that of *Tuka*, a Mile and a Quarter higher, of which at least they give the Name, tho' they have made it larger than it really is, and represented in a Form very unlike its own. It was about Ten in the Afternoon (for so I may call it, since there was neither Night nor Evening there) when we landed on the South Side of a little Island called *Riccaholm*, which this other *Laplander*, who led me *per in vias silvas*, over Rocks and through Thorns and Briars, to his Tent on the neighbouring Continent, upon a Mountain called *Riccawara*, which we reached about Half an Hour after Eleven, and found his Wife in Bed, which consisted of two Skins of *Rhen-Deer*, and one spread upon the Ground serving for Feather Bed and Mattress, and the others for Sheets, Blanket and Quilt, and

and she lay between those two quite naked; and instead of a Pillow, she had her Gown folded up under her Head. This I found afterwards was not a Custom peculiar to her, but used by all the *Laplanders* both in Winter and Summer, and pretty common amongst the *Finland* Fishermen, who are their nearest Neighbours; with this Difference indeed, that those who live most at their Ease amongst the latter, make themselves Matresses with the Hair of *Rhen-Deer*, which they pick up in Moulting-time, and Bolsters and Pillows with the Feathers of Wild and Water-Fowl: However, they pull off their Shirts at Night for fear of wearing them out, and the *Laplanders* never wear any at all, but of what Sex or Condition soever they be, always lay naked thus between two Skins. I made no Stay in this Tent, but leaving the Man and Woman together, I went out and sat me down under a large Fir-Tree, when my Host presently came to me, and brought me a Bow and Arrow, which I had ask'd him to buy. I diverted my self some time in seeing him shoot, which he did so very dextrously, that he never miss'd the Mark, whether 'twas one of his own, or of my chusing for him. After which he shew'd me his Herd or Flock of *Rhen-Deer*, which consisted of about eighty Head, and which his Son, who was then about ten Years old, took care of. We then saw some *Laplanders*, with two Herds of *Rhen-Deer*, marching Northwards, in Pursuit, as I may say, of the cold Weather, so very agreeable to those Creatures. I seem'd surpriz'd that instead of taking this Opportunity of feeding their Cattle with the Grass, when now the Ice and Snow was melted, and might easily be come at, these People should be seeking (for so he told me they were) the very farthest Parts of *Lapland*, cover'd with eternal Snow. But this he said was no Objection; for besides the Moss and the aforesaid Beard of Pines, which I have already made mention of as the natural Food of these Animals, he told me that they would find some pretty good Grass under the Snow, which they never fail'd of scraping away; that they went Northwards for fear of Heat, which, when excessive, always destroy'd a vast Number of those Creatures, or at the very best bred Flies and other Insects upon 'em, which made their Way through their Skins, and filled 'em so full of Holes, that they looked more like Sives than any thing else, after which they never were good for any thing; that even the Men in those Parts were often obliged, during hot Weather, to tar their Heads, their Faces, and every Part of the Body that is exposed, for fear of those Insects. To this he added, that Heat had such a very strange Effect over those Creatures, that take a furr'd Gown said to be made with one of their Skins, and lay it before the Fire, or expose it to the Sun, and all the Hair will drop off.

Having given a short Sketch of the *Lapland* Fashion of incamping, it will not be amiss to say something of their Manner of breaking up Camp. They fold up the Stuff with which they cover their Tents; and of that, as well as of the rest of their Baggage, they make several Bundles of about 40, 50, or 60 Pounds Weight; but if their March be long, they make their Bundles less; and two of these of an equal Weight they tie with strong Leathern Thongs upon one of their *Rhen-Deer*, as we do Bales and Hampers upon our Packhorses, and like them they rest upon their Sides. If they have any little Children incapable of Walking, they pack them up too in their Cradles, which are made just exactly to fit their Bodies, like little Coffins, where they

have but a small Breathing-place, as you may see N. (5) in the Print XXXVIII. and there they put two and two after the manner of (12) upon their *Rhen-Deer*, as they do other Bundles; and when one Child is lighter than the other, they put something upon his Cradle to make his Weight directly answer that of the other; and if there be but one Child, they make up a Bundle exactly of the same Weight, as I saw it done by these *Laplanders*, who broke up their Camp near *Riccawara*. When all their Baggage is thus loaded, the Men and Women, and such of their Children as are capable of walking, drive the loaded Deer to the Place where they intend to encamp next, and such of them as are not loaded follow with little or no Trouble; they generally halt in the Woods, or between the Rocks and Mountains, which they are obliged to cross, but never pitch any Tent till they reach the Place where they intend to continue. They never ride the *Rhen-Deer*, having found that their Backs are very weak, and that their Strength lays in their Legs and Shoulders; and for this Reason they draw a great deal swifter, and a much heavier Burden than they can carry. As for the wooden Work of their Tent, they leave it standing, and build another wherever they encamp next, there being Plenty of Wood every where; and in this the Northern *Nomades* have a vast Advantage over the Eastern, I mean the *Noghaian Tartars*, whom I have seen between the *Black* and the *Caspian Sea*, who seldom meeting with any Wood in the Desarts, where they encamp with their Families and their Drovers of Horses, are always oblig'd to carry not only the Coverings of their Tents, which is a kind of felting Stuff, but the Timber-work also, and for this Reason they make it much lighter, and much more regular.

But to resume the Thread of my Discourse; I ask'd the Host several Questions concerning their Manner of Living, Hunting, Fishing, and concerning several Kinds of Creatures, whose Skins are the most valued amongst 'em; as in particular, amongst other Things, whether he never kill'd black Foxes or Sables, and whether he had any of their Skins to sell, or cou'd tell me of any Body that had? To which he answer'd, that those two Kinds of Animals were very scarce, but especially the former, for he did not really believe that in three Years Time there had been four of 'em kill'd in all *Torne-Lapmark*; but that as for the latter indeed, he and his Companions did sometimes kill a few of 'em, but they never sav'd any of the Skins, selling 'em all at the Fairs of *January* and *February*, which are generally held near the Churches in the Borders of *Lapland*; after which Time he said they never kill'd any, it generally being Moulting-time about the beginning of *March*, and the Colour of their Hair being quite changed by *April*; a Proof of which I saw in the *Ermines* and *Squirrels*, which here and there are very plentiful, and whose Hair was become reddish, like that of *Weefles*, except the Tip of the Tail, which in *Ermines* is always black; to this my Host added, that they did not begin to kill 'em again till towards the middle of *November*. He gave me a great many other very satisfactory Answers to the several Questions I ask'd, till I came to touch upon Religion. The first thing I ask'd him in relation to this, was whether he frequented any particular Church, or Chapel? To which he answer'd, Yes; but that really he had frequented none of late, since his good Friend the last Curate of *Juckacerwa* had been dead, by reason that ever since that Time he had encamped at too great a Distance from one; that it was only the Plenty of Fish in *Saucy-Tresk* that had drawn him

him so far down the Country as I saw him ; but as soon as the Weather grew better, he shou'd leave the Place, and get up further into the Country again. I then ask'd him whether he knew what was meant by the Sacrament, and whether he had ever received it ? But he return'd my Question, and ask'd me whether I did not know what was meant by it myself? I answer'd, Yes, but that I wanted to know whether he and I had the same Notion of it ; but instead of telling me what it was, he began to give me an Account of the Ceremony used in the Administration of it, as near as I can remember in the following Words : " The Priest puts a little round white Loaf, * as thin as a * The Lutherans give unleavened Wafer, as well as the Roman Catholics, to the Communicants. " Sheet of Paper, in the Mouth of the *Communicant*, and then makes " him swallow the value of a Spoonful of *Spanish* Wine." Here we must observe, that the *Laplanders* call every kind of Wine *Span Vine*, or *Spanish* Wine, and Brandy they call *Vine*, having no other Name for these Liquors ; and none at all, as I observed before, for Bread, which, to express, they make use of the *Finland* Term *Leypa*. Hearing this Answer, I ask'd my Host whether he had no other *Notion of the Sacrament* ? Yes, said he, *The Body of Jesus Christ who died for us is hid in it, but we can't see it.* But do not you *Laplanders*, said I, believe that this Body is risen again ; and that 'tis living as you and I are ? Upon this he paused for the Space of some few Minutes, and seem'd in a very deep Study ; then looking up again, God knows, said he ; and this was all I cou'd get out of him. Being then willing to know whether he had any greater Notion of Magick or Witchcraft, than he had of Religion, I asked him whether there were really any such Things as Magicians and Witches among the *Laplanders* ? He answer'd me, Yes, but that they were chiefly to be met with amongst the *Kimi-Laplanders*, and the People of *Finland*. Upon this I express'd a great Desire of seeing some of them: God forbid you should, reply'd he. I then offer'd him a Crown Piece, the favourite Money of the *Laplanders*, if he wou'd shew me any ; but he protested that he knew none, and seem'd very fearful of being ever acquainted with any of 'em. But tell me then, said I, what sort of People you take them to be : They are Folks, reply'd he, who talk with the Devil, know every thing that is done ; and when they bear any body Ill-will, or are paid for doing a Man Mischief, will send Diseases upon him or his Wife and Children, and Cattle ; and this he confirm'd to me by several Stories he told me, of People whom they had struck Blind, and whose *Rhen-Deer* they had killed. As these Stories were altogether as tedious as they were improbable, I cut him short in the midst of them, notwithstanding that my Interpreter, who believ'd them as firmly as if they had been Articles of Faith, wou'd have had me open my Ears and Eyes as wide as he did his to listen to them ; and asked the *Laplander* whether they cou'd not do Good as well as Mischief ? To which he answer'd in the Affirmative, assuring me, that they cured the Diseases which they themselves or others had given ; provided, says he, you meet them and treat them very civilly with Brandy, and make them some handsome Present. Here I must observe, that the Enthusiasm which is taken Notice of in them, and which precedes their Predictions and Divinations, seems to me rather an Effect of the Brandy and Spirits which they drink, than of any Inspiration ; for they never set about their Work without having first dram'd it very heartily. I cou'd not avoid his telling me another Story, (to confirm his last Assertion) of an old Witch who had a very handsome Daughter, to whom

whom a young *Laplander*, rich in many Heads of *Rhen-Deer*, promis'd Marriage, but broke his Word; upon which the Mother in a very great Passion struck him Blind, nor cou'd he recover his Sight till such time as he had made his Peace with the old Woman, and married her Daughter.

By his Discourse I found that the *Laplanders* seek the Favour, and endeavour to appease the Anger of their pretended Witches, whom they believe capable of doing any Good or Mischief they shall please; as the common People among the Roman Catholicks do of their Saints, to whom they chiefly attribute all the Fortunes and Misfortunes which happen to them. This Man wou'd have gone on with his Stories, had not I left him to go and observe the Sun from a Hillock, which was not above a Musket-Shot distant from the Place where we were sitting, and from whence I cou'd discern the whole Body of that bright Orb when at the lowest. The *Laplanders*, who are accustomed to have him continually upon their Horizon during several Weeks of the Summer, and to be without a glympse of him during as many of the Winter, do not take the least Notice either of his going or returning; and they assure me, that the Whiteness of the Snow, and the Brightness of the Stars when the Sky is clear, makes them sufficient amends for the Loss of this Ruler of the Day, by affording them as much Light as they want to do any thing they have to do. Mean while the good Woman of the House was got up, and had dressed some of the Fish which her Husband had brought Home with him, to part of which I was invited with my Interpreter; and we were obliged to fish for it again with wooden Spoons in a large wooden Bowl, which was almost filled with the Milk of *Rhen-Does*, in which it had been boiled, and now served for Sauce, in which the Fish might literally be said to swim again. Nor was this all our Supper; we had Cheese and fower Milk served us, such as I had drank at *Siccarwara*; after which I thank'd my Host and Hostess, made them a Present of some Tobacco, and return'd to my Boat; to which the former wou'd needs accompany me.

Yuka.

On the 6th we reached another broad Place of the River, which I have already made mention of, call'd *Yuka-Tressh*. The Lake *Yuka*, which gives its Name to *Yukacerva*, a kind of Village about three Quarters of a Mile higher; and of which I shall take Notice in my return. Having staid there only to take a new Guide and Interpreter, both in one Man, who was better acquainted with the practical Map of these Countries than my former were: However, I did not discharge him; for having a Letter to *Magister Vigilus*, who there served some time the Cure of *Yukacerva*, from one of his Friends at *Torne*, he recommended me for Interpreter and Guide to the late Curate's Son, who had not made a sufficient Progress in his Studies to succeed his Father, and was therefore reduced to live after the *Lapland* Fashion: He was then fishing about half a Mile from that Place, and was immediately sent for, came and accepted of the Offices for a small Reward. I entered into Discourse with him, and found that he talked the *Swedish* Tongue, and some few *Latin* Words; with the little I had got of the former, and his little of the latter, we understood one another pretty well. He told me, that he had no other Calling but that of a Fisherman; and that he had nothing else to do, having entrusted his Herd, which he said consisted in 60 Head of *Rhen-Deer*, to some *Laplanders* of his Acquaintance; who, during the Summer

Sea-

Season, kept them with their own between the Mountains which surround *Torne-Tresk*, or the Lake *Torne*. Those who have not seen it, will scarce believe what Numbers of Water-Fowl are to be met with upon this River, to which that Lake give its Name; and my Watermen wou'd every now and then put in to Shore, to look for the Eggs of wild Ducks and Geese amongst the Reeds, which grow here and there upon the River side, or in the little Islands which in several Places are formed in the middle of the River, and that after the manner of the *Laplanders*, who get vast Quantities of these Eggs, and of the wild Fowl too, when in Season, as the old ones in Winter, and the Goslings and young Ducks in Summer, which they have several ways of killing; but the most common, and what they are the most expert at, is the shooting them with their Arrows, as they do their Land Prey; and indeed the *Laplanders* are such excellent Archers, and their Prey is so very plenty, that shou'd one of them go out a shooting for two Hours, and not bring home a whole Load of Game, he wou'd certainly conclude that some Enchanter, who bore him a Grudge, had out of meer spite spoiled his Sport. My new Guide having helped me to a new Boat lighter than my other, with a couple of *Lapland* Watermen, we reach'd some old *Copper Forges* and melting *Furnaces* about a Mile and a half higher in less than three Hours time, notwithstanding that we row'd against a rapid Stream. These Forges have several good Dwelling Houses adjoining to them, but all uninhabited; and they are situated on a little River call'd *Willakiosky*, which falls from a vast height, and with great Noise on one side of it in the River *Torne*. They were built by the Proprietors of the others which I have taken Notice of before, and abandoned almost as soon as they were compleatly finished. The Streams being all over very strong, we could not go up further than three Miles in eight Hours; then we rested our selves for two Hours, and eat some Provisions we had with us. Having desired my Interpreter to shew me as many *Laplanders* as he possibly cou'd, he carried me upon a Mountain called *Rodwara*, about a Mile from the River, where we found two Tents, with two Women and their Children. As I was impatient till I had reached the Tents, I made what haste I cou'd before; and the Women perceiving me, fled each with a Child in her Arms, and followed by a little Girl about 10 Years old. There was something so new and strange to them in my Dress, that it seems that had frighten'd them away; but my Guide who knew them call'd them by their Names, and bid them not be afraid; upon which they return'd to their Tents, and received us after their manner, by giving us their Hand as we came in. They were both young, the oldest of them not exceeding Twenty Eight, and the youngest Twenty; they were of a middle Size and fair. About Ten the Sun growing low, the *Rhen-Does*, which they call here *Vatchion* and not *Halto*, as I had so call'd before, came up to the *Cottas* or Tents. I admired the Tameness and Docility of these Creatures, who came up to them as soon as they rais'd their Voice a little higher than ordinary to call them; and of their own accord stooped their Heads, that their Mistresses might throw a Rope about their Necks, which they did very dextrously from some Distance; and with which they tied them to a Tree or Stake set in the Ground for that purpose, that they might Milk them with less trouble, (as does (8) on the said Print). I told these Women that I was surpris'd to hear them call their Does *Vatchion*, for I had heard other *Laplanders* give them the Name

Villakiok̄y.

Rodwarā.

Name of *Halto*; to which they answered, that the latter was the Name of their Does in general, the former proper to their Milch Does only. I had the Curiosity to taste of the *Vatchion's* fresh Milk; upon which the little Girl was sent by her Mother, the eldest of the two Women, into the Tent for a wooden Cup, which she fill'd, and I drank it off. I not only thought this Milk inferior to that of Cows in Sweetness, but almost as strong as that of Mares, which I had drank in *Tartary*: However, it has this one Advantage over it, the Flavour was very agreeable, which I chiefly attributed to the Angelico Leaves which the *Rhen-Deer* are fond of, and of which there is plenty in *Lapland* upon the River sides, as there is also of other Sweet Herbs; and this confirms what I have before observed of the bitter Flavour which we find in the Milk of Cows and Goats near the *Black Sea*, caused by the Wormwood they eat. There I took Notice, that the *Laplanders* chew Angelico Roots when they have no Tobacco left. As soon as they had done milking their *Vatchions*, they let them go to Grass again, and set some of the Milk a boiling upon the Fire, to which they invited us; and at the same time served up some dry'd Flesh of *Rhen-Deer*, and some of their Tongues dried, which were very delicious; as was also some dry'd Cheese which they made us eat of. As they were naturally lively gay Women, we were very merry during Supper-time; and I asked them several Questions, to which they gave me very civil and satisfactory Answers. I then began to enquire into their Thoughts of their present Condition, and whether they wou'd not be glad to change it for a better; at the same time setting our manner of living before them in the fairest Light I cou'd, but in vain; my Discourse did not make the least Impression upon them, I found they were extremely well satisfy'd with their present State, and desired nothing but the Encrease of their *Rhen-Deer*.

Whilst we were engaged in this Discourse, their Husbands came home quite loaded with Fish, especially that sort they call *Thiava*, and the *Swedes*, *Sicks*: They had also a considerable Number of Pike, and wou'd fain have dressed some of them for us; but we thanked them heartily, and assured them we cou'd eat nothing more, we had been so well treated by their Wives; and this they heard without the least Jealousy. Both these Men in Height exceeded what we generally call a middle-sized Man; as did most of those whom I had met with here and there, ever since we had passed *Lupa-Tresk*: They were really well made Men, pretty thick set, and their Looks were fresh and ruddy; the oldest of them might be Three or Four and Thirty, and the youngest of them about Twenty Five. Comparing these *Laplanders* with the Accounts I had read of here, given by a great many People who had all represented them as mere *Pigmies*, banished from my Mind that false Idea which I had entertained of them. Enquiring into their chief Employments, I found, that after the Care of their *Rhen-Deers*, 'twas Fishing in Summer time, and Hunting in Winter; at which time they kill'd not only those Creatures which were fit to eat, but such whose Skins wou'd sell. I then entered upon *Religion*, and asked them what was that which they profess'd? That of the *Swedes*, said the oldest of them; but do you think that the best, said I, cutting him short? Doubtless it is, reply'd he, since the *Swedes*, *Norwegians* and the *Muscovites* believe it. I being no Missionary, did not think it my Business to furnish him with more substantial Goodness of one Religion above another, or make them sensible of the Difference between the

two first and the last. Besides, 'twou'd have been an endless piece of Work to have pretended to explain such a Thing as this, to People who had no Principles of Religion in them, and only a few wild confus'd Notions, such as they had picked up in the Sermons they had heard once a Year. I ask'd them then however, whether their Priests had never told them what this Religion was, and how to practise it? Yes, reply'd the youngest of them, who resolved to speak in his Turn, we go to Church in Winter, have our Children baptiz'd, receive the *Sacrament*, and pay the Priest those Dues which that Religion enjoins us to pay him: As for Example, now I have but Two Hundred Head of *Rhen-Deer*, and yet I pay Four *Lispunds*, viz. Twenty Pounds weight of dry'd Flesh of the Deer every Year, besides Eight Cheeses, Two Pair of Gloves, and a Pair of Boots to the Curate of *Tucka-cerva*; my Wife gives him Ten Ermine Skins, and a Servant that looks after my *Rhen-Deer*, Six Squirrel Skins: Besides this, we pay him proportionably to the Number of *Rhen-Deer*; we have *Christning*, *Sacraments*, *Marriage* and *Burial* Fees, when any of us die when near the Church. Upon this I asked him, what they did with those who died a great way from the Churches? We bury them our selves, said he, without a Parson, and so pay him no Fees. The eldest of the two being willing to give me an Account of his practical Part of Religion, interrupted the other rudely: Why now, said he, I have not above Forty Five or Fifty *Rhen-Deer* more than my Neighbour here, and yet I pay him Six *Lispunds* of Meat a Year, with Twelve Cheeses, and every thing else proportionably; and whatever you may think of the Matter, I can assure you we never fail paying these Duties. By their Discourse I saw, that, according to their Notions of the Matter, Religion consisted chiefly in giving the Parson his Dues; nor was it necessary for a Man to be a Conjurer, to find out that this was the chief Doctrine which their Teachers took care to inculcate to them on that Topick. I then turned to another Subject, asking them several Questions concerning *Witchcraft*; and expressed a great Desire of seeing one of their Witches, but cou'd get no Answer from 'em more satisfactory than what I had receiv'd from my Host at *Saucy-Tresk*. The Sun being fallen to the lowest, I went to observe it from the Top of the Mountain where we were, from whence I cou'd see it about twice as high upon the Horizon as the Bigness of his Body appears to us: 'Twas the 7th Day of the Month, and about three quarters of an Hour after the Time we call Midnight, that the good Women, having in the mean while spread us out some Skins of *Rhen-Deer* under Fir-Trees, just by their Tents, I laid me down upon two of 'em, and found that my Interpreter was already got between two others, after the *Lapland* Fashion; for as I had nothing to say to the Sun in *Lapland*, I had not taken him out with me.

About Six in the Morning, every Body being up, we took our leaves and return'd to our Boat, where we found the Watermen fast asleep; we wak'd 'em and made 'em set us ashore on t'other Side the River; which done, we walk'd above two Miles, and in our Way saw several *Laplanders* encamp'd upon and between the Mountains they call *Oppiwara*; amongst others, we found two, whose Tents were very near to one another's upon the same Hillock, like those of *Rodwara*, which were older indeed, and not so handsome, but very well set, and were far from being little Men: The oldest of 'em had a very fat Wife,

in Height exceeding a middle-sized Woman, with a handsome Daughter just marriageable; upon which I ask'd her, if she had no Thoughts of marrying her Daughter? She answered, yes; and that if some honest Fellow, who had a considerable Number of *Rhen-Deer*, shou'd come and court her, he certainly shou'd have her. I then ask'd, whether she wou'd not give her a Portion of *Rhen-Deer* also? Yes, reply'd the Woman; for you must know 'tis our Custom, as soon as we have any Children born, whether Boys or Girls, we set aside for 'em such of our Deer as are fawn'd pretty soon after their Birth, but more Does than we do Bucks; so that by that time they are grown up and fit to be married, they have a pretty handsome Herd of their own. She also told me, that it was a Custom for the Men, who court any young Woman, to make her Friends Presents of Money, *Rhen-Deer* Skins, and such like things; which Custom I remember'd that I had read of in *Schefferus*. The youngest of the two Women was the least that ever I saw amongst them, but in return she had the finest Skin imaginable; and every Feature of her Face was exact and regular. I asked them several Questions concerning their Manner of *Living*, as also concerning *Religion* and *Witchcraft*; their Answers to the first were very natural and satisfactory, but to the two last were altogether as absurd, and much of the same Nature, as those I had received from the rest of their Countrymen that I had talk'd to on the same Subject. Before we parted, the eldest of the Men invited us to take part of a Repast with him, which consisted of fresh Fish, dry'd Tongues of *Rhen-Deer* boil'd in Milk, and new Cheese. I made his Wife and Daughter some few Presents, and then we return'd to our Boat, which we reach'd a little after One in the Morning of the 8th, having in our way observ'd the Sun when at lowest as high upon the Horizon as I had seen it at *Rodwara*. We then laid us down upon the River's Bank, and rested our selves till Eight in the Morning, at which time we took Boat again, but cou'd not row above a Mile and a half up the River, farther than the Place where we had laid, and about as far on this Side the *Torne* Lake; the River in that Place, as well as the Lake, being cover'd with Ice. Leaving our Boat there, we rambled on Foot between the Woods and Mountains, which in that Place were not cover'd with large Trees, but chiefly with Shrubs and *Juniper* Trees; and having walk'd about a Mile, we discover'd a large Herd of *Rhen-Deer*, consisting of about 800 Head, which were look'd after by two grown Men and a Woman; who seeing me and not my Interpreter, began to fly from me as the Women at *Rodwara* had done. My Guide, whose Eyes were employ'd upon some other Object, took no Notice of 'em, so that I was obliged to tell him of it, and he immediately call'd to the Runagates, bid 'em not be afraid, and told 'em his Name: Upon which they came towards us, and having shaked Hands, they invited us to their Tents, which were at no great Distance from that Place. We follow'd 'em, and coming into the largest, found a Man there of about Forty, with a Woman that seemed to be Five and Thirty, with two Girls, of whom the oldest might be about Thirteen. The whole Family was rather short than tall, and not at all handsome, except the eldest Girl, whose Complexion was really beautiful, and who had fine Eyes. The good Woman asked my Guide several Questions, with great Concern, about the Motives that had induced me to come amongst 'em; telling him, that as she never had seen any Body like

like me so far up the Country, she really believed (for so he told me the Story afterwards) that I was sent by the King, or at least by the Governor, to examine into the Number of their *Rhen-Deer*, and probably upon my Report they should have additional Contributions laid upon them; but he having calm'd her Fears, and assur'd her to the contrary, she was so well pleas'd at being disappointed in her Notions of me, that she grew very good-humour'd, and ask'd me whether I wou'd not stay in *Lapland*, and have a fine Girl given me to Wife, with some *Rhen-Deer*? I told her that this was a thing I had not yet thought of; but rather, said I, won't you give me your eldest Daughter, that I may take her away with me? I'll assure you I'll take great care of her, she shall never want for any thing, but shall live better, and be dress'd finer, than if she stays in *Lapland*. The poor Girl hearing this, burst out a crying, and thinking that I was really in earnest, fled away into the Woods, where her Father, who went out to look after her, had much ado to find her. In the mean while, the Mother, who between my Question and her Daughter's Flight, had not had Time to return me an Answer, put on a very grave, or rather angry Face upon the Matter, and told me, that she would not part with her Daughter to go out of *Lapland* for all the Wealth in the World; and the youngest Girl, who before was very busy in drawing Pewter and Lead through a Wire-Drawing Mould, made, as all those in *Lapland* are, of the Bone of a *Rhen-Deer*, was preparing to follow her Sister's Example; but my Interpreter stopp'd her, by giving her all the good Words he could think of: In short, the whole Family present was alarm'd, and look'd upon me as one who was come to fetch them all away; nor was it an easy Matter to hush their Fears: However, I did it at last, by protesting to 'em over and over, that I never had a Thought of taking any Body away with me, and would rather chuse to stay amongst them my self. At length the other Daughter return'd to us at the Perswasion of her Father and of my Interpreter, who carry'd some pretty Nick-knacks to her in my Name. Observing an embroider'd Purse that hung upon one of the Stakes, I ask'd my Hostess, whether she had worked it her self? To which she answer'd in the Affirmative; assuring me that her Daughters, not only those I saw, but two others also, who were marry'd, cou'd embroider as well as her self. I desired that she wou'd be so kind as to sell me that, with some more of her Work, if she had any ready made; upon which she opened a large Box, and out of it she took a *Lapmude*, or furr'd *Lapland* Gown, with a Pair of Boots and a Pair of Gloves, telling me that was all she had at present. I enquir'd into the Price of them, and paid her down what she ask'd, which was but a very trifling Sum. As all the Furrs and Boots are made with the Hair outwards, they cut it off in those Places which they embroider, and then sow in Pieces of Stuff generally red, which are embroider'd as broad as they please. The longer we staid together the better we were acquainted, and the more friendly we grew; and the good Woman perceiving that I made much of a young *Puppy*, wou'd needs make me a Present of him: She thought, I suppose, that I admired the Dog's Beauty; I must confess I cou'd not forbear taking Notice of him, but for quite another Reason than she imagined: I admired his odd Make and particular Deformity, and I am certain that any one who had look'd upon his Bear's Head and ill contriv'd Body, and had not heard him bark, would never have taken him for a Dog.

I do not remember to have seen any thing like him, but between the 68th or 67th Degree of Latitude. However, I accepted the Offer, and sent it to our Boat, and he is now in *England*. I was treated then in a much more magnificent Manner than I had been by any *Laplander* before; for our Host sent for a young Fawn, which he kill'd himself, by running his Knife into its Heart, as I had seen it done at *Lupa-Tresk*, then gave it to his Son, who had brought it stripp'd; which done he cut it into Pieces, one of the largest and thinnest of which he roasted in the following Manner: He took a Stick peeked at both Ends, and spitted this Piece of Meat, and then stuck the other End in the Ground over against the Fire; and turned sometimes the one End sometimes the other Side to the Fire, till it was done enough: Some of the Flesh he also cut into little Pieces, and set it a boiling; which done, both the boiled and roast Meat was serv'd up in two wooden Dishes; our Cloth, a white Piece of Stuff, by the *Laplanders* call'd *Rana*, was laid upon the Ground, and our two Dishes were follow'd by two more, one of dry'd Tongue of *Rhen-Deer* boiled, and the other a Dish of boiled Milk. Our Host took this Opportunity of shewing himself a very topping Man, for we had Silver Spoons given us to eat our Milk, and the same for our boiled Meat, of which there was great Plenty; and their Drink, which was fower Milk, was served in a pretty large Silver Cup; we had Cheese brought us too before the Cloth was taken away; and, in short, I shou'd have thought the Treat a very compleat one, cou'd I have got a Piece of Bread: However, the want of this was something made up by the boiled Milk, which was thickned with the Flower of Barley or Oats, and seasoned with Salt; for tho' the *Laplanders* have no such thing as either of these among them, yet do those who are very well to pass, buy both of the *Norwegians* for this Use only; and indeed I thought this thickned Milk of *Rhen* as good at least and grateful to the Taste, as the *Talcan* of the *Tartars*, which is made either with Water or Mare's Milk, and the Flower of Cummin mixed, but not boiled in it. The other *Laplanders*, who cannot or will not buy Flower, thicken their Milk with the Rhine of Pine-Trees, from which having taken off the outside Bark, they dry and powder it after the same manner that those People do, who, as I have before observed, made their Bread of it; with this Difference only, that they do not grind it in Mills, the Use of which is wholly unknown to the *Laplanders*.

Our Repast ended, I made my Host and Hostess some small Presents of Tobacco, &c. and desir'd 'em that they would send some body to shew us the best Way to the Lake *Torne*; upon which he ordered a Boy who help'd look after his *Rhen-Deer*, to go with us. Passing by the Tent of the other *Laplander*, who was returned to his *Rhen-Deer*, we stopp'd a little while at the Door of it; there was no Body there but his Wife, who was Daughter to that good Woman who had just before treated us so very handsomely: She was a little Woman, very far from being handsome, and seemed to be about 19 or 20 Years old. As soon as she perceiv'd us at the Tent-Door, she rose from off the Skin on which she was sitting and mending her Gown, gave us her Hand, and wou'd have spread Skins for us to sit on; but we thanked her heartily, and desired her not to give her self that Trouble, for we cou'd not stay; and leaving her, we continued in our Road towards *Torne-Tresk*, or rather continued walking towards it, for Road there was

was none, so that we went sometimes to the Right, and sometimes to the Left, in a very irregular manner between Rocks, Woods and Mountains; and passing by the same Herd of *Rhen-Deer* which we had seen before, we found a Guardian exercising two young *Laplanders* with Bows and Arrows; and 'twas with pleasure that I saw the youngest of the Boys, who cou'd scarce reckon Eight, hit the Mark, which was the Skull of a *Rhen-Deer* fasten'd to a Tree, ten times running, without once missing it. Having walk'd three quarters of a Mile in our March, pretty perfectly describing an half Circle, we came at last to the Top of a high Mountain hard by the Lake, which our new Guide call'd *Mickawara*; and in a Moment after we saw upon its Northern Declension a Herd of *Rhen-Deer* and a Tent, where we resolv'd to rest ourselves a little, being quite tired with walking both that and the Day before, especially travelling as we were oblig'd to do there, perpetually up Hill and down Hill. Drawing near this Tent, we saw an old Man, who seem'd to be about Seventy, short and thin, but streight, and for his Size pretty well-set; with his Son, a young Man of about Twenty Five, who was pretty short too, but much thicker set than his Father; and this young Man's Wife, who was a middle-sized Woman, and pretty much inclin'd to be fat. They were then sitting down to some dry'd Flesh of *Rhen-Deer*, and to some fresh Fish boiled in Milk: At first they seem'd surpris'd and troubled at my Visit, or rather at my Cloaths; but my Interpreter having pacify'd them, they invited us to sit down and take part with them. I excus'd my self, as having eat very heartily at the last Place where I had been, but my Fellow Travellers fell too without any Ceremony: The only Favour I begg'd of them was, that they wou'd spread me out a Skin somewhere near the Tent; upon which they brought out two of them according to their Custom. I laid me down upon them, and slept very sound near four Hours; at which time awaking, I found that 'twas near Twelve; or, as we shou'd have call'd it, Midnight. Upon this I rose, and went up to the Top of the Mountain; from whence I saw the Sun, when at lowest, as high upon the Horizon, as we see it about 10 or 12 Minutes before it sets. I then returned to my sleeping Place, sat down upon my Skins, and employ'd about an Hour and a quarter in writing the Remarks I had made the Day before, and then; this being a Custom I generally observ'd; and then laid me down again till Five in the Morning, which was the 9th. Getting up, I found that my Interpreter and the rest of the Company were still fast asleep; by my Interpreter I mean the Parson's Son, whom I picked up at *Tukacerva*; for tho' I was follow'd by the other, I made no other use of him, but employing him to carry my Coat when I was too hot in walking; and, indeed, I might literally say, that I was followed by him, for he was a dull heavy lazy Fellow, always lagging behind; and who, when we walked together, was the last who reached his Journey's End, but the first for baiting, and going to sleep when he had done; and as he had complain'd the Day before of the Fatigue he endured, and had gone so far as to say, that if I resolv'd to go a hunting for *Laplanders* (as he call'd it) much longer, he wou'd not pretend to follow me, I determin'd to send him back to the Boat, where he might wait my Return; and without waking any body, I lighted my Pipe and walk'd about with that, then sat me down to read over the Remarks which I had made the Day before, and wrote some few more.

About Six every body but the lazy Interpreter being up, I looked about for the old Man; and at length saw him and his Wife standing quite naked near a heap of Snow, with which they were rubbing their Hands, Face, Neck and Body; there being no Shame among the *Laplanders*, for Men and Women to do so openly and publicly; and they seem to have preserved the Custom which the Holy Book tell us preceded the Original Sin. As soon as he had put on his Cloaths, I came up to him; and as he had frequently been amongst *Swedes* at the Mines of *Suappawara*, and spoke their Tongue, I enter'd into Conversation with him, ask'd him several Questions concerning the *Laplanders* I had seen here and there, and amongst other things, whether all the Mountains, between which their *Rhen-Deer* fed, belong'd to them all in general? To which he answer'd in the Negative; telling me that their Ancestors had divided the Country into so many Parts or Tracts, distinguished by the Name of some remarkable Mountain, Lake or Forrest in that Part, and they were proportionable to the Number of *Rhen-Deers* which every Family had, and which were sometimes divided into 10 or 12 Branches, with each their respective Herds; and we agree very well, continued he, for the Country is large enough for us all; and there being always plenty of the *Tekeley*, or *Loppo*, for if the one was wanting, as it was here, there is a much greater Number of Brambles and Rocks with the Moss about us, than of Pine Trees. He also added, that by the Names of their Districts they knew one another, and cou'd find each other out upon Occasion: Which, as to explain, he told me that the Mountains of *Oppiwara* gave their Name to a vast District, so those of *Mickawara* to another. I began to talk to him about the Religion of the *Old Laplanders*, but he knew nothing of it; I then questioned him about his own, and found him almost as ignorant in that Point. *Witchcraft* I saw he verily believed, and much more feared; but had very little Notion of it. I then ask'd him whether the Lake *Torne*, which to me seem'd frozen over from the Place where I stood, wou'd still bear a Sledge? He told me that he believ'd it wou'd; for it was not above five Days since he himself had cross'd it in one. Upon this I desir'd him, that he wou'd supply us with three or four Sledges and *Rhen-Deer* to draw them, and either to guide us himself, or to provide us with a Guide. The old Man was very willing to do what I desired of him; and shewing us which way we shou'd take over some Rocks and Brambles, he bid me wait for him at the Foot of a little Eminence, between which and

Holmwara. a high Mountain call'd *Holmwara*, is the Channel thro' which the Lake supplies with Water the River *Torne*, and there, he said, as soon as he cou'd get his Sledges and *Rhen-Deer* ready he wou'd come to us.

Being unwilling to terrify any more of the *Laplanders*, I determin'd to dress my self in the Fashion of that Country; having a *Lapmude* already by me, I bought a *Lapland* Cap of the old Woman; and giving my Hat and Coat to my first lazy Interpreter, I bid him return to the Boat, and there wait for our Return, with my *Lapland* Watermen; for, as for my part, I was resolv'd to see as many more *Laplanders* as possibly I cou'd; and he was very far from being griev'd at this Order: At the same time I satisfy'd and discharged my *Oppiwara* Guide, and they both left me together. I then went on with my Interpreter of the *Sacerdotal* Race, to the Place which the old Man had pointed out to us; and thinking that I had some Time to spare, before he cou'd come with his *Rhen-Deer*, I cross'd over upon

upon the Ice, which still cover'd the Lake, which was only unfrozen a little lower than the middle of the Space between the Eminence and *Holmvara*: I went up to the Top of the Mountain; from whence having a very large Prospect, I could discover pretty distinctly a kind of *Alps* in *Norway* call'd *Fiöls*; and between which may properly be said to lay that Extent of Land known by the Name of the *Norwegian-Lapland*. I had not been there above Ten Minutes but I saw four *Rhen-Deer*, with as many Sledges, at the Foot of the Eminence, and with them the old Man and his Son; upon which I hasten'd down to them; and being got there, we packed our selves up, as I may call it, in the Sledges, which are a kind of little Boat just big enough to hold one Body; and in these we lay with our Feet to the Head, and our Heads to the Stern, and covering our selves with the Skin of a *Rhen-Deer*, we tied our Body down in it from the Feet up to the Waste, as may be seen in the Print XXXVIII. N. (10) three Sledges, which the *Laplanders* call *Poulka*, are fasten'd to the *Rhen-Deer* by one Trace, only an End of which is tied to a leathern Collar it has on, and the other End to the Head of the Sledge. The Rein is a long piece of Rope made with the Bark of a Pine Tree, and tied to the Horns of the Deer, which by pulling either to the Right or Left, guides him to that Side, or stops him by drawing it straight towards you; whilst, on the other hand, if you shake it over his Back, he doubles his Pace. The Person who slides in this manner has a Stick, or, as it may more properly be call'd, a little Oar in his Hand, with which, when he comes to any uneven Place, he prevents the *Poulka's* being overturned. We steered our Course towards the North West in the following Order: The old Man went first, serving us for a Guide, his Son and I follow'd Side by Side, and behind us came my Interpreter; and so swift were our *Rhen-Deer*, they rather seem'd to fly than go; yet at the same time were as tractable at least as the most tim'd and best manag'd Horses. These Animals never stumble, Nature having made them Claws in the Shape of a Muscle-Shell turn'd upside down, which enter a little into the Ice, and are safer than any frost Nails or rough Shoes a Smith can make. Having travelled three Miles in this manner upon the Icy Plain, in less than three Hours our Guides shew'd me the *Non plus ultra* of three *French Travellers*, who had been there about 37 Years before in *August*; and the Lake being quite thaw'd at that time, the old Man told me he himself had supply'd them with Boats to go upon it. This *non plus* was at the Foot of a long Chain of Mountains, most of them bare, or at best cover'd with a few Shrubs and Brambles, and these altogether form'd a kind of Peninsula, which he call'd *Peskomarca*; considered as such, it has its *Isthmus* towards the North East of the Lake, into which it extends three Miles towards the South West in the Shape of a Tongue; the Point of which our three Travellers called the End of the World on that side, as do testify the following Verses, which they engraved on a large Rock. The old Man shewing me, as near as he cou'd remember, the Place where it lay, I look'd or searched, and tore off the Moss out of one and another, so that at last I found them still well legible as they are here,

*Gallia nos genuit, vidit nos Africa, Gangem
Haurimus, Europæque oculis lustravimus omnem,
Casibus & variis acti terræque marique
Stetimus hic tandem nobis ubi desuit Orbis.*

De Fercourt, De Corberon, Reygnard, ad *Peskomarcam* 18 Augusti
1681. In

In *English* thus,

France was our Native Country. We have seen Africa and the Indian Ganges, and wander'd all over Europe. We have met several Adventures both by Sea and Land, and at last were obliged to stop here, where the World fail'd us.

De Fercourt, De Corberon, Reygnard, at Peskomarca, August the 18th, 1681.

By what he, and several others who remembred them, told me, they never saw any *Laplanders* but such as were fishing in the River, having always travelled in a Boat, to save themselves the Trouble and Fatigue of walking about between Rocks and Mountains, Pines, Brambles, &c. but without which the *Laplanders* Way of Living is not to be seen; and therefore we have so many strange and fictitious Accounts of them, those that wrote them having travell'd in the like manner, or depended on the Information of Persons, either prejudiced by superstitious Traditions, or of the Inhabitants themselves and their ignorant Neighbours, uncapable of forming any just Ideas of the very Things which they daily see. Having gone on Five or Six Miles upon the Ice, beyond the Extremity of *Peskamarca*, we heard a terrible Noise of Waters, which seem'd falling in large Torrents from the Clouds, but which really issued out of the *Fiöls*; and the Wind blowing from that Quarter, the Noise perfectly stunned us. These *Fiöls* are very high Mountains, and are the Limits of *Lapland* on that Side, and serve as Bounds to the Sea. The Ice there began to thaw towards the West, where the *Cataracts* appear'd, as we might plainly see by several great Holes in it, which the old Man took care to make me shun, and advised me not to venture any farther, especially towards these great *Cataracts*, but to return as fast as we could, for that in less than a Week since he had crossed the Lake, the Ice was strangely weaken'd; and that the Quantity of Waters which issued from the *Fiöls*, was an undoubted Sign of a Thaw, which is generally so sudden there, that in Four or Five Days time no part of the Ice, within half a Mile of the Shore, will bear ones Weight. I asked him whether we might not set foot on Shore on the North side of the Lake, where there was no such thing as a *Cataract*? He answer'd, Yes; but that we must not pretend to stay above a Day or two at the very furthest. I accepted of the Conditions, and he led me into a kind of Gulph form'd by this Lake, which I found he was very well acquainted with; and which sometimes he told me never thaw'd, by reason that the two Mountains which were on the sides of it kept the Sun-Beams and the Heat from it. Advancing even amongst the *Fiöls*, we found them quite cover'd with Snow, and the Vallies beneath with Ice, so that I cou'd scarce perswade my self we really were in the Month of *June*. There were the *Laplanders* who had fled thither from the approaching Summer, many more in Number than I had hitherto seen; and some of the *Rhen-Deer*, who were scattered from the rest of the Herd, by their bounding on and rolling in the Snow, as Horses and other Creatures do in the Spring-time with us upon the young Grass, seem'd to tell us how agreeable the Cold was to them. That part of the Country we were now got in, is called the *Norwegian-Lapland*.

I think I have already observed, that the *Laplanders* are *Swedes* in Winter, (for they go to sell their Skins and other Merchandizes to the Merchants upon the Frontiers) and *Norwegians* or *Muscovites* in Summer; and they travel out of the Dominions of one Province into those of another, without any other Passport, than that used by several sorts of Creatures, who change their Climates, *viz.* Instinct, or the Direction of Nature. These People never wage War, but against the Beasts of the Mountains and Woods, upon which they live. The Ice and Snow being so very common here, we cou'd continue our Journey in Sledges, except in some few Places where the Rocks were sharp, or the Ground cover'd with thick Shrubs and Brambles, and there we were obliged to get out and walk. And now I talk of Sledges, I cannot forbear calling them the Delight of *Lapland*, as I did those of *Sweden* her Delight; and I may much more justly do it here, since the Winter lasts much longer, and the *Rhen-Deer* seem by Nature contrived to draw them. The first Herd we met about two Miles beyond the Lake between the high Mountains call'd *Watchionwara*, consisted of about 600 Herd of *Rhen-Deer*, and were looked after by a Man-Servant, who seem'd to be about Twenty Five, and a Lad of Twelve, the Master's Son. The Servant's Shape seem'd very ill contriv'd; but on the other hand, he had something in his Eyes and his whole Physiognomy, which plainly told me he was no Fool: As for the Lad, he had nothing in him either shocking or taking. Our good old Guide coming up to the Man, bid him shew us the way to his Master's Tent, which he did; and going all in together, they found him, his Wife and two Children asleep: Upon which they awaked him, and he presently after came out to us, and taking us by the Hand, we staid with him at the Outside of the Tent till his Wife was up and dress'd; which done, he invited us in, and we sat our selves down upon something which our Hostess had spread out for us. This Man and Woman were both in the Prime of their Years, agreeable enough; and tho' short, yet well-set. The eldest of the two Children was a pretty Girl, between four and five, and the youngest a Boy about three, and they poor Souls were still fast asleep. As we gave our Host to understand that we were thirsty, we had some fower Milk brought us immediately; and thinking that we were hungry too, he bid his Wife set some dry'd Flesh of *Rhen-Deer*, with some Cheese, before us. I cou'd not forbear fancying my self in the *Noghaian Tartary*; so very agreeable to one another were their Manner of encamping, eating and drinking, and such was the Hospitality they always used towards us. By that time we had eat and drank it was Twelve o' Clock, and every Body thought of going to Bed but my self; for I hastned away to the next Mountain, that I might observe the Sun, and saw it when at lowest as high upon the Horizon as it appears to us three Quarters of an Hour before Sun-set. It came then to my Mind, that this wou'd be no proper Place for the Observance of the *Mahometan Lent*, which lasts during the Moon *Ramadzan*, and, as I before observ'd, don't allow to take any kind of Food or Refreshment from Sun-rising to Sun-setting; for the whole Orb continually appears there, as I was assur'd, for above six Weeks. Returning back to the Tent, I found every Body fast asleep but the Master, who was naked, and just going in between his Skins; and the Servant-Man, who set up that he might spread a Couple of them for me. This Servant began to talk *Swedish* to me; upon which I ask'd him,

Watchion-
wara.

him, where he had learn'd it? He told me, at the Mines and Copper-Works of *Suappawara*, and at the Forges of *Kingis*, where he had been several Winters with his Master's *Rhen-Deer* to carry Coals and other Necessaries thither, and from thence to draw the cast or wrought Iron and Copper as far as *Torne* and other Places. I desired him that he would strike me some Fire, that I might smoke a Pipe before I laid me down; which he did: Then I asked him some Questions, to which his Answers encouraged me to try him upon the general Notions concerning the pretended *Lapland* Witches. I knew that even the King of *Sweden* himself, being desirous to see some of their Tricks, had sent Orders to Governor *Cronberg*, to enquire out and send him one or two of 'em. His Excellency had not been able to satisfy his Majesty's Desire, notwithstanding the Trouble he had taken, the Offers of a good Reward, and of Protection against the Laws, which his Majesty's Predecessors had made for the Extirpation of Witchcraft. Tho' I was always something of a *Pyrrhonian*, I mean as to the *Black Art*, yet that Difficulty, and all the Objections of my Sense and Reason against its Reality, increased rather my Curiosity upon the Matter, than lessen'd it; I was resolved, if possible, to see some of those who passed for *Lapland* Wizzards, and how sharply and far they could impose upon human Credulity: I suspected my Interpreters, especially him that was with me, of having, out of some Scruple, conceal'd from me half the Answers which the *Laplanders* made, or from them my Questions about it; or that these were afraid of speaking the Truth of what they knew, for fear of being accused to the Priests the first time they should go either to Church or the Fair of *Yukacerva*. However, I gave some Tobacco to the said Servant, and made him smook with me, and then put him upon the Subject of *Witchcraft*; he seem'd at first as if he was a perfect Stranger to those of his Countrymen who practis'd it: I told him that he need not fear making free with me; that I had a great Mind to see some of their *Magick Art*; and that I would reward him or any who would get me acquainted with a *Vizzard*, and even the *Vizzard* himself, and never tell my Interpreter nor the Priests of it; and clapping half a Rix-Dollar in his Hands, I got him to confess that he knew one; and after having intreated me to be secret, and got my Word renew'd for it, promis'd to carry me to his Tent, about three Miles from thence; therefore we agreed together, that I should ask for him his Master's Leave to guide me amongst the *Fiöls*, which I had a mind to see, pretending that my Interpreter was wholly a Stranger to 'em. Happening to ask him, whether I could not well return to the Bank of the River *Torne* by Land from the Point of the *Peskomarca*? He told me, yes; and that as he used to go and fish every Year there, and especially at the Side of the Lake, where there was abundance of Fish to be catch'd, he might follow me; that his Master would make no Difficulty to let him go along with me, if I would only say one Word. As I was willing to see as much of the Country as I could, I resolv'd to undergo all the Fatigues which such a Journey might be attended with as to Weather, where the Roads were rough and stony, or cover'd with Shrubs, and not fit for Sledges, for want of Ice or Snow. I readily accepted his Offer, and told him I would trust my self in his Hands to be guided by him only, and sent back my Interpreter to wait for me at my Host's. He said, that he would undertake to conduct me thither. After some other Discourses on
the

the Matter, we laid us down to sleep, and getting up before any Body else, the Man went into his Master's Tent, whom he found sitting up awake between his Skins, and chewing Tobacco, and made him, in my Name, our Proposals agreed upon among our selves, without mentioning any thing relating to the *Wizard*, as it may well be imagined, he consented to both: We took two of his Sledges here, and packing our selves up according to Custom, we went on as far as we cou'd; but as there was no direct Road; we turn'd twenty times this Way and that Way before we reach'd a Flock, which he told me was a Mile from the Place whence we came, but the several Turnings and Windings we had made above two: Nor had we the Pleasure of travelling in our Sledges all that Way, for we often met large Stones, Shrubs, and the Ground sometimes without Snow upon it, insomuch that we were obliged to walk above three Quarters of a Mile; at which Time we always took up our Sledges, and laid them across the Backs of our *Rhen-Deer*, who then follow'd us like *Spanish Dogs*. Being come near a pretty numerous Flock of *Rhen-Deer*, we found one Tent only, in which there were two Girls about sixteen or eighteen Years old, whose Faces were far from being disagreeable, and in their Shapes they had nothing either deformed, or of the pigmy: They told us that their Father was a Widower, and gone out a Fishing: However this did not hinder them from giving us something to eat and drink, for they set Cheese, dry'd Fish, and Milk before us, out of which we made our Breakfast and Dinner; for tho' we had set out betimes in the Morning, 'twas now past Eleven, such a Circumference had we taken. I gave the Girls some Tobacco, which they immediately fell to chewing, as the *Grecian* and *Turkish* Women do their Mastick. After Dinner we smok'd a Pipe, and then set out upon our Journey again, but without Sledges, several steep Rocks and Mountains, cover'd with Shrubs and Pines, obliging us to leave them there; having walked for about a Mile and a quarter, we came at last, at about Three in the Afternoon, near two little Hills, between which a little Torrent or swift Rivulet shaking off its icy Fetters, and throwing the Pieces of 'em against the Stones, made a Noise, which we had heard at some Distance, and coming up to it, we found the Banks and Sides still cover'd with Ice and Snow. 'Twas with some Difficulty that we cross'd this Torrent, however we did it at last dry-shod, for the *Lapland* Boats never let in Water; and about 15 or 20 Paces on t'other Side there stood a pitiful Tent pyramidically, and cover'd with old ragged Pieces of *Rana*, and sow'd together. About 30 Paces lower there was a Herd, consisting of about seven Head of *Rhen-Deer*, such is the usual beggarly Wretchedness of all *Conjurers* and Professors of the *Black Art*; and I cou'd not forbear reflecting on the ungenerous Manner in which the *Devil*, who is look'd upon as the Master of all hidden Treasures, and the Prince of Riches, deals towards those whom the World calls his Favourites and Servants. Here my Guide left me, and hasten'd into the Tent, that he might prepare the *Wizard* for my Reception, by acquainting him with the Promises I had made, and persuading him to show me some Trick of his fine Art; and in a few Minutes time he return'd with the *Conjurer*, who gave me his Hand, and bid us follow him to the Top of one of those two Mountains, which I just before spoke of; and as I was exact in observing the most minute Things, I took Notice that it was that Mountain which lay to the East; and here he desir'd us to stay a little, whilst

he went and fetch'd his *Drum*, &c. In the mean while I looked about me, and saw that Sea which is bounded on the other Side by the other Hemisphere, according to the Conjectures and Discoveries of the most famous Geographers and Hydrographers; so that I had much more Reason than the three *French Travellers* to say, *Mihi defuit orbis*, the World fail'd me. But I was drawn off from these Reflections by the Return of our *Wizard* with his magick *Drum*, which I suppose, for fear of being discover'd, he took great Care to hide under the Shrubs and Stones, for 'twas somewhere amongst 'em that he went to fetch it. This Instrument, of which there is a Representation at (9) Print XXXVIII. is not, as may be observed, so military a Drum as a Kettle Drum, having but one Head, and its oval Form and wooden Back resembled the Body of a Lute. In the middle of the Back there were two Slits, about eight Inches long more or less, and an Inch broad: Between these two there was a Space of Wood not broader than one's little Finger, to which was fasten'd a Chain with several Brass Rings: This is the Fashion of their Instruments, at least of that, and of another such that I have, and had been taken from another pretended *Wizard* by a Priest of *Tuckacerva*, which was presented me at my Return thro' *Upsala* by Dr. *Ericus Benzelius*. As soon as he came back to us, his first Question was, *Have you any Brandy?* I had heard, even before I went into *Lapland*, how necessary a Liquor this was in all magical Operations, and that it had such a Virtue amongst the *Lapland Witches*, that it would raise the Devil faster than Holy Water cou'd lay him; and therefore took care never to be without some of this precious Liquor, so very essential to my Purpose. I had always a small Runlet of it in my Boat, and in my Pockets a couple of Bottles, holding each a full *English* Half-pint, which with Tobacco I used to treat those that entertained me handsomely. No sooner therefore had my Guide told me what he wanted, but I pulled out one of my little Bottles, which he received with great Pleasure, for immediately upon taking it into his Hand Joy sparkled in his Face: At two Pulls he swallowed about two thirds of it, and then putting the Chain and Rings into the Inside of the Drum, (for before they hung on the Outside) and turning the Head of it, which was cover'd with a very transparent Parchment towards the Ground, and on which were painted in red Colours Men and Beasts, and Cœlestial Signs, but so very vilely done, that there was no distinguishing them but by the Eyes of Faith; such as are those of that which I have; he began to beat it underneath from the Bottom to the Top, with a double or rather a forked Piece of *Rhen-Deer's* Horn, made in the Shape of an Y, as you may see it represented by the Figure playing under at N. (9) by which the Rings, which were loose in the Inside of the Drum, made a jingling sort of a Noise like that of a *Biscayan* Drum. Our *Wizard* having beat it thus for the Space of some Minutes, he laid himself down not upon his Belly, as we find the Manner of these People's Divinations, related in so many Accounts of *Lapland*, but flat upon his Back, and laying the beaten Part of his Drum upon his bare Stomach, without inclining it either to the one Side or the other, he shut his Eyes, and seem'd in a kind of a Trance, without breathing for a small Space of Time; at length he bewailed, and fetching a long and deep Sigh, he gently rais'd the Drum, without shaking it in the least, and holding it about three Hands breadth from his Eyes; and looking upon the Rings, which he could plainly see through the transparent Parchment, he consider'd their

Nearness

Nearness to, or Distance from, such and such Figures ; and according to their Situation from the time he had done beating it, (for the Rings had not been in the least mov'd since that) he began to pronounce his Oracles, as follows :

Looking very stedfastly in my Face, he told me, " That I shou'd
 " run a great Risque upon the Water if I return'd in a Sledge, as I
 " shou'd also in going down the *Cataracts*, or Falls of Water ; and ano-
 " ther great Danger I shou'd run, he said, by Fire ; that the first time
 " I put to Sea I shou'd have a fair Wind ; that my Life shou'd be long
 " and healthful after I had overcome two violent Fits of Sickness,
 " both which I shou'd feel in the Space of two Years." Nor did he
 barely tell me of my Misfortunes and Diseases, but like a good
 Counsellor and Physician, taught me how to avoid, and prescribed Re-
 remedies for the Cure of them. " You must return, said he, by Land
 " to the River, and there take *Lapland* Fishermen to carry you down
 " the *Cataracts* ; and when you are sick, take every Night some dry'd
 " Castor Stone in Brandy till you are quite well again. He said, and
 " turning his Head, with a kind of convulsive Motion, towards my
 " Guide, Bid him go out a Fishing the 20, 22, 24, 26, and 28th of
 " the Month we were in ; and the 3, 6, 9, 12, 16, 20, 24 and 28th
 " of the next ; adding, that if he did, he shou'd return Home so
 " loaded with Fish, that he shou'd bend beneath the Weight of them.
 He told him further, that the same Days of the Months of *September*,
October and *November* wou'd be equally fortunate to him for Hunting,
 and not to him only, but to me also, if I wou'd stay and partake of
 that Diversion ; and having said this he held his Tongue ; and being
 unwilling to let him have done with his *Predictions* as yet, I ask'd
 him several Questions concerning Things past, present and to come :
 As for Example, What Countryman I was ? Whether I was a Batchel-
 lor or a married Man ? Whether I had travell'd into any other Country
 besides *Torne-Lapmark*, and whether I shou'd see any other Parts of
Lapland ? But talking to him and to a Post was the same thing ; the
Predictions upon his Instrument were quite exhausted, and his *Familiar*
 had revealed nothing farther to him. He rose, and by the Advice of
 my Guide I gave him a half Crown-Piece, with which he seem'd much
 better pleased than I cou'd be with his Predictions ; which I look'd
 upon like all other Things of this kind, to have more of Chance in
 them than the falling of his Rings upon such and such Figures, or like
 a few accidental Truths which are told amongst a much greater Num-
 ber of Lies. My Guide seem'd before-hand as well pleased and sa-
 tisfied with the Promise of good Luck in Fishing and Hunting, as he
 cou'd for his Life be in the fulfilling of this Promise ; so very credu-
 lous are those who consult these pretended *Wizards*, and so very much
 are they prejudiced in their Favour, that they blindly and implicitly
 believe and follow their Directions. If one of these *Drummers* tells
 a Man, that on such a Day there will be Plenty of Fish to be taken,
 or of Game to be killed, they certainly go out that Day ; and as there
 never is a Scarcity of either in their proper Season, they verify the
 Prediction by bringing Home a Load of Fish, or of Game and such
 Beast whose Skins they sell ; but if on the other hand, the *Conjurer*
 tells them that such and such Days will be unfortunate, they them-
 selves make it so, by not going Abroad ; and consequently catching no
 Fish, or killing no Game, never endeavouring or daring to prove the

contrary of what has been foretold 'em; 'tis enough that the cunning Man has bid them not go, and therefore they won't stir out of their Tents.

As to the Diseases with which I was to be visited, as he said, I thought him as ignorant as he was of my past and future Travels, of which he wou'd not venture to speak a Word; and if I shou'd be twice down, or oftner in Two Years time, I shou'd not look upon my Illness as the natural Consequence of his Predictions; and shou'd be very far, I am sure, from making use of the Remedies which he prescribed. Nor need a Man be a Conjuror, to tell one that one shou'd run great Dangers in going down the *Cataracts*; the Many who are drown'd there sufficiently show us how dangerous it is without the help of the *Black Art*: Nor had Bishop *Bilberg* consulted any *Lapland* Oracles to know the Danger of 'em; for he was so sensible of the Risque he had run in coming up as far as *Kingis* by Water, that he wou'd not venture any farther. If the Risque I run of being burnt in a House in *Turky* in the Year 1700, had happen'd since this Prediction; or if on the *Coronation* of his present Majesty in 1720, I had gone on Board an *English* Ship at *Stockholm*, where I was invited, and happen'd luckily to fail my Appointment; at which time the Ship was unfortunately blown up, and very few escaped with their Lives: If, I say, I had been amongst the Number of the latter, and been as credulous and superstitious as a great many are, I shou'd then have look'd upon this as the fulfilling of the *Lapland* Prophecy: But these, and such like Accidents and Dangers, are so common in the Course of one's Life, that a *Wizard* can't help hitting upon some of them; and this it is that procures them so great a Share of Reputation amongst those who have a great Stock of superfluous Faith, and Archoves of Miracles and Prodigies. Tho' what I had seen of *Lapland Withcraft* was very far from giving me a better Opinion than I had conceiv'd at first, yet was I willing to contribute as much as possibly I cou'd to the Satisfaction of his *Swedish* Majesty, that he might be convinced how vain and ridiculous their Art is; and that Mr. *Cronberg* might have an Opportunity of executing the King's Orders, I propos'd this Journey to the *Wizard*, advising him to take one of his Brother *Conjurors* with him; one, I told him, that was very well skill'd in the *Black Art*, and they shou'd go with me to *Uma*, where the Governor wou'd supply 'em with all kinds of Necessaries, and send them to the King; who had promised his Royal Protection, and a very handsome Reward to any one who wou'd undertake the Journey, to shew him some Wonders of his Art. But all I could say or do to banish his Fears, to make him reflect on a Royal Reward, and accept the Proposal I made him, was vain; there was nothing that cou'd move him to a Compliance: Besides this, he told me that there were but very few in that Part of *Lapland* who understood the *Black Art*; and even amongst those few, I shou'd not find one he believed, who wou'd go as far as he had done in discovering himself to me, and he conjured me never to speak of what I had seen. These Reasons he thought weigh'd very much with me; but I found he mistrusted his Art, and did not care for playing any of his Tricks before Persons who had more Sense, or less Faith, than his Countrymen. This done, he led us to his Tent, and opening the Door invited us to walk in; but we were satisfy'd with barely looking in, where we saw his Wife, who, as he told us, was very ill, lying between two Skins; her Face and Neck, the only Parts of her that lay uncover'd, were very much tann'd;

tann'd ; and by her, upon another Skin, was sitting a little Boy, whose Complexion indeed was something better. We thanked the Man for his kind Invitation, but refused the Offer ; my Guide having before told me, that he would carry me to the Tent of a rich *Laplander* of his Acquaintance, which was at no great Distance, and where we might expect to be better treated. This Tent was about three Quarters of a Mile Northward, out of the way from our Sledges ; but we had the good Luck of meeting about half a quarter of a Mile from the *Conjuror's* Habitation a Herd, consisting of some hundred Head of *Rhen-Deer*, where we were inform'd that we might make use of Sledges from that Place to the other where we were going ; this pleased me mightily, and having taken two Sledges, we reached the Place in half an Hour's time. Our Host was one of the tallest Men I ever met with amongst the *Laplanders*, and seem'd to be about Forty Five ; his Wife and one Daughter, two of the fairest and liveliest Women I had met with, gave us their Hands according to the Custom of the Country, and we walked in. My Guide wou'd not give them time to ask us to eat, but told them at once that he was very hungry ; upon which they set before us all sorts of such cold Victuals as the *Laplanders* have, to stay our Stomachs, till a Piece of *Rhen-Deer*, spitted as the other mention'd was at *Oppiwara*, and which was already before the Fire, cou'd be ready. Our Host had, as he told me, between Four and Five Hundred *Rhen-Deer*, notwithstanding he had given Two Hundred to a Son of his who was married. Tho' he had eat just before, yet wou'd he bear us Company ; and a Servant, who had been sent out upon some Business betimes in the Morning, and had eat nothing since Six of the Clock, returning just at that time, came in, and sitting himself down cross-legged near the wooden Dishes, fell too very heartily, and without the least Ceremony ; for amongst the *Laplanders*, the Servants keep no Distance, but eat at the same time, and are cloath'd after the same manner as their Masters, excepting that their *Lapmudes* are not embroider'd, nor is there any Difference in their Beds.

As soon as we had done eating, and had drank as much sower Milk as we pleased, we rose, and taking other Sledges, went in them as far as we cou'd towards our own ; but that happen'd to be but a very little way, for we were not got above a quarter of a Mile, before we came to a great Number of Shrubs ; and seeing little or no Snow beyond it, we delivered our Sledges to a Servant who had come on purpose to take them back, and we continued our Journey on Foot, but a very tiresome one it proved, so many Rocks and Torrents were we obliged to cross ; at length, about half an Hour after Nine, we reach'd the Tent of our two Girls, who were already a-Bed, but not yet asleep. They were willing to get up that they might give us something to eat, but we bid them not disturb themselves, for we had just made a plentiful Meal : Upon this they awak'd a young Man-Servant who was asleep in the same Tent, and bid him look us out some Skins, that we might lay down ; but we told them, that we were resolved to go home and sleep there ; however, the Lad got up, and went with my Guide to fetch our *Rhen-Deer*, which were turned loose, and feeding amongst their Herd, and they tied them to the Sledges. All this was done in a quarter of an Hour's time, and we hasten'd back to the Tent of my Guide's Master, by the same way we had come in the Morning, and reach'd it a little after Midnight. We found every
body

body fast asleep ; upon which we laid us down, and followed their Example.

About Seven of the Clock the next Morning, the old Man who own'd the Sledges in which we had come, awak'd us, and told my Interpreter that we must think of going, lest the Ice shou'd thaw, and we be oblig'd to walk almost round the Lake on Foot before we cou'd come to my Boat. I then told him what I had thought of, bidding him make Use of the Ice as far as the North of *Peskamarca*, and then to hasten home with my Interpreter in their Sledges, from whence I bid the latter go to my Watermen, and with them to cross the River, and wait for me on the East Side of it, whilst I, with the Servant who had been my Guide the Day before, wou'd go round that I might see more of the Country : Thereupon the old Man, whom I paid, call'd his Son, and bid him Harness the *Rhen-Deer*, which he did, whilst the Man who was to be my Guide went to get two fresh *Rhen-Deer*, which he put before two Sledges ; and having all Breakfasted upon some Cheese and dry'd Fish, we set out. Besides our Company, there was another Servant also, whom our Host sent a Sledge to take back ours, as soon as we shou'd have reached *Peskamarca*, which we did between Eleven and Twelve at Noon, and there having satisfy'd my old Man and his Son, we parted Companies ; for I walk'd with my new Guide, whom I may also call Interpreter, five Hours, without meeting any thing but a few scatter'd *Rhen-Deer*, which were rowling themselves in the scattered Snow ; but we saw no Herd nor no Tent. Being then pretty weary, we set us down to eat some Cheese and some dry'd Fish which my Guide had brought with him ; and having rested our selves near an Hour, we got up and walked on till about Eight in the Evening, at which time we reached a Tent ; in which lived an old Man of about Sixty, and his Wife, who did not seem to be much less. These I found my Guide knew of old, and had lately served by taking care of their *Rhen-Deer* at *Suappawara*, which they let out to the Proprietors of the Mines, to carry their Iron to the Forges. This old Man had still a pretty large Herd of *Rhen-Deer*, the Care of which he entrusted to two Servants, notwithstanding that he had given the greatest Part of them, as my Guide inform'd me, to his three Sons, whom he had married. Here we were very well entertain'd, and rested our selves till Four the next Morning ; at which time we set out again, but in Sledges which I hired, there being Snow enough for a considerable length of Way to bear them, and about an Hour and a quarter after we saw a Tent before us, and a little further on the Right Hand side a small Herd of Deer. Upon which we went directly up to the Tent, but found no body in it ; and looking about us we saw at a little Distance a Woman with two little Girls stark naked, rubbing themselves with Snow. The Woman no sooner saw us, but she put on her Cloaths, and coming up invited us into the Tent, but we rather chose to stay on the Outside, and she immediately spread us out some Skins ; upon which, as usual, we sat us down cross legged, which to me was no difficult Matter, having long been accustomed to it both in *Turkey* and *Tartary*. By the several Questions she asked concerning me, I thought her the most inquisitive Woman that I had met with in that Country ; and at the same time I am sure she was the ugliest, her Complexion being perfectly tanned, her Eyes sunk in her Head, her Nose flat and turned up at the End, and her Shape very ill-contrived.

Her

Her Husband, with her two Sons, she told me, were gone out a Fishing; nor need he be afraid of trusting her by her self, for if the *Laplanders* had been naturally jealous, he had no great Occasion to be so of her. It was not long before the two little Girls came up to us, nor cou'd I see any thing either in their Complexion, or the Features of their Faces, that seem'd to promise they wou'd mend their Breed. This Woman invited us to eat, and my Guide accepted the Invitation; as for my part, I was satisfy'd with a Cup of sower Milk, which having drank, we pursued our Journey walking, there being no Plain fit for sliding: In no less than 7 Hour's Time we came to a Mountain, whose Summit was cover'd with Snow, and in the midst of which there was a large Hole that seem'd the Work of Art, as it really was. I enquir'd of my Guide what the Meaning of that Hole might be? And he told me, that they had dug there, thinking to discover a Copper-Mine, instead of which they had found a Vein of Crystal. As he had his Hatchet with him, I desired that he would dig me out some Pieces of it, which he at first refused, telling me that he should certainly spoil it: Upon which I promised to pay him the Value of it if he did; and then he immediately fell to work, and in the Space of a few Minutes he digg'd out several Pieces by Nature cut Farsel-wise, and shaped pyramidically. I took of these Pieces only the largest, which I have still by me, and its Figure is represented on the Print IV. of my first Volume, (N. 6.) which is as big and as long as my Thumb; at the bottom of 'em they were all mixed with a little Dirt, and some Pieces of Rock, out of which they perfectly seem'd to grow, as do those of a kind of Agate, which I have before taken Notice of on the North-East Side of *Malta*, where they are by Nature so exactly shaped like Tongues, that some Priests distribute them amongst Strangers for the Tongues of Serpents and Vipers, which were petrified there by *St. Paul*, after his being bit by one of them.

Being satisfied with such Pieces of Crystal as I had got, we proceeded in our Journey, and after a Walk up Hill and down Hill, much more tedious, tho' not so long, as the last, we lay down *sub dio* till Five in the Morning; then walking again for six Hours, we rested our selves till Five in the Afternoon; and after another Walk of four Hours, we saw on our left, about 3 Musket Shots from us, a considerable Herd of *Rhen-Deer*, and near 'em one of the largest Tents I had yet seen, which we presently made up to, and found six People in it; to wit, the Mistress, who was a Widow of about Forty, three young Daughters, and two Sons, of whom the oldest seem'd to be about Fifteen: They had nothing of the Pygmy in their Stature, or of disagreeable in their Faces. We were received by 'em with the usual Civility of that hospitable Nation, and invited to sit down to a Dish of Fish and Milk boiled together, which Invitation we accepted, and fell to very heartily. During this Repast, I asked the Company several Questions, which as well as their Answers, do not deserve a Place in this Account. Finding my self very much fatigued, I told 'em I wou'd willingly repose my self; upon which two Skins were spread out for me, and then I laid me down. It might then be about Ten; nor did I awake before Eight the next Morning; not having slept so long at once for a considerable Time before; and hearing there that we might sledge it as far as the next Herd, we took each one Sledge, and reach'd it about Twelve at Noon. This Herd consisted of about 1000 *Rhen-Deer*, and near 'em were pitched two Tents, where we were handsomely treated with

with the Flesh of a new-kill'd Fawn dress'd in the same Manner as I had eat it at *Oppivara*. This Herd I found belong'd two Brothers; the one had a Wife with four Children, *viz.* three Daughters and a Son, the first from eight to thirteen Years old, the latter fifteen; the other was a Widower, and had two Daughters, who seem'd to be from fifteen to seventeen Years of Age, and they were all the handsomest I had met with in *Lapland*. They made us stay with 'em till the next Morning; and there being no travelling any further in Sledges, we walk'd on Foot till Three in the Afternoon between the Mountains call'd *Ptalmewara*, *i. e.* the Mountains of the Eye, *Ptalme* in the *Lapland* Dialect signifying an Eye, which seems to be deriv'd from the Greek Word *ὀφθαλμῶς*.

About Six in the Evening we saw two more Tents hard by one another; and coming up to the Door of one of 'em, a young Man of about Twenty came out to us, and giving us his Hand, he carried us in, where we saw his Wife, who seem'd younger than him, and who, as he told us, was just brought to Bed. 'Twas really well he told me so, for I never should have imagined this of a Woman that I saw sitting cross-legg'd, and cutting a little Cap out of a Skin. Another Woman, who was the Husband's Mother, had just been rubbing the new-born Child with Snow, according to the Custom of that Nation, as they told me, and was then wrapping it up in little Skins of young Fawns. Contenting our selves to look about in the Tent without sitting down, the young Father carried us to the other Tent, but we rather chose to sit on the Out than the Inside of it, by reason of a great Fire which was lighted, he said, to dress some Fish; for his Father and his two Brothers were gone out to the River a Fishing the Day before, and were now expected back every Minute. This Fire seem'd to tell that they as much depended upon the Fish as if all the *Wizards* of *Lapland* had foretold 'em that it wou'd prove a fortunate Day; nor was it long before three Fishermen return'd with every Man his full Load, not only of Fish, but of Eggs also, of Wild Geese, and other Wild-Fowl. The young Man fell immediately to cleaning and cutting a good Quantity of this Fish, whilst his Mother set on the Pot with Snow, which they come at much more easily than Water in those Parts. As soon as the melted Snow began to boil, they put the Fish in, and let that boil with it till they thought it almost done, and then they filled up the Pot with Milk, which before was not above a third Part full of Snow-Water, and then being boiled again together about half a Quarter of an Hour, they broke and threw several Eggs Whites and Yolks altogether in it. Whilst the Hurry taken up in dressing the Victuals continu'd, the Host, with his other two Sons, was very busy in cleaning and curing the rest of the Fish, in order to dry it. The Eggs had not been many Minutes in the Pot, before they took it off the Fire, and emptied it out into two wooden Basons and a Dish; the two former were set upon a *Rana* Cloth spread upon the Ground, round which we sat with the rest of the Company, the Mistress and Lying-inn Woman excepted, who had the wooden Dish for their Portion, on which they supped in the other Tent; nor was our Cloth taken away till they had served up some dry'd Flesh and sower Milk. Being more Thirsty than Hungry, I drank a considerable Quantity of it here, and found it had much the same Effect upon me as Mare's Milk had formerly in *Tartary*, for it made me heavy or rather giddy. I asked my Host several Questions, for

for as he was the oldest, I thought he ought to be the wisest of the Company ; but I received no Answer from him that was more satisfactory than those I had received from the other *Laplanders*, especially such as he made me concerning *Religion*. I then ask'd him how far it might be from his Tent to that Part of the River which was thaw'd : (*viz.* where I expected to meet my Boat) He told me that it was thaw'd all over ; then added I, till that part, it was still frozen up 8 Days before ; he reply'd, there might be about three Miles and half, and that the Ground-Ice still ran when he left it, and that some Fishermen who came down from the Lake *Torne*, near which they had their Herds, told him, that the Ice broke off there very fast in several Places, especially in that Part of it where it first opens into the River. I must confess this was very unwelcome News, and I began to be afraid for the old Man, with his Son and my Interpreter. We staid here till the next Morning ; and having thanked my Host and Hostess in the usual Manner, that is, accompanying my Thanks with some few Presents, left 'em, fully resolving not to go out of my Way to see any more *Laplanders*, but to make the best of it to the Boat ; and we set out about Nine, and reach'd about half an Hour after Twelve a small Tent, where we met a young Woman of about Twenty five or Twenty six Years old, with a Daughter of about Six, who received us with the usual Ceremonies, and gave us some dry Meat and fower Milk ; after which we saw the Herd belonging to the Tent, of 80 *Rhen-Deer* ; then walking on, we arrived on the River-side between Five and Six, and having rested our selves for an Hour, went on the Banks, and joined my People at Eight. They seem'd well pleas'd at it, my Interpreter of *Tuckacerva* especially, who told me that the old Man, his Son and himself had narrowly escap'd drowning, the Sides of the River being quite thaw'd, and would certainly have been lost if the Boat had not come in time enough to the Lake's opening to save 'em : He added, that the *Rhen-Deer* had follow'd the Boat, and swam safe to Shore. My Watermen told me besides a dismal Story of the Danger they had run in crossing the River, for that the Ice of the Lake beginning to break, it came down in large Flakes, and had almost over-turned the Boat. As these Pieces of Ice were falling down thicker and thicker, we thought it imprudent to venture on the Water till they were over. In the mean while, these Watermen, who had catch'd Abundance of Fish, made us a good Entertainment ; after which we sat down near the Fire, which they had made to cook it, and I slept very well till Nine in the Morning of the 17th, then satisfy'd and discharg'd my *Watchionwara* Guide, who told me he was going up to seek his Fortune by Fishing in the Lake. Tho' I could not propose to my self seeing any thing more in respect of the *Torne Laplanders* Customs and Manners than what I had seen, but only new Faces, yet I rather chose to walk with my *Tuckacerva* Interpreter in the neighbouring Country, than to tire my Patience by a Stay of two or three Days in the same Place, which my Watermen told me we should be obliged to make, till the Ice could be over. After a pretty good Repast on Fish, as that of the Day before, we sat out between One and Two in the Afternoon, and rambled till Six amongst the Woods, where we found two Families, who had each a Herd of 100 to 120 *Rhen-Deer*, and their Tents on a Mountain larger than high, call'd *Pardnewara*, which gives its Name to a *Pardnewara* long District, extending itself far away to the North East. We staid at one till the 18th, and walk'd at least two Miles farther to the

North, till we found another Tent, with a Herd of 150 *Rhen-Deer*, where we lay; and all these three Families, the two first of whom were without their Masters, who were gone a Fishing, made up twelve Persons, and none of them could be said to be ugly, but only of short Size, and the oldest might be Forty, who was a Widower, and the youngest Ten; there were four Girls and two Boys. We were treated by these *Northern Nomades* as handsomely as by the others; they, like those in the East, seeming to think it their greatest Civility to offer Victuals to Strangers, as well as to one another among themselves. On the 19th we walk'd back to the River-side; and the 20th, seeing it almost all over clear of Ice, we got into our Boat; but we scarce came to the Fall of the first Torrent, when several large Flakes falling at once foul of our Boat, did almost overturn it; and I dare say, that if the Servant who carry'd me to the *Wizard* had been with us now, he would have sworn that this was the fulfilling of his Prediction. My Interpreter immediately declared it as his Opinion, that we ought to make the Shore, and to stay till the River should be quite free from Ice; the Danger (said he) of going down these Torrents being of itself but too great, without an additional one from the Flakes. His Advice was follow'd immediately, and we went ashore on a small Island just by us, where we look'd for Eggs of wild Geese, and other as well Land as Water-Fowl; and having gather'd a pretty many, the Watermen lighted a Fire and boild them hard, our Appetite being our best and only Sauce to eat them with. We remain'd on this Island till the next Day, and got on the same Side of the River which we had left; and finding our selves to be over against *Rodwara*, I went with my *Yuckacerva* Interpreter to make a second Visit to our former Hostesses on that Mountain, whom we found busy in putting up dry'd Fish in their Magazines, made as (4) in the Print XXXVIII, as are all those of the other *Laplanders*; and having been as well entertain'd as before, and rested our selves three or four Hours, we return'd to our Boat; and seeing the Water without any Pieces of Ice, we ventur'd upon it, and went down very well for some Miles, till we met a large Bach of Ice, which was lodged so that it hinder'd our going any farther; and *Yuckacerva* being hardly a Mile farther, I resolved to walk it with my Interpreter, and we reach'd the Place before Noon: He carry'd me to his Mother's, who offer'd me a Chamber and a Bed; there the Priest, who had recommended him to me, and had succeeded his Father in that Cure, came and invited me to dine with him, and treated me very handsomely with Flesh and Bread; which latter I had not eat for a good while.

Yuckacerva. *Yuckacerva* is a little Village, of which I promised to make mention at my Return; it consists of a wooden Church, a Parsonage-House, and some little Huts or Shops belonging to the *Swedish* and *Finland* Merchants, who come every Year about the latter End of *January* to the *Fairs* which are kept there. The constant Inhabitants are two Families, besides the Parson's, all of Priestly Race; and my Interpreter, I found, was the Head of the most numerous: And as the *Laplanders* frequent not the Church, either there or in any other Place, but just during the Fair-time, and some few Days after, at which Time they marry, baptize their Children, receive the Sacrament, and get drunk with Brandy; which, with Tobacco, and some few Things more necessary, they get from the aforesaid Merchants in exchange for their Furs, &c. after which they return amongst their Moun-

Mountains for the rest of the Year; during which the Parson's Congregation is so thin, that one may apply to his Preaching the Words *Vox Clamantis in Deserto*. Remembring that the *Laplander* of *Saucy Tresk* had told me, concerning the Wine of the *Sacrament* being administered in a *Spoon*, I told him of it, and that I had observ'd this to be a general Custom amongst the *Grecian* Priests, and desired to know whether it was so likewise among the *Laplandish* ones? To which he answer'd me in the Negative; and added, that indeed the late *Curate* of this Place used to administer it in that manner; but what he did was purely out of OEconomy, fearing lest if he fill'd a Chalice with Wine, and gave it up to the Discretion of the *Laplanders*, they wou'd drink all, or too much of it: To this he added, that the same *Curate* was guilty of several more material and scandalous Faults, as that of getting drunk every Day with Spirits, and making the *Laplanders* who came to the Fair also drunk, that he might have an Opportunity of cheating them, and getting what he pleas'd out of them, (a thing which is still but too much practis'd by the Foreign Merchants) and of excommunicating all those who refused to satisfy his Demands. After Dinner he shew'd me the Church, which was entirely built of Wood; and in it I saw the four Verses of the three *French* Travellers which I have already quoted, cut with the Point of a Knife by themselves, upon a little square Piece of Board, and hung up there like a *Votiva Tabula* of the *Ancients*; and I told him, that they had enlarged pretty much on the Poetick Licence or Liberty at the Expence of Truth, in calling *Peskamarca* the End of the World, since I had been a great Way farther. He answer'd 'twas true; and asked me whether I wou'd not leave something to shew that I had travell'd in those Parts; upon which I wrote the following Lines, including likewise the Names of all the Countries which I have seen, which I gave him, and he said he would put it up also in the Church.

*Me Genitrix tenuit bis denis amplius annis,
Gallia, me Italica, Africa terra, Britannica Regna,
Ambæ Asiæ, Melite sterili vicina Cosyræ,
Utraque me Germania, Græcia Magna Minorque,
Urbes Tarraco, Barcinon, Herculeæque Columnæ,
Euxina & Mæotica, Caspia, Baltica nec non
Littora viderunt; vidit Polus Arcticus ipse,
Ac mihi inocciduum ostendit Lapponia Solem,
Proque cibo ac potu carnem & lac Rangiferinum
Præbuit, ut quondam præbere solebat Equinum
Tartaria ———*

A. De la Mottraye, Die 23 à Junii 1718.

Seeing near this Place a Wheel, on which there still remained some Parts of a humane Body, I ask'd him what Criminal had been executed there? He told me a *Laplander*, who being got drunk and mad with *Swedish* or *Finland Brandy*, killed one of his Countrymen, for which he was condemn'd by a *Swedish Court of Justice* to be broke upon the Wheel at the Place where he had committed this Crime; and this, continued he, is the only Example we have of a Murther committed by a *Laplander*, and there is no such thing even as a Thief among them; and if a *Rhen-Deer* strays, he is soon brought to the Owner by those

who find him. I lay here, and dined again the next Day, which was the 2^d, with this Priest; and having satisfy'd the Interpreter whom he had recommended to me, I went down with my old one; and taking another Boat, within something less than Six Hours, we got Eleven Miles below *Tukacerva*; and my Watermen having lighted a large Fire on the West side of the River, we lay round it till Five the next Morning; then getting in our Boat again, we reached *Kingis* before Noon, where I spent two Hours at the House of my quondam Host, who indeed was absent, but whose Wife entertained me very civilly.

Changing Boat below the first *Cataract*, we heard from a Fisherman at the next, that two *Finlanders* had been drowned there some few Days before; and the 25th, having got as far down as *Over Torne*, we lay there. In our way I was diverted with the Method used by the Inhabitants thereabouts of catching Salmons, which go up the Current in large Shoals; and this is done by driving Stakes to close together in the Water, that the Passage which the Swiftness of the Torrents had before made very difficult, is now render'd wholly impracticable; and the only seeming one they have left is thro' a kind of large Cages of Baskets, which at the Mouth are very wide, so that they may easily get into them, but growing narrower and narrower, 'tis impossible for them that are once in to get out again, and these they call *Mellar*. The next Day I dined within half a quarter of a Mile of *Torne*, at Mr. *Henry Phorbas's*, Curate of that Place; and upon my expressing a Desire to see some Part of *Kimi-Lapmark* or *Kimi-Lapland*, he gave me a Letter of Recommendation to his Brother Mr. *Laurentius Phorbas*, Curate of *Kimi*, a *Finlandish* Parish, four Miles and a quarter distant from *Torne*, through which he said I should pass; and about two in the Afternoon I took a Boat, and setting forward reached the Mouth of the River of the same Name, which they borrow from the Lake *Kimi*, which Name it gives also to the Country; and going up a quarter of a Mile further on the Western side of that River, I arrived at the Ground of *Kimi*, once a large Village and populous, with the Parochial Church: I say once, for the *Muscovites* had burnt it down some time before they did *Torne* and *Umea*, they sparing nothing but the Church which is made wholly of Stones, and after the *Latin Cross's*. This Curate had lately rebuilt upon the Ruins of his burnt House a Kitchen, a Laundry, and over them two Chambers; he, his Son, also a Clergyman, and a Maid, were the only Inhabitants I found there, the rest being dispersed up and down in Cottages and Hamlets upon the River-side, as those of *Torne* are. He entertained me there very handsomely. This Parish reaches as far as *Kimi-Tresk*, or the Lake *Kimi*: However, this Extent does not proceed from the Number of the Parishioners, who might all live very well in three or four Villages; but they disperse themselves for the Convenience of Fishing. There is belonging to it a Chappel of Ease in a little Village call'd *Simo* in the *Eastern Bothnia*, at the Mouth of the River *Simo*, from whence it borrows its Name. Besides which, on the East side of the River *Kimi*, about four Miles above its Mouth, there is *Lappinniemi*, which signifies *Abode of Banished*, in the *Finlandish* Language, another Village which they reckon very ancient, as well as *Lappaiewi*, on the East of the Lake *Ula*, and a few others with the like Names on the North of *Finland*. Some are of Opinion, that the *Laplanders* first inhabited these Villages, giving to or receiving from them their Names, and were expell'd from thence, then forced to fly among Woods, Rocks and Mountains,

Kimi.

*Lappin-
niemi.*

rains, &c. for Shelter, and that there being reduced to the Necessity of waging War with the wild Beasts, they destroyed those which would injure them, and fed upon the Flesh, and cloath'd themselves with the Skins of others; taming some of them, that they might receive the same Services from them, which they did formerly from their Cattle in those Places which they had left: "For what else, say they, " could have induced these People to live between these Woods and " Mountains, which Nature does not seem to have design'd for the " Habitation of humane Creatures; there being no Necessaries provided for them, neither Fruit-Trees nor Fertile Fields, &c." About Eight or Nine Miles higher, on the Eastern side of this River, there is also another Chappel, call'd *Rohaniemi*, depending from *Kimi*.

Rohaniemi,

Tho' the River *Kimi* is reckon'd next to that of *Torne* to abound most in Salmon, yet does not the great Fishery reach so high: However, there are Fishermen who go even higher; and here I found some variety in their Method of catching the Salmon; for, instead of *Mellars*, they chiefly use Nets fastened to the Stakes or Palisades, tho' in the *Cataracts* they use also the former; but these Falls not being so many in Number hereabouts, the *Mellars* are not consequently so much made use of. The most considerable of the *Cataracts* is call'd *Trawallfors*, about a Mile and half above *Kimi*, and is not passable in a Boat; for which reason one must either change Boats beyond it, or else have the same transported there by Land. About the height of *Rohaniemi*, the River *Aünes*, call'd by the *Laplanders* *Aunakiosky*, or the *Cataract* of *Auna*, which runs from the North West of the *Kimian Lapland*, enters into the River *Kimi* on its Eastern side; those, for Example, who have a mind to go as far as *North Cape*, will find it is wonderfully hard in Summer, especially when they come to the said River *Aünes*, which is full of *Cataracts*; and besides these dangerous Difficulties, no Boat can go farther up than *Sodenkily*, a small Village inhabited partly by *Finlanders*, partly by *Laplanders*: Then they have before them a dreadful Ridge of Mountains to walk thro'; I say walk, for there is no other Way in this Season; and such a Journey is then as fatiguing, as it is rendred commodious and easy in Winter, by the Snow and Ice in Sledges, when the *Laplanders* making use of their *Skidders*, go, or rather fly, hunting the wild Deer among these Mountains, whom they kill with their Cross-Bows, made as that which carries (6) in the Print XXXVIII. These Deer, I was assured, are much larger than the tame ones, their Skins better, and their Flesh at least as good. Having cross'd that Ridge, they meet at last a *Laplandish* Chappel on the South of a Lake call'd *Enare-Tresk*, which is accompanied by *Enarebu*, a Village which borrows its Name from that Lake, where is a Fair yearly held as at *Tukacerva*, and the *Laplanders* pay Tribute to three Monarchs, who send their Officers there, viz. the King of Sweden, the Czar, and the King of Denmark; which Places already mention'd are to be seen in my Map (C) and many more, both Churches and Villages, as *Sombio* on the Eastern side of the River *Luro*, *Colaïerva*, *Kittile*, *Kysametcapel*, or the Chappel of *Kysamet* on the Lake *Paierphi*, which gives Rise and Name to a River that falls into the *White Sea*; that last Chappel was serv'd by the Curate of *Kimi*'s Son, who was to go there again in a short time. For my self, I did not attempt to go higher than *Kimi-Tresk*, where is a Chappel of that Name, and the last and remotest Dependance on *Kimi* Parish: *Tresk*. I saw several *Laplanders* fishing in the Lake; to whom I asked few

Que.

Questions ; and their Answers shew'd to me somewhat less Ignorance, especially in respect of Religion, than those of the *Torne Laplanders* ; which was confirm'd to me also by young Mr. *Phorbas*, who had conversed much among them, and instructed many of them on that Holy Topick : He had seen almost all the Places just mentioned, and seem'd to have done it with most Exactness ; and I owe to him that of my Map relating to those Parts, in respect of their Situation. He is a Person of a singular Merit ; and it is to be wished, that all the *Priests* who are sent to *Lapland*, had as much Zeal and Care for their Spiritual Flocks.

The *Kimian Laplanders* are generally lesser, and more tawny, than the *Tornians* ; they have not so many *Rhen-Deer*, but to make amends they have more Skins, at least for their variety, and finer and more precious for their Furs, even of Black Foxes, tho' very scarce. They live generally after the manner of the *Finlanders*, and wear Habits like the Peasants of that Country who are their Neighbours, and sometimes intermix with them. These Habits differ little from that of the *Tornian Laplanders*, only that they are a little longer before, more open, and for the most part slit at the Bottom like our Shirts. They talk the same Language as the *Finlanders*, and use Fire Arms and Cross-Bows, which they buy of them. They have for the most part Huts or Tents that are fixed, 20, 30 and more together, and cover'd with the Barks of *Trees* and *Turf* ; for they settle often in Companies and Villages, as at *Sodenkile*, *Sombio*, *Enare*, &c. Some of them have even Horses, Oxen, Cows and Goats in the most Southern Parts ; and they provide also a store of *Yekele* or Moss, instead of Hay, to feed them in Winter, these Kind of Cattel having not received the same Instinct and Nails as *Rhen-Deer* from Nature to look for it under the Snow. The *Castors* are chiefly found in *Kimi-Lapland*, whose Testicles (besides their Skins for Furs, and Hair which makes the finest Hats) the *Laplanders* use as an universal Medicine in all Cases. It took me up but 7 Days to go as far as *Kimi Tresk*, make my Observations, and return again to the Village *Kimi* ; tho' I might double the Number and say 11, by adding the Nights, which were full as clear ; and during which I advanced as much as in the others, losing no Time. and sleeping but little, and that in the Boat ; giving Orders, by my Interpreter, to the Watermen to awaken me when they were tired, and cou'd meet with fresh ones to succeed them. Tho' I have reckon'd Seven Nights as so many Days on account of their Clearness, yet they do not so well deserve that Title at *Kimi* as at *Torne* ; because that, according to the Information I got of my Landlord, who bestowed new Civilities upon me at my Return, tho' the Sun is always to be seen during the longest Days in Summer, yet no part of his *Disk* or *Orb* is to be seen for above two Hours above the Horizon, when he is at his lowest Declination.

Calis.

Rono.

Lulo,

Having seen as much of the *Kimian Lapland*, as the small Time of my Stay wou'd permit, I left the Village and River *Kimi* on the 4th of *July*, went directly by Water within a Mile and half of *Calis*, and proceeded the same Day by Nine at Night as far this Place, when I lay at Mr. *Waltier's* ; and on the next Morning, with much ado, resisted his obliging Invitations to stay longer : However, I dined with him, and pursued my Journey on Horseback as far as *Rono*, where I arrived at Ten at Night. Departing thence next Day at Four in the Morning, I reached before Eight the old Town of *Lulo*. I met here a poor Student,

dent, who understood *Latin* indifferent well; having entered into Discourse with him, and being informed that he had no other Business but to go into *Finland*, where (as he said) his Relations were, in a Vessel that was at *Torne*, and which wou'd be ready to sail in a Month, (the *Finlanders*, tho' subdu'd by the Czar, continuing to trade underhand with their old Fellow Subjects the *Swedes*) I thought him a very fit Person for an Interpreter, during Ten or Twelve Days, in a Journey that I intended to make into the *Lulian Lapland*, in order to see their *Pearl Fishery*. I made him the Proposal, which he accepted. Immediately after Dinner we took Boat; but besides our being hindred by the *Cataracks* from proceeding farther than *Holmsfors* (which is also call'd *Lackholm*, or the *Salmon Island*) the common Road to go from *Lackholm* thence to the little River *Kuratz*, where the Muscles, in which they find the Pearls, are caught; but it was then impracticable, by reason of the overflowing of the Waters, and the melting of the Snow; inso-much, that (as they assured me) the *Pearl* Fishing cou'd not be begun till *August*, at which Time they supposed the Waters wou'd be low enough; and my Curiosity being less strong than to detain me so long, I contented my self with enquiring of some of the *Salmon Fishers*, what was the Method of taking those Muscles; and they inform'd me, that they used Instruments something like those for catching Oysters; and that in some Places, when the Waters were the lowest, they cou'd take them in their Hands. These Pearls are generally pretty large and round, but pale, and without the Lustre and fine Water of the Orientals. Not being satisfy'd with only seeing the *Salmon* Fishing, which is there like what I had seen before, I ask'd if they did not know some *Laplanders* in the Neighbourhood? They answer'd me, that they were all long since retired with their Herds into the *Fiöls*, excepting two, who having but a small Number of *Rhen-Deer*, were less solicitous about increasing their Stock of them than about Fishing, and therefore preferr'd the Lakes and some little Rivers, where they are permitted to fish, to the Mountains of *Norway*; I say, where they were permitted to fish, for they have not that Liberty in that of *Lulo*, especially to fish in those Places where the Salmon are found, unless they do it for those who farm them of the Crown, to whom they belong, as *Lackholm*, &c. or else to other Proprietors to whom they have been presented by it. I enquired from the aforesaid Fishermen, whether either of these *Laplandish* Families lived pretty near the Place where I was? To which they answer'd, That one of their Tents was but a few Miles distant from us, and in the very Neighbourhood of a little River, which something lower fell into that of *Lulo*. I agreed with two Fishermen to carry me thither; and when we had gone as far as we cou'd by Water, I took one of my Boatmen for my Guide. Having walked the space of two Hours, we at length saw a young Girl, about Ten or Twelve Years old, who with a green Branch was driving the Flies off from a *Rhen-Deer* which was sick, and (as she told me) in great Danger of falling a Victim to the Heat of the Weather, and the little Insects it breeds. We made this little Girl lead us to the Tent, which indeed was at no great Distance; and there we found a Woman of about Forty Years old, of low Stature, and rather disagreeable than handsome, who, by her Work, shew'd her Thought and Foresight; for with Pewter Wire she was embroidering a Winter Cap, such as I have already described, and both Women and Men wear; tho' these without any embroidery,

Yockmock.

broidering, as indeed do also the greatest Part of the Women. With her she had a Daughter about 14 or 15 Years old, who was making Butter, but after a very particular Manner. The Cream of the *Rhen-Deer* Milk was put into a large wooden Bowl, and she was beating it with two Sticks not very unlike Drum-sticks. As soon as they saw us, they rose from off the Skins on which they were sitting, after their usual manner, and made us a Bow, by drawing their Foot behind 'em, and bending their Body forwards, as the Men do amongst us. This Civility over, they laid some Skins for us, on which we sat down, and then desired 'em to continue their Work, which they did; the Girl following hers so close with her two Sticks, that her Bowl of Cream was soon become Butter. Mean while I ask'd the Mother where her Husband was? To which she answer'd, he was gone a Fishing. I then enquired, how many Children she had? She replied, four; to wit, two Boys and two Girls. I then told her, I thought the Daughter who was present big enough for a Husband, and that she must think of getting her one; and the Mother soon satisfy'd me that she was engaged, and was to be married at the next *Yockmock* Fair. This is the Name of the *Lapland* Parish, which is a Village that very much resembles that of *Tuckacerva*, but more inhabited, about some 18 or 19 Miles above the Town of *Lulo*, and the Fair being every Year on the Feast of *St. Paul's* Conversion, or the 25th of *January*. Soon after this the Husband came home loaded with Fish, and he saluted us by bending his Knees, and making a Courtesy as our Women do. Had I still been in *Turky*, I should have looked upon all this as a Ridicule upon our Manner of Saluting, which the *Turks* always expose by such awkward Imitations in their domestick or private *Comedies*, for they have no publick ones, as I have said in my first Vol. And indeed, I look'd upon this way of Saluting used by the two Sexes here as something very much out of the way; but I have since been inform'd, that it is pretty generally used amongst the *Lulian* and *Pithian Laplanders*, and even amongst the *Umeans*. To this Ceremony, if they are related, they add that of kissing each others Mouth; if they are only acquainted, each opposes his Nose to the other's Nose. Our *Host* would have dress'd some Fish, but I wou'd not let him; alledging, that being determined to return as soon as I could, I must not stay the Dressing of any thing, and that a little Cheese or dried Meat would be sufficient; immediately they were both brought, for the *Laplanders* never want either the one or the other. I had a mind too to taste a little of the Butter I had seen made; and no sooner had I given the least Item of of my Curiosity, but it was all brought before me, with some dried Fish, which the Student who was with me call'd the Bread of the *Laplanders*. This Butter had very much the Looks of new Cheese, and tasted better than it looked, tho' it was not so sweet or palatable as Butter made with Cow's Milk. I then began to ask my Landlord several Questions, as, whether he had ever seen them fish for *Pearls*? To which he reply'd, that he had not only seen them fish, but had been employ'd in that Fishery himself; and confirm'd what I had already heard of their Manner of doing it: He added, that this Fishery was of late Years very much decay'd; that now the Number of Pearls they found was small indeed, and even of them the greatest Part was converted to wrong Uses, and sold under-hand. His Meaning in this was plain enough; and I found that the Crown to whom this Fishery of

Right

Right belongs, and which sends a Surveyor every Year, is far from getting all the Pearls which are found there. I then began to try him on *Witchcraft*, and told him, that I had often heard of *Magicians*, and had always been very desirous of seeing some of their *Magick Operations*; to which he cry'd out in the *Swedish* Tongue, which he spoke very well, *Gud bewara os y frän, God preserve us from them.* Thereupon I added, that spite of all that I had heard, I cou'd not believe that there were any really such amongst the *Laplanders*: He answer'd me, that formerly there had been great Numbers of 'em; but there were not so many now, except amongst the *Torne*, the *Kimi-Laplanders* and *Finlanders*; of which he began to quote several Examples, and told me some old Women's Stories, like that of *Saucy-Tresk*; but so very ridiculous and incredible, that I soon grew weary of them.

To divert the Discourse, I ask'd him, whether he had any Knowledge of the *Religion* of the ancient *Laplanders*? He answer'd me in the Negative; but added, that he had heard say they adored the *Devil*. And who do you adore? reply'd I, interrupting him very short. *God*, answer'd he. And who is that *God* whom you adore? added I. To which he reply'd, the *Father*, *Son* and *Holy Ghost*. But, continued I, are not the *Father*, the *Son*, and the *Holy Ghost* three Gods? *De ar en Trihornning*, they are a *Triangle*, answer'd he, after having mused some time; and tho' I ask'd him several other Questions, I could get nothing else out of him. This was probably a Comparison, with which some Priests had loaded his Memory, and confounded his Brain without enlightning his Understanding, by endeavouring to give him some *Idea* of this *Mystery* by the Figure of a *Triangle*, which is generally painted at the Top of their *Pulpits*; and *Snow* is another Comparison frequently made use of by them. The *Triangle* of the *Laplanders* makes me call to mind the *Candle* of the *West-Indians*. The first *Missionaries* who went to make Spiritual Conquests in *America*, after the Temporal ones of the *Spaniards*, were willing amongst other Things to preach the Doctrine of the *Trinity* to them; to which end they told them, that there was one *God* only, but three Persons in that *Godhead*, the *Father*, the *Son* and the *Holy Ghost*, and that these three made one. This to poor ignorant Wretches seem'd a strange Paradox; which the *Missionaries* perceiving, and willing to give them a sensible *Idea* of the *Mystery* they had been searching, ordered a lighted *Candle* to be brought, telling the People that there were three Substances in this *Candle*, to wit, *Tallow*, *Cotton* and *Light*, and yet these three made but one *Candle*; and after that time, if you ask'd one of those poor ignorant Creatures what the *Trinity* was, they would tell you a *Candle*; an Answer directly the same with the *Laplander's Triangle*, or *Snow*.* I found my Host so very ignorant, notwithstanding his frequent Commerce with the *Swedes*, that I did not care for asking him any farther Questions: Having therefore thank'd him for his Treat, and made his Wife and Daughter some small Presents, I went down to my Boat again, accompanied by my Guide and Interpreter; and on the 9th, about Five in the Afternoon we reached back *Lulo*, where I gave a small Reward to the Student, who gave me a thousand Blessings for it. I immediately got on Horseback, and by Eleven at Night reached old *Pitha*.

* Some Lutheran Priests say, that as in the *Snow* there is *Water* and *Ice* besides, which all make but one *Snow*; so that in the *Trinity*, the *Son* and the *Holy Ghost* make only one and the same *God* with the *Father*.

The next Day (the 10th) I paid the *Curate* of the Place a Visit, who receiv'd me very affably, and engaged me to stay and dine with him. As I expressed some Curiosity to see a Part of *Pitha-Lapland*, he informed me that there was no going by Water above Three or Four Miles up the River; besides that, I could not expect to see there any thing extraordinary; so I contented my self with asking him a few Questions about it, as I did to a Student call'd *Fielstrom*, Son of a late Priest of the *Pitha-Laplanders*, whom he sent for as the fittest Person to give me a more particular Account of these People; and by all that I could find, they differ'd little, or not at all, from those of *Lulo*. He telling me that he was born at *Sylboyock*, I began to ask him concerning the Silver Mine which bears that Name; to which he answer'd, that it had been ruin'd by the *Danes* during the late War; but he really believ'd it might be recover'd, if they would go to the Charge of it, and take the Pains of digging it again as they ought. The *Curate* of *Pitha* seem'd to be a Man of a very easy Faith, and who gave very much into the *Marvellous*, and probably thought me as easy as himself; for he bid his Son go with me to the Top of the Belfry, and shew me some Brass *Bowls*, which he assured me, in a manner as if he was sincerely perswaded of the Truth of it himself, had formerly been made a Present by a *Nymph* in the Isle of *Bremound*, to a Merchant nam'd *Ekman*, some of whose Posterity there still remain'd in the new Town of *Pitha*, promising him all kind of Prosperity as long as he should keep this *Brass*. Upon this I examined it very curiously, and altho' there was something marvellous in the Story, I could find nothing in the Metal that look'd uncommon. Between Two and Three in the Afternoon I left *Pitha*, and about Eleven in the Night I reach'd *Skelesta*, where I rested till Four next Morning (the 11th), and then proceeded for *Umeo* as fast as the Horses could carry me, where I arrived a little before Midnight.

Skelesta.

Umeo.

I could not the next Day refuse the kind Invitation of Mr. *Grubb*, Curate of the Place, who made me go home to sup, and take a Lodging with him after I had dined with the Governor, who repeated his former Kindness and Civility. Here I employ'd part of my Time in viewing the Town which they are rebuilding, and its Situation which is agreeable, tho' not convenient for Trade, it being like the three abovementioned, about a Mile distant from the Sea. The *Curate's* House is upon the side of the same River, adjoining to a Stone *Church*, which is the Parochial, in a Village about a quarter of a Mile above the Town; and between these I observ'd some pretty good Meadows, and some fertile Arable Land; and in the latter, that the Barly and Rye which was not sown when I set out for *Torne*, was already ripe. I could not forbear expressing my Surprise at this to Mr. *Grubb*, who told me, that besides the continual Presence of the Sun for a good while upon the Horizon, tho' its Disk was not visible at that time, this so quick ripening was owing to the Nature of the Seed they sow'd; which if brought from the Southward of *Umeo*, as from *Hernofand*, *Sundwall*, *Gefle*, or *Stockholm*, &c. would ripen by so much the slower, as they were farther distant from the North; whilst those of *Buro*, *Skelesta*, *Pitha*, *Lulo* and *Torne*, would be much forwarder. An Experiment of which he had seen try'd upon Seed brought from the most Southern and Northern of these Places, and the latter had been ripe above a Fortnight before the former. I had again the Pleasure of seeing a Salmon Fishery here, which they caught with Nets fastened to little Spikes drove in the

the River a small quarter of a Mile below the Governor's House, who has his Fishery there, and a little above that of the *Curate*, there is a *Cataract* nam'd *Baghfullforz*, with Pods, which they there call *Tinars*, in their Make not unlike the *Mellars*, but much larger and more substantial, and into which a Man may easily get. These *Tinars* are also fix'd to a kind of Pikes which are drove into Dikes, made in the Fashion of the Arches of a Bridge, and there serve to break the violent Fall of the *Cataract*. There are large Pieces of Timber laid a-cross from one Arch to another; and there the Fishermen walk over, and with large Ropes fastned to the Pods, they lift them just out of the Water; which done, a Man gets into them to take the Fish out, and then they lay their *Tinars* in again.

I would willingly have taken a Tour into the *Umian-Lapland*; but as the River could not bear me far enough, and the *Laplanders* were retired amongst the Mountains of *Norway*, I could foresee nothing but a great deal of Trouble without any apparent Satisfaction; and I therefore contented my self with the Intelligence I got from those who frequently converse with them at a Fair, which begins the 7th of *January* at *Lykzele*, a little Village, in which they have a *Church* and *School*, and which is situated about Twelve Miles from *Umeo*. They were represented to me as very like the *Pythian* and *Lulian Laplanders*, excepting that in Matters of *Religion* they are not so ignorant, which is owing to the Care taken by their Priests to Catechise them, and to the *Schools* just mentioned, which consists of a Master and six Scholars, who in two Years time generally learn to read and write, and give a tolerable Account of their Faith; for so was I inform'd by Mr. *Grubb*, who goes once a Twelvemonth to visit them, and to examine into the Conduct of the *Priests* and *School-master*.

Here I clos'd my *Lapland* Journey, and then consider'd it with the Eyes of my Imagination, as a long and pretty broad Tract of Land, containing above 150 Miles from the North West of *Heridalia*, where it begins to Coast *Norway* as far as the Confines of the *White Sea*, and I shall call it by its ancient Name of *Finmark*. But before I entirely quit this Part of *West Bottnick*, I must a little re-capitulate the Ideas which I form'd to myself of the *Laplanders* in general, and the Remarks I made of them, in the following manner. Their Industry was what I chiefly admir'd; nor can one easily conceive how many things Nature instructs them to make, without the Assistance of any other Instruments than a *Hatchet* and a pointed *Knife*; for there is not one of them but can make his *Boat*, *Sledge*, &c. with these two only Instruments; his Ropes of Barkly or Roots of Bushes, and Fishing Nets of the same; all his Kitchen-Ware of Wood, or Horn of *Rhen-Deer*, as Dishes, Basons, Porringers, Spoons, &c. his Bow and Arrows, his *Skidders*, his Cloaths, and Thread of *Rhen-Deer's* smallest Guts to sow them. No Wire-Drawers draw *Gold* or *Silver* Wire more neatly thro' their *Drawing Irons*, and with the Assistance of all their other proper Instruments, than the *Lapland* Women do their *Pewter* or *Lead* Wire with their Teeth, through the divers Holes of a flat Piece of *Rhen-Deer* Horn; as a Woman is represented to do in the Tent (1) Print XXXVIII. In Matters of Religion, indeed, I found them very different, and take them to be as good *Heathens* as *Christians*, and as good *Magicians* as *Heathens*; or rather, in these Cases, much upon a level with their *Rhen-Deer*; and in general, they look

upon the *Christian Religion* as a heavy Burthen, or rather as a Tax of so many Pounds of Meat and Cheese, and so many Skins, &c. which the Priests made them pay for *Christnings*, *Administring* the *Lord's Supper*, and for *Preaching*, &c. and this indeed, because proper Measures are not taken to make them look upon it in another Light : And the Avarice of some of their Priests is intolerable, for they sell their *Spiritual Food* so very dear, that a great many of them won't come near them ; and amongst those that do, very few can say the *Lord's Prayer*, as if they thought it needless to teach those to ask for their *Daily Bread* who never eat any ; and the Expences which the Crown of *Sweden* is at for the Maintenance of their Priests prove fruitless all, as I have been inform'd by Persons of undoubted Credit, and that thro' the Negligence (not to give it a worse Name) of their *Priests*, who (those of the *Umian* and *Kimian-Lapland* excepted) do more Diskindness than Service to *Religion*, as I have been assured by the same Persons ; and this is chiefly owing to their *Bishops* or *Supervisors*, who, instead of chusing Persons of known Zeal and distinguished Merit, without any selfish View, will, at the Recommendation of Friends, or for a Present, send the very Scum of the Universities and Priesthood, and trouble themselves no more about them afterwards, than a Draper would do about a Piece of Cloth which he has sold, and for which he has been paid. On the other hand, most of the Merchants who frequent their Fairs, carry Brandy to these poor People, who in their Woods and Mountains are accusom'd only to drink the Milk of their *Rhen-Deer* or Water ; and having made them drunk, either cheat 'em or strip them at once of what they have that's most valuable, as I have also been assured by Persons of unquestion'd Sincerity ; and who, amongst many Examples, have named and shew'd me the Persons, who with a Pint of Brandy have bubbled a *Laplander* out of a *Rhen Deer* and Sledge at once. Besides this, the *Collectors* of the Crown Duties have some private ones of their own always to collect, which they receive under the Name of Presents from the Richest, by pretending how very kind they are to them ; and assuring them, that were they to inform the *Governor* how many *Rhen-Deer* they had, they would be taxed at double what they are. These Evils might easily be remedied by the following means: By a better *Choice* of *Priests* ; by a yearly *Visitation*, in order to examine their Conduct ; by *instructing* the Youth in Matters of *Religion*, and *teaching* them the Tongue in which it is preach'd ; by *appointing* Men of known Integrity for *Supervisors*, which would prevent those Disorders and Cheats so frequent at their Fairs ; and lastly, by *taking care* that none but honest Men should be sent to collect the Duties amongst them. As I do not think it possible to lay a solid Foundation for *Religion* in *Lapland*, without instructing their Youth ; so one would suppose, that a Master of that Country might by a single *Fiat* make a new Spiritual World there, by ordering that the *Laplanders* in general shou'd pay a certain Sum *per Ann.* for the Maintenance of a Master with a Number of Scholars in each Division ; and we might judge of the Benefits which wou'd accrue from such an Undertaking, by what we see of the School of *Lyksele*. Mr. *Grubb*, who has founded many of them, has assured me, that several of the Richest would yearly contribute much beyond their Quota ; but such an Order from the King would be very necessary to set the Work on foot, as well as to oblige those who at first probably might not be over-willing to contribute ;

bute: And one might reasonably suppose, that their Love for the *Christian Religion*, and the Desire of a future Life which it promises, would grow in them proportionably to the Care which should be taken to inspire them with Religious Sentiments, and to instruct them in it; infomuch, that in a short time they would look upon this Contribution, as Money laid out wholly for their own Benefit and Advantage.

What I have been told of their Honesty in sending back a stray'd *Rhen-Deer* to one another, their natural Hatred to Thieving and Murder, of which we have only the single Example of *Tuckacerva*, (and this Action of a Man whom Brandy had transported into a Beast;) in short, their general Practice of that excellent Maxim, *Alteri ne feceris quod tibi fieri non vis*, or of strict Justice without any Knowledge of her, without Judges, without any other Laws than Brute Beasts have, or without Religion, is, I think, very extraordinary, and a severe Reproach to those, who, with all the Advantages of Education, are guilty of so many unjust Actions.

As for *Magick*, if there be any Science in the World which deserves that Name, it must be natural; and we may define it a Knowledge of the secret Effects of some natural Causes, and as such we must not expect to find it amongst the *Laplanders*; they are so surrounded with Clouds of Ignorance, it would be absurd to look for such a Knowledge. That *Magick* which has been, or still is laid to their Charge, which has been look'd upon by many, and still is by several, as Supernatural and *Diabolical*, appears to be nothing more than a feign'd *enthusiastick* Fit, accompanied with a few accidental Strokes of their *Magick Drum*, as they call it, which is their chief Instrument, and by which the Cunningest amongst the *Laplanders* have formerly impos'd upon the most Credulous; and some, tho' not so many in Number, still attempt to do the same. We may well say of all the pretended *Prodigies* and *Incantments*, of which credulous and ignorant Superstition makes the *Devil* the Author, or believe the *Magicians* do thro' his Power, what a Famous Physician said, after a careful Examination of a *French Woman* that was reported to be possess'd by the *Devil*, *à Nature multa, plura ficta, a Dæmone nulla*; Much is owing to *Nature*, more to Art or Design, but nothing at all to the *Devil*. If the Devil had all that Power and Knowledge which the Superstitious allow him, or should he in *Magicians* become that ready and complaisant Minister of *humane* Passions and Malice, one might reasonably expect to see the Order of Nature chang'd every Moment, and the whole Nation turn'd topsyturvy. A Prince, for Example, might keep *Magicians* in his Service, who certainly would be the best Spies he could employ, to discover all the Designs which his Enemies might form against him; by them he would be inform'd of it before they could be conceived; and he would not only prevent them, but entirely defeat and spoil all their Measures. Should a hostile Fleet sail towards his Coasts, instead of fitting another out to oppose it, it would be but employing some *Laplanders*, who, with contrary Winds, might blow them back into their Ports, or with a violent Storm overwhelm them.

To this I know there is a general Answer, That every Body won't deal with the *Devil*, or indeed won't run the hazard of being punish'd according to those secular and ecclesiastick Laws made against *Wizards*, and those who shall employ them; which is the occasion of there being

being so few in the World now a days: To this may be added, that the Laws do punish even the Attempts and Intentions, and without making appear the possibility or reality of the Act. A Christian Prince, they say further, would not owe all the Fortune and Success in the World to an evil Spirit. But to this we may reply, That Experience and History both shew us that there have been, and venture to add, that there are still too many in Number, whose Consciences are pretty free from Fears and Scruples of this Nature, who have more Ambition than Religion, and think themselves superior to Laws of every kind. Some Priests shew themselves so zealous for the Extirpation of *Witchcraft*, that they excommunicate all those who dabble in that Art, or in whose keeping they find *Magick Drums*, very often delivering them over to the secular Power; but none could as yet demonstrate that they had convicted them of any Commerce with the *Devil*. I will give a fresh Instance of this, in respect of the Laws punishing the Intention: Baron L——, a *Danish* Prisoner of War, who upon his Parole had got the Liberty of the Kingdom of *Sweden*, was then actually confined in one of the Prisons of *Stockholm*, for having been convicted of a Design of treating with the *Devil*, for a certain Sum of Money which he at that time stood in extreme need of, and which no Man would lend him; and to this End, instead of *Ink*, he had, with his own Blood, signed a Bond, by which he himself, and some Companions of his, (who for want of Money and Credit had sign'd it in the same manner) firmly and truly made their Souls over to the *Infernal* Spirit after their Deaths, upon Condition that he should pay them down that Sum; but neither he nor any of the rest could compass their desired Ends, notwithstanding all the Pains they took about it, going by Night under *Gibbets*, and in Burying-Places to call upon him, and desire him to trust them, but neither Body nor Spirit ever came to treat with them: at last, one of 'em finding the *Devil* would not help him, determin'd to try what he could do for himself; and having robb'd and murder'd a Man, he was taken up, try'd and executed, and in his Confession he own'd the Transaction and Intent; and in Baron L——'s Chamber the original Bond was found, but torn to Pieces as void, and of none Effect.

In the Days of Ignorance and Superstition, Men admired and fear'd every thing they were Strangers to; and all those Effects, whose Causes they were ignorant of, were deem'd *Hellish* and Supernatural. It is well known, that to assert there were such Creatures as our Antipodes, was once by the Infallible *Pontiff of Rome* adjudged an Heresy, worthy of Fire and Faggot; and the ancient sworn *Magi* reserved to themselves the Right and Power of explaining Eclipses of the Moon, deeming it a Crime for any one else to undertake it. When *Laplanders* were first seen at some Distance, cloath'd from Head to Foot in hairy Skins, they were call'd *Satyrs*, *Fairies*, and two-legg'd hairy Beasts, which walk'd upright like Men. Those who gave way most to Fancy and Prejudice, imagin'd those whom they did not see, more monstrous than those whom they had seen; because, as they observe, they fly from those who are dress'd in a different manner from them. *Conspēctum Hominis fugiunt*, says *Olaus Magnus*; and indeed, those amongst them, who are the least accusom'd to our Dress, will to this Day run from one, as I have observ'd of several who perceived me at a Distance at *Rodwara* and *Oppiwara*. I had not seen so much of them as I did, nor would they have approach'd me, had

had I not had such an Interpreter as that of *Tukacerva* to call them to us, or should have seen them with *Olaus Magnus's* Eyes; I should perhaps have been as much afraid of them, as they were of me; and as they are naturally very swift, you lose sight of them in a Moment; as if by Magick Art, *Mercury-like*, they had Wings fasten'd to their Feet. If ever, as the said Author and others assert, they are transform'd into Beasts, we must not have recourse to *Magick* for these *Metamorphoses*; but to the *Brandy*, with which foreign *Merchants* often brutify them, on purpose that they may cheat them. And this *Metamorphosis* produces a much worse in many of 'em, changing 'em from their beastly Condition into deceitful; for when they come to themselves, and consider how others have done by them, they endeavour to do so by others, and to deceive as they have been deceived. I have already taken Notice that we have but one Example of a Murder committed by a *Laplender*, and that at the time of *Tukacerva* Fair, when he had been made drunk with *Brandy*, and for which he was broken upon the Wheel. As for any other *Metamorphoses* which these Authors mention, they never have existed but in the fabulous Writings, and the Minds of the Credulous and Ignorant, or at most are wholly owing to the Skins with which they cloathe themselves; and besides, all the Stories they give us of *Lapländ Wizards* and others, are generally contradictory in themselves. Did they know as much of Time past and of Futurity, as some People imagine, the rich *Lapländers* would hide their Money in vain, as is their Custom, since their *Magi* might go and fetch it; nor could their Art be so miserable and so ungrateful as it appears to be from the Condition of the pretended *Witches*. As to the Northern Storms and Whirlwinds, which the above-mention'd Authors ascribe to the *Lapländers*, they are by no means comparable to the *Hurricanes* in the *Caribbee* Islands, &c. Some amongst the Roman Catholicks, even in the most enlightned Times and Places, did in the last Age accuse the Northern Hero *Gustavus Adolphus* of having *Lapländers* in his Army, by whom they thought those glorious Actions were done, which so much surpriz'd them, and which their Envy would not suffer them to attribute to his Valour, or their Religion, to Heaven. And more thereupon I heard, that the *Russians*, who, as *Greeks*, are pretty superstitious, and little versed both in Divinity and Philosophy, attributed in the Beginning of the last Northern War, to a Cause of the same Nature, the glorious Success of the late *Charles XII.* a more modern Hero, when that Monarch with an Army of 8 or 9000 Men defeated theirs of 80,000.

Having returned both the Governor and Curate of *Umeo* many Thanks for their kind Reception, I set out on the 13th in the Afternoon from thence between Six and Seven in the Evening, and again enter'd into *Anghermania*; and next Day before Noon I cross'd the River *Angherman*, which was so very rough that I found many People upon the Shore, whose Fears had kept them there ever since the Night before, and who in vain endeavour'd to dissuade me from crossing it, by representing how dangerous it was when the Wind blew in that manner. However, finding Watermen bold enough to venture I cross'd it safely, and got betimes in the Evening at *Hernofand*, a Place Mr. *Climkenstrom* would not pass through as we went, alledging that it was a quarter of a Mile out of our Way.

Angherman.

Herno-

Hernofand.

Hernofand is the chief and indeed the only Town of *Anghermania*, situated at the End of a Bay, in an Island which they say was formerly call'd *Stemon*. At the East of it were Fields, whose Fertility appear'd by the Rye and Barley with which they were cover'd, and there were some good Meadows, which they were mowing, or had already put in Stacks. On the West side there is a very good Port, and so deep that the largest Vessels came close up to the Houses on the Shore; where they have their Store-Houses to unlade 'em, and also to keep their cured and dried Fish, their Cheese, Butter and Planks, which is their chief Trade, and which they send to *Stockholm*. It has a Superintendent, a Consul, and five Senators, such as in the other great Cities of *Sweden*, who are called Magistrates; a College with seven Professors, of whom the Chief was the Superintendent's Son, and to whom I brought a Letter from the Curate of *Umeo*, infomuch that he oblig'd me to sup and take a Night's Lodging with him; and having invited his Colleagues, I made a kind of *Debauch* with them in the *Latin* Tongue, and had a good Supper. The Church of this Place is large, built of Stone, but has nothing remarkable in it, nor have the Houses which are all built of Wood.

Sundwall.

On the 15th, I proceeded on my Journey, and between 2 and 3 in the Afternoon I pass'd thro' *Sundwall*; and taking a Road some few Miles lower than this, in order to proceed for *Stockholm*, I enter'd *Helsingland*, whose Name Mr. *Rudbeck*, whom I have already quoted, derives from the Words *Hel* and *Sinar*, which he takes to mean the *Elysian* Fields; and in the Lake *Stigeo* in the same Province, he has found out the *Stix*. His worthy Son Mr. *Olaus Rudbeckius*, a very ingenious Gentleman, and also Professor of *Bothanick*, *Physick*, &c. at *Upsala*, finds out *Charon* at *Eskarbu*, in the Beginning of his Treatise of *Lapland*, (I say the Beginning, for the Publick has been deprived of the whole by the Fire, which consum'd that Town above Twenty Years ago) he does this probably, for Convenience sake, to carry the Shadows over this infernal Lake, he finds out in the *Baltick Sea* all the Parts of *Charon's* Body; his Name he derives from *Kar* or *Karfa*, in Greek *Monoxilon*, a Canoe cut out of one solid Piece of Wood; his Head *Kulla* in the *Gothick* Language, in Latin *Vertex*, between *Schonen* or *Scania*, *Funen* or *Fionia* and *Jutland*, there call'd *Knutshofwit*, *Landshofwit*, *Bovenshovit*, *Degershofwit* and *Sirgshoft*; his Forehead *Skallen*, at *Kallemborg*, the Point of *Zeland*; the Eyes at *Egholm* and *Eg-sion*, *Eyes-Island* or *Sea-Island*, at *Kesens Nasa*, *Nesaide*, Giant's Nose; his Ears at *Or* and *Aaron*, which signify the same in his Language; his Mouth at the Isle *Mon* and *Monsklint*; his Chin at *Haken* in *Lalandia*; his Beard at *Barde Rugg* or *Rugon*; his Poll at the Isle *Alshen*, and his Extent of Neck between *Bornholm* and *Scanor*; his Shoulders and Stomach at *Brösterört*, *Liwet des Libes*; his Belly's Extent in the Plain of *Liba*, a River of *Courland* which gives its Name to the Town; his Reins at the Isles of *Rono* and *Gupersalo*; the Navel (*Nafians*) at *Narivik* in the Isle of *Gothland*; the Secret Members by *Bälleron* and *Rokor*; the Right Foot in the *Sinus Finicus*, the *Gulph of Finland*, *Laba* in the *Finland* Tongue signifying a Foot, which he makes him extend from *Narva* to *Notebourg*, now *Petersbourg*, the Right as far as *Torne*, at *Fotsön*, which signifies the *Isle of the Foot*, &c. After having thus found out the Figure and Parts of a Man, with their Names and Proportions thus crooked, wrinkled, bristled his Hair and Beard marked out by the different *Streights*, *Gulphs*, *Rocks*

Rocks, Isles of the *Baltick Sea*, &c. as is represented by the *Charon Rudbeckii* on my Map (D). He cloaths him with the Western Isles, Rocks and Promontories of the *Baltick*, which latter he calls *Skar*; and having made his Ferryman, he gives him a Boat, of which the *Bothnick Gulph* I am leaving supplies the Name and Form: As for Example, the first at *Eskarbu*, a Forge belonging to a *Scotchman* by Birth, named Mr. *Lisle*, near the Mouth of the River *Dale*, or *Dalecarlia*; and that every thing may be answerable, he extends this Boat from *Torne* to the *Gulphian Lake* of Gold; so that he places the Prows at *Torne*, the Poop at *Aland*, and the Helm at *Bornholm*, between that and *Gefle*, the Boat-staff at *Oeland*, and the very Name at *Borkolm*, which this City (says he) borrows from *Borken*, or in the *Swedish Tongue Boarlinghen*, which signifies a Boat-staff; at last he makes him pay the *Obolus* in the *Sound* for the Fare of Souls to the *Elyzian Fields*. I need not here observe that this Part of his Fiction is drawn from the Duty which foreign Ships pay to the King of *Denmark*; and he makes it paid in small Money, which he calls *Danake*, from the *Greek Word Δαναη*. Thus according to this Gentleman's, as well as his Father's Notions, the *Elyzian Fields*, with *Hell* and its Rivers, which the ancient Poets pointed out to us in *Greece* and *Italy*, &c. where I have seen some of the Places which still retained those Names, must have been only Copies of these *Northern Originals*.

Leaving the high Road about a Mile and a quarter to the North of *Hedwickwall* to see one of the Stones which the *Swedes* call *Runnar* or *Runsteenar*, whereof I found the Characters as singular as they were represented to me by a Priest who told me of them, and of whom I ask'd several Questions concerning the Curiosities of the Country; he would have these Characters to be the first and most ancient of all others; their Make is as (7) in the Print XXXII. and Assessor *Kedder* gave me the following Explication: *Frammund erected this Stone for his Friend Vitulf, the Son of Brisas; which Brisas was the Son of Linus; this Linus had to Father Uno; this Uno was the Son of Fakus; and this Fakus was the Son of Asatur.* In the Neighbourhood of this Stone I found a very large Quantity of a kind of Raspberries, or rather Strawberries, as may be seen by the Shape both of the Fruit and Leaves in the Print XXXVII. Fig (a) and (b). The Plant which bears this Fruit the Natives of the Country call *Aferlä'r Från Norlanden*, and in *Latin*, *Fragaria Suevorum fructificans*. I had already seen a pretty deal of this Fruit in *Western Bothnia*, and in *Anghermeland*, but without taking much Notice thereof, or ever tasting it, being at that time wholly a Stranger to it; but the great Quantity I met here induced me to put some in my Mouth, and I thought they tasted so very agreeable, that without being acquainted with its Nature, or dreading any ill Consequence, I eat heartily. When this Fruit is ripe, which is about the latter End of *July*, its Outside assumes the Colour of Coffee, tho' not so dark; whereas before 'tis very red, and the Juice of it always retains a Vermilion. The Plant which bears it grows only in *Norlandia*, under which Name is comprehended the Upper *Helsinglandt*, *Fempterland*, *Medelpad*, *Anghermeland*, and the *Western Bothnia*: For the *Swedish Botanists* assure me, that they have made an Experiment of this, by transplanting it at several different Times into more Southern Parts, as in the Physick-Garden at *Upsal*, and the Royal Garden at *Stockholm*, but without Success.

The Physicians of this Country have made great Discoveries of the Virtues of this Fruit, and with it they compose a certain Remedy, which they say is wonderful in all continued and intermitting Feavers, and in the blackest Melancholy; it cures Palpitations of the Heart, and in short, every kind of Sickness proceeding from an Over-heat of Blood or Lungs. I was told how to make this wonderful Remedy, which, I think, was much after the following Manner: When the Fruit is at ripest, (as it was at the time I saw it) you must beat and pound it well in an Iron Mortar, and strain it thro' a Strainer, and at the same time infusing a moderate Quantity of *Cinnamon* and *Saffron-Flowers* in it; then boil them all in an Earthen Vessel, stirring it often till it become thick enough for Syrrup. With this Fruit they also make a Liquor, call'd *Aferlar-Wine*, by infusing it in Wine or Spirits, in the following Manner, or thereabout.

They take an Earthen Vessel that will bear the Fire, and fill it about two thirds full of old Port; and after having well beat and pounded a Quantity of Fruit almost sufficient to fill the other third, then put it into this Vessel, and set it altogether on the Fire to boil gently, about 2 or 3 Hours, more or less, according to the Quantity they will make at once, but the Fire must be very slow; after which they pass it through a Strainer, mixing Cinnamon, Cloves and Mace with it, and another kind of Indian Spice, which they call Paradise-Grain. This Liquor is very grateful to the Palate, and warm to the Stomach, as may be supposed from the Ingredients. They also pickle this Fruit, and preserve it with Sugar and Honey, and 'tis served at Table in most Houses in Norlandia. With its Flowers they make a kind of Conserve, which for its Goodness is not inferiour to Conserve of Roses. These Flowers may be seen in the same Print, Fig. (c.)

Being got again upon the High Road, I kept along it; and about
 Hedwicwall Nine at Night pass'd through *Hedwickwall*, a little City commodi-
 Soderham. ously situated at the Bottom of a Bay; whence I went on to *Soderham*, famous for its Water Engines, and a Manufactory of Fire Arms, since burnt and destroyed by the *Muscovites* in 1720. I rested myself there till the 6th, when I set out early in the Morning; and at the first Place where I chang'd Horses, I met two young *Laplanders*, in the Hereditary Prince of *Hesse Cassel's* Livery, with a young Woman of the same Country, drest after her Manner, excepting that she had Blue Cloaths, with Ornaments of Silver instead of Tin. I ask'd them what they were, whence they came, and whether they were going? They answer'd, that they were *Laplanders*, and that they had been carrying into *Germany* some *Rhen-Deer* which his Highness had sent thither; and they gave me to understand, that they were returning to their Woods and Mountains, &c. which they prefer'd to the Cities and Villages, &c. of *Sweden* and *Germany*, and to all the Conveniencies which cou'd be offered them there. I got before Noon to *Gesle*, and shall add nothing to what I've said about it, excepting that General *Hamilton* had finished a little Fort which he call'd *Frederick-skanz*, or *Frederick's Fort*, (either out of a Compliment to the Hereditary Prince of *Hesse Cassel*, or to the Duke of *Holstein*, who both bear the Name) which was but just begun when I pass'd that Way the first Time, and which I had not then seen. This Fort is at the narrowest Entrance of the Bay; at the Bottom whereof the City is situated, and may defend the Harbour pretty well from the Insults of the Enemy by the means of Nine Cannon, the largest of which
 are

are Twelve Pounders, and are pointed to the South East; the others carry but Six and Three Pounders, and are to the North West. The General, to whom I went to pay my Respects, spoke of it as a great Security to the Port, and ordered his young Son to show it me after Dinner, and invited me to Supper.

I set out from hence the 17th, and about two Miles and a half farther I passed the River *Dala*, or *Dalecarlus*, which gives Name to the Province of *Dalecarlia*, near *Eskarbu*, the Village where the said Mr. *Rudbeckius* has found the Etymology of his fabulous Ferryman, as well as all the imaginary Parts of his Body and Boat from the *Sound*, to the last Parts of the *Bothnick* and *Finlandish Gulphs*, as in the manner represented a little before. Continuing to ride fast I reached *Upsala* on the Night, where I lay. I paid a Visit next Morning to M. *Benzelius*, from whom having receiv'd many Civilities, with the Present of the *Laplandish Drum*, before-mention'd I din'd with him; and finding nothing to add to my former Remarks, I set out for *Stockholm*, where I arriv'd about Midnight.

C H A P. XIII.

Of the Negotiations between the King of Sweden's Plenipotentiaries, and those of the Czar, at Loffo. His Swedish Majesty's Campaign in Norway; his Death. His Sister the Princess Ulrica Eleonora's Accession to the Throne. Baron Goertz's Arrest and Execution. The King's Funeral. The Queen's Coronation. Peace concluded with the King of England as Elector, and with Prussia, Denmark, Poland, &c.

THE publick Talk here ran almost wholly upon a separate Peace (represented as upon the Point of being concluded with the Czar) at the negotiating whereof none of the Plenipotentiaries of the Northern Allies had been admitted, except the Envoy of *Prussia*, who had obtain'd Permission of the Czar, and by which the others were to be reduced to Reason. In private I heard, that my Fellow Traveller Mr. *Clinkonstrom* and one Capt. *Mendal*, with some others, were chosen to be sent to *Madagascar*, to offer the Pyrates of that Island Refuge at *Gottenburgh*, and the Parts adjacent, with the Royal Protection, which they had demanded. In the mean while the King was gone into *Norway*, with a Design to make himself Master of that Kingdom. I acquainted Secretary *Vanhoken*, then with his Majesty, with my Return, in a Letter, with few Circumstances of my Travels in *Lapland*,

which he shew'd his Majesty; and upon this, towards the End of *August*, Baron *Gortz* being come back to *Stockholm* from his Majesty, with whom he had been, to give him an Account in Person of his Negotiations in the Isle of *Loffo*, which he wou'd not commit to Writing, and which made him often take a Turn thither, sent for me, and told me, that his Majesty having heard the Letter read which I wrote to Mr. *Vanboken*, had express'd a Desire to see the whole Account. I answer'd, that I had not yet put my Remarks in Order to be read; whereupon he said, that as he was to take a Turn to *Loffo* before his returning to the King, I should have three Weeks or a Month to prepare a short Abridgment for his Majesty, which he would carry back to him. I promised I would, and gave it him afterwards, as correct as the Time between his demanding it and his Return wou'd permit.

During these Transactions I received the Letter in the *Appendix*, concerning those between the Emperor and the *Grand Signior* at *Passarowitz*, a little Town on the *Danube*, where their Peace was concluded by the Mediation of *Great Britain* and *Holland*.

Towards the Middle of *October*, the Baron being returned to *Stockholm*, in order to go again to the *Congress*, had me called for, and gave me to understand that his Majesty had seem'd pleased with my Remarks, and had ordered him to tell me, that I must stay in *Sweden*, and that he would take care of me. I found always this Nobleman as affable to me, as he was accused of being proud and haughty almost to the whole World, especially his Equals, and even Superiors. I thank'd him for having procured me so gracious an Invitation, and so generous an Offer of the King's Favour; and he then made me some Proposals from himself, which I asked him Time to think upon.

The Baron having taken another Turn to *Loffo*, and being the 1st of *December* on the Road to *Norway*, was surpris'd beyond Imagination to find himself arrested in the King's Name by Colonel *Damgorden*, tho' not by Order of that Prince; for he had been rendred incapable of giving any ever since half an Hour after Nine the Night before: However, the Colonel having declared this pretended Order to him, he delivered up his Sword, his Papers, and himself; ask'd him Permission to write to his Majesty, which he got, &c. He gave his Letter to the Colonel, desiring him to forward it; but this latter sent it to the Prince of *Hesse Cassel*. But let us shift the Scene, and take a Turn to *Norway*, that we may know better the Occasion of all this, which was as follows:

Fredericks-
Hall.

The King having on *St. Andrew's Day* (after the Spiritual Service usual on such Festivals) graciously taken Leave of his principal Officers, went into the Trenches which were opened before *Fredericks-hall*; and tho' the Parallel was, as they say, well advanced, yet either not having found Men enough both to work and sustain the Pioneers, or else his Orders not being so well executed as he had hoped, reprimanded them something contrary to his usual Custom, and discover'd a kind of a Chagrin, which, 'tis said, had never been observed in him before. Hereupon a *French Engineer*, whom this Prince, (naturally affable and easy of Access, especially to Strangers, and those whom he had taken fancy to) had used to be very familiar with him, said, *Don't let your Majesty disturb your self, I promise to deliver you the Fortress in less than eight Days*. The King smil'd and answer'd, *Well, well, we shall see*; after which the Engineer conducted him into several Parts of the Trenches which he had not seen, and told him the Reasons why he

he promis'd him the Reduction of the Place in that Time, wherewith his Majesty seem'd contented. In the mean while, they fired very hotly and very fast, both from the Fortrefs and the Forts mark'd (L) (M) in my Plan No. XXXIX. notwithstanding which his Majesty mounted a *Gabion*, and lean'd with his Stomach against the Parapet at (G), either to observe from thence on what Side the Fire was hottest, and what was the Enemies Design, or else out of his usual Bravery and Intrepidity. Hereupon the Engineer, alarm'd, exclaim'd very much against his Curiosity, and told him, *Sire, That is not your Majesty's Place; it rains Bullets, Cannon Balls and Cartridges, which have no more Respect for Kings than for the most common Soldier; and this is the most exposed and most dangerous Place in all the Trenches.* The Prince said to him, *Don't be afraid. I'm not afraid for my self,* answer'd he, *the Parapet protects me; but for your Majesty, that makes a quite contrary use of it to what it was raised for.* Upon this the King, to get rid of his Remonstrances, which he still continued, told him, *Go and look after your Pioneers; and to the Officers that were with him, And you to your Posts, I am coming down.* The Officers, who were acquainted with the King's Temper better than the Engineer, and knew that to advise him to retire and avoid any Danger, was the way to spur him on, and encourage him to stay and brave it the more resolutely, as having not only never feared any, but being unwilling to be thought capable of Fear, said softly to the Engineer, *Let the King alone, you'll do more harm than good;* and retired all a little aside. Some Minutes after, his Majesty not coming down, and the Fire being hotter and thicker than ever, the Engineer began to be again very uneasy; but the Officers, among the rest the Major-Generals *Culbar* and *Swerin*, and the Aid de Camp *Marquetti* told him, that his Majesty must be drawn thence by a Stratagem, by going either to ask Orders of him, or desiring him to see the Progress of some Works, or to animate the Pioneers by his Presence. Whereupon, and with this Intent, the Engineer return'd to his Majesty, whom he found at the same Place, still standing in the same Posture; which, together with the Obscurity of the Night, hindered his seeing that he was dead. He call'd him three or four times, *Sire*, and not receiving any Answer, which he was no longer capable of giving, thought him asleep, and pull'd him by his Coat; but finding him motionless, he cry'd out to the Officers, who were not far distant, *Gentlemen, I am afraid of some unfortunate Accident's having happen'd.* Upon this they ran to him, with a little Lanthorn, which discovered to them this Prince with his Left Hand upon the Hilt of his Sword, the Glove on almost in the Posture represented Print XXV. a Posture (as I've observ'd elsewhere) very usual with him, when standing and at Rest; his Glove was all bloody, his Head only turn'd a little backwards by the Violence of the Shot, which had fractured the Skull above the Left Temple, beat in the Apple of his Eye on the same Side, and almost wholly drove out that of the Right. The Hole was large enough to turn three Fingers in it, which, with its being directly opposite to the *Fort* (L) in the said Plan, made it imagin'd that the Shot came from thence.

Thus died *Charles XII.* aged 36 Years, 5 Months and 13 Days, the most intrepid and bravest Hero of our Time, whom the Shot could kill, but not make fall. He had been both the most glorious and happy Monarch in the World, had he known as well how to have used a Victory, as how to gain

gain one; and might, after triumphing over all his Enemies, have made a Peace honourable beyond all Expression, held the Ballance of *Europe*, and prevented a long, expensive and bloody War. Might he have had his own Choice, he would rather have fallen in a Battle, Sword in Hand; witness the Encomiums he bestowed on *Lutzen*, the Bed of Honour where the great *Gustavus* lay; on the falling of his Favourite Mr. *Grothusen*, and his Fellow Traveller Colonel *Durin* in the Isle of *Rugen* in 1715, and the Generals *Delvich* and *Chambers*, who were shot by his Side in 1716 in *Fredericks-Hall*. His Bravery never was question'd even by his greatest Enemies; that Intrepidity, which accompanied him to the Grave, seem'd as natural to him as Fear was the contrary. I'll give here only one of the first Instances of it, commonly related thus till this Day in *Sweden*:

He was one Winter hunting the *Elk*, with several Gentlemen of the Court; one of them inadvertently, or knowing not enough of his bold Temper, shew'd him a Hole wherein was a Bear sitting, from which he took Occasion to entertain that Prince with the natural Custom of those Creatures to lay so during that Season, whilst the Snow covers the Ground, and subsist only upon the licking of their Paws. Thereupon the young *Hercules*, taking immediately a Spear from the nearest Hunter at hand, could not be dissuaded from pricking and forcing out the quiet Beast; who, passing thro' his Legs which were open cross the Hole, carried him on his Back astride a few Paces. The young Prince being taken up by one of the Hunters, was no sooner on his Legs again, than he ran after the flying Bear, and had the greatest Share in the killing of him.

He had all the Ambition both of *Alexander the Great* and *Julius Caesar*, but not their Vices in respect of *Wine* and *Women*; and if he was ever capable of Fear, he seem'd only afraid of resembling them in this respect. I remember, that (besides my never seeing him drinking any thing but Water) Mr. *Orlik*, a *Cossack* Gentleman, whom this Prince created *Velter*, or General of the *Cossacks*, after the Death of *Mazeppa*, having desired him to be Godfather to a Son of his, his Majesty deputed General *Poniatowski* to stand, who chose a very handsome * *Cossack* Lady for Godmother. When they were at Church for the Ceremony, the King said to M. *Fabrice*, *Let us go and see thro' the Windows of the Church what Figure Poniatowski makes there*. They immediately got on Horseback, and galloping reached the Church in few Minutes; where they saw and were seen by M. *Poniatowski*, who having kissed the Godmother according to Custom, came out and begg'd of his Majesty for her, that she might have the Honour to kiss his Hand: The King thereupon smil'd, and without answering set Spurs to his Horse, and gallop'd as if he had been afraid of being ravish'd. I must confess, that some Persons, who pretended to know him well, and were pretty constantly near him, and had observed most carefully his Actions from the

* This Lady was then Widow of a living Husband, but Prisoner in *Moscow*; and is so now of another at *Petersburgh*, the unfortunate M. *Woniarousky*, taken up at *Hamburgh* by the *Czar's* Orders, as I have said already in 1716. He married her next Morning after the Action at *Warnitza*; and when he went in with some Polish Noblemen to wait on the King at the *Bashaw's*, his Majesty told him, Is it true that you have married *Zebelina* (that is her Christian Name:) He answer'd, Yes, Sir. But she has a Husband living, reply'd the King. She thinks him dead, rejoind *Woniarousky*; But in case he should not be so, but be released by the *Czar*, and would have his Wife back again, I would let him have her, said he. You are a generous, easy and complaisant Husband, added his Majesty.

Beginning to the End, told me, that we must esteem him such only from his leaving *Stockholm*; for, said they, he was no Enemy there to a Glass of good Wine, nor did he keep at such a distance from the fair Sex, and they there shew'd me a pretty living Proof of this in that City; but added they, as soon as he entred into the Fields of *Mars*, he sacrificed both to Glory; and as if he had look'd upon her as a Mistress, and sworn Fidelity to her, he drank nothing but Water, nor had to do with any Woman ever since. Withall this he did not pretend to restrain and reduce the Actions of his People to his Example; he even heard with a sort of pleasure their Gallantries; he extended his natural Indulgence even to those who the least deserved it. General *Daldorff* and the Priest *Brenner* bearing a particular Grudge to a Gentleman of his Court, for whom his Majesty had a great Kindness, introduced into his Presence a Greek Woman whom the said Gentleman had taken at *Cubbin*, or after the *Turkish* way of contracting, which I have explained in my first Vol. She held in her Left Arm a Child, and in her Right Hand a Petition drawn in the *German* Language by the Priest, declaring him the Father to the Child, and demanding a Sum of Money for their Maintenance. The Introducers, especially *Brenner*, insisted by Word of Mouth, that the Father being a married Man, should be punished according to the *Swedish* Law; to this the King said, *His Wife, who has the chief Right of Prosecution against him, is in Sweden, and we are in Turkey.* Then looking at General *Daldorff*, added, *You act here a Part very much below your Post*; then at *Brenner*, *And you another very unbecoming the Character of a Priest; be honest, chaste yourself, and preach against the Sin, but don't name the Persons.* By the way, the Occasion of the King's advising *Brenner* thus was, the common Report had spread about a good while before, that he was one of the *Czar's* Spies, and that he was guilty of a worse Vice than that of having to do with the Female Sex. When the King heard of the first, which was at *Bender*, he said smiling, *I don't send Spies to my Enemies, and don't fear theirs.* As to the Greek Woman, his Majesty sent her with her Petition to the Gentleman, whom he knew to be generous enough to satisfy her; and in effect it was found, that he had even exceeded the Obligation of the *Cubbin*. She repented of having suffer'd herself to be thus put upon, begg'd Pardon of the Gentleman, but he would no more hear of her.

Tho' this Prince did not drink Wine himself, he did not find Fault with those that did; but used after his Dinner or Supper, which did not last each above half an Hour (as I have said somewhere else) to go and see thro' the Windows of *M. Grothusen*, or of some other Gentlemen, who kept open Table, their Company merry with that Liquor. The Titulary Palatine of *Kiow* happening to give a Splendid Dinner on King *Stanislaus's* Birth, or Coronation Day, and encourage Drinking after the *Polish* Fashion, a World of Healths had been drank, when a Gentleman, otherwise pretty Sober, being overtaken with Liquor, withdrew, *incognito*, from the Company; and in his walking home, said, almost to every body he met, *Monfieur, a Votre Santé*, Sir, your Health, he had so often been oblig'd to repeat these Words at Table. He call'd at *M. Grothusen's*, whom he saluted with the same; and he to make the Sport yet merrier, said, *Sir, I beg your Excuse, I'm call'd to the King, I'll send somebody to light you home, and will come and drink Coffee to Morrow Morning with you.* He order'd immediately two large
Lanthorns

Lanterns to be lighted, which were accordingly carried before him, without his being sensible of the *Jest*, the Sun still shining in the Hemisphere. The next Morning the Gentleman waited (as usual) on his Majesty, whose first Words to him were, *Monseigneur, à Votre Santé*, the only *French* ones, as I have been credibly assured, that came out of his Mouth since he left *Sweden*, tho' he understood that Language as well as his own; he read even the *French* Poets, lik'd *Racine*, but declared War against *Boileau*, on account of his Satyr against *Alexander*; which he tore out of his Book when he saw it: However, he seem'd to think that none should talk it, unless he could do it as well as a Member of the *French* Academy. M. *Desallures* being made Ambassador of *France* at the *Porte*, as a Recompence for the good Services he had render'd to the King his Master in *Hungary*; against the Emperor, he call'd at *Bender*, and having an Audience of his *Swedish* Majesty, spoke his own Language, knowing no other. The King answer'd first in *Latin*; and his Excellency protesting he understood not three Words of it, that Prince spoke *German*, of which Mr. *Desallures* said the same, but could not get a Word of *French* from his Majesty's Mouth; and Mr. *Grothusen* was forced to interpret his Majesty's Words.

He was Generous beyond Expression, but observ'd a certain Delicacy in bestowing his Favours; showering them down upon those whom he knew to be liberal, but being sparing of his Presents to those who loved Money, only to heap it up. An Example of which was seen in Baron *Grothusen*, his Principal Favourite, and his High-Treasurer without the Title. This Nobleman brought him one time an account of 50 or 60,000 Crowns which the Chancery required at his Hands, having often complain'd to his Majesty of that Gentleman's great Expences, considering the little there was at *Bender*. This Account contain'd but two Lines, *viz. Given a great Part of it to the Janizaries and Tartars, according to his Majesty's generous Orders, and the rest employed for my own Use*. His Majesty was as well pleas'd with this Account, as one generally is at the Brevity of a bad Sermon, or a dull Harangue: And a little after, one of the Complaining Oeconomists having brought him a long List of the Particulars of 10 or 12,000 Crowns that had been disburs'd by them; he cry'd out, *This Account is endless, it tires me; I had rather see one like Grothusen's, that contains the expending of 60,000 Crowns in four Words*. An old General us'd frequently to say to him, *Your Majesty gives all your Money to Grothusen, who is a Sieve, and throws it all about at random, without thinking for the future; and you give me nothing*. Oh, (reply'd the King) *Grothusen has need of it; he makes the right Use of Money, he spends it, but you keep it lock'd up in your Coffers*. And indeed the General did put a good Sum in Gold Medals and Jewels into the Hands of the *English* Minister, before the Action of *Warnitza*, which he saved from the Plunder by that Precaution, with all his best Furniture, his Coaches, and even his Slippers; which last Article diverted the King extreamly, who heard it the next Day from his Officers, and rallied him very merrily upon it. Having borrowed from the *Turks* at *Bender* and *Adrianople*, some Money at the most extravagant Rate; the *Porte* sent him Word, that considering the Lenders had taken Advantage of the Necessity of the Borrowers, they should both swear to the Sum Lent and Borrowed, and this should be only paid, the *Turkish* Law forbidding Usury; and tho' he might have saved by that above 30,000 *l.* he answer'd to those
who

who propos'd it, *If any of my People has borrow'd 10 Rix Dollars, and given his Note for 100, I'll pay all*; and this I have already observ'd in its Place. Another Instance at *Stralsund* is, that two Bankers of *Hamburg* having failed, and offering to compound with their Creditors at 10s. in the Pound, he would not hear of touching any Part of their Composition Money, for a Sum which he had in their Hands; but said to one of his Ministers, who acquainted his Majesty with their Proposals, *If they can't pay all, take nothing*.

He was naturally of so good a Temper, that he was hardly ever known to be in a Passion but once since the Beginning of the War, (as I've been well assur'd) and that with the greatest Reason in the World, against a Favourite whom he found a great deal too late to be very unworthy of his good Graces, and who had committed a thousand Acts of Injustice and Robberies, under Cover of the Royal Favour and Success, but without the Prince's Knowledge. He had, for Example, plunder'd the Churches in *Poland*, and even carry'd away the Gold and Silver *Shrines*, *Chalices*, &c. some Part of which he had still in his House in *Stockholm* in 1716; and looking on me as a good *Roman Catholick*, offered them to Sale: He also threatned a *Jew* in *Poland*, to treat him as his Ancestors did *Jesus Christ*, (as I was credibly inform'd) by nailing his Hands and Feet to the Cross, or against his Door, if he wou'd not surrender up to him all his Money and Jewels; and he had already order'd the Instruments of the Passion, from which the *Jew* did not redeem himself, but by giving up all he had in the World. This Favourite, who at his leaving *Sweden* was (they say) hardly worth 1000 Crowns, being charm'd with above 100,000 which he had got by such Means both in *Poland* and *Saxony*, besides Jewels, Plate, &c. saw (they add) with a covetous Mortification that his Harvest would be over, or suffer much by the Peace, which King *Augustus* was reduced to beg and agree to on the King of *Sweden's* Terms, to prevent the utmost Ruin, if not losing of his Electorate. Thereupon he put into his Royal Master's Head to demand of him Count *Patkull*, whom (as Persons of Honour, who durst not contradict him, have told me) he represented as the greatest Criminal in Nature; hoping that King *Augustus* would not so far violate the Law of Nations, as to surrender him up; and knowing that his said Royal Master was such, that he would never recede from a Demand once made, so that the War should thereupon continue, and consequently he his Booty; but he was too much disappointed in his Views, by the poor Count's Misfortune, whom King *Augustus* delivered up. However, he went on with his mischievous Representations; which being countenanced by a certain Count, who was said to bear a Grudge to Count *Patkull*, brought him to the cruel Supplice; the Memory of which has robb'd so much of the Northern Hero's Glory, who seeing that Nobleman thro' his Favourite and Counsellor's Eyes, thought hardly his Sufferings sufficient for his Offences, for otherwise he was naturally inclin'd to Mercy, and averse to any Blood-shedding but in the Fields of *Mars*, and exposing his own as much and more than his Enemies could do. This prime Favourite lost at *Bender* that Prince's Favour, for his malicious Calumnies, almost in the following Manner, as soon as his Majesty found them out.

The chief of those Calumnies he cast against the *Han* and *Bashaw*, because he thought that they had not for his Person the Consideration he expected as the King's Favourite; they were both offended at his haughty and bullying Ways, in demanding any thing for

the King's Service; even threatening them, in his Majesty's Name, as Servants of the *Porte*, if they did not readily comply: They call'd him *Deli guiaour*, or made Infidel, sent Complaints to the *King* of his unmannerly Behaviour by their own prime Servants; assuring, that they were very much inclin'd to do any thing that lay in their Power for his Majesty, but could not bear the insolent Pride of his Messenger, desiring his Majesty to send another: In the mean while, the Favourite was representing them to the Prince as black as he had done *Patkull*, and would have his Majesty write to the *Grand Seignior* for their Deposition, and worse, if possible; when the King, opening his Eyes, and comparing with their Representations the Aspersions cast upon them by his Favourite, entered into Mistrust against him, sent Mr. *Grothusen*, a very polite Gentleman, of whom he had already conceived something above the common Esteem for a Man of Merit, and obtain'd what he would have on the Spot; which enrag'd the said Favourite to such a Degree, that he invented more Lies, and turn'd the Venom of his Tongue against the new Messenger, in the most malicious Manner; which that Prince heard, as well as what he said against the *Han* and *Bashtar*, with a scornful Smile, and shew'd plainly enough how little he believ'd him: But he went so far on with his malicious Jealousy, as even to give Mr. *Grothusen* the Lie in his Majesty's Presence, on an Article which that Gentleman alledged as a Proof of the *Han's* and *Bashtar's* good Intentions and Friendship for the *Swedes*; whereupon the King's Patience being over with him, his Majesty, contrary to his usual Custom, happening to be near the Fire, took up the Tongs with an Emotion and angry Colour in his Face, which no Body that I know had observ'd before. However, his Moderation taking Place of his Passion, he threw down the Tongs, and said to him, *You deserve to have your Bones broken with these Tongs; get out of my Presence, and never dare to appear where I am.* With all these, and many more Instances which I can give of this Prince's Moderation, I don't pretend to justify his having been prevail'd upon, by ill Councils, to use his Authority, and the Success of his Arms, to oblige any other Prince to violate the Law of Nations, or that of Humanity, as to order the most cruel Supplice in the Christian World, against a Gentleman generally esteem'd a great deal more innocent than guilty of what he was accus'd of, or at least worthy of a Pardon. But I do pity all Sovereigns and great Men, who cannot see every thing with their own Eyes, are brought to commit thousands of Injustices, which the like good Opinion they have of their Favourites and Counsellors make them believe to be all as many Acts of Equity and Justice.

As he was never observ'd to be in a Passion but that Time, so he was never seen to be afflicted or cast down at his greatest Misfortunes, but once; which was at the News of the Death of his Sister, the Dutches of *Holstein*, (as I have hinted elsewhere) which forced Tears from his Eyes, and Complaints or Cries from his Mouth. If he did not do the same at the Death of the Duke, his Brother-in-Law and dear War-Companion, 'twas because he did not think him so much to be lamented, as dying in the Bed of Honour. He was a most constant Friend, and his Friendship made him blind, for a long Time, to the Defects and Failings of those to whom he had once taken a Fancy, and would pardon them the greatest Faults against himself: For Example, Colonel *During* having been kill'd, as I have already said, his Majesty gave to one of his nearest Relations that

that same Post, with a thousand other Marks of his Favour; inſomuch, that he entred where-ever the Prince was, without giving any previous Notice. This new Colonel and Favourite, (tho' vaſtly inferior to the other, both in *Genius* and Honour) having loſt his Money at Play, and ſtole out of his Maſteſty's Cloſet a little Casket, wherein were ſome Plans of Sieges and Battles, and above 2000 Ducats; which he had obſerved when the King open'd it in his Preſence, to take ſome of it for his Liberalities to Soldiers, &c. this Prince would hardly have mention'd it, but for thoſe Plans, moſt of them of his own Drawing, or if he had ſuſpected that ſuch a Perſon was guilty of the Action: However, the Theft being proved upon the Colonel, he continued nevertheleſs to come in the King's Preſence as uſual, and denied the Fact, till all the Officers of his Regiment declared they would not ſerve under him; and they, as well as others, would have the Theft exemplarily puniſh'd; but his Maſteſty would ſave his Reputation even at the Truth's Expence, by ſaying he had loſt no Money; but Marſhal *Dubens* knew, and publiſh'd that there was even more than the Sum mentioned. His Maſteſty ſeeing no Remedy, told him at laſt, that he preſented him the 2000 Ducats, and more if there was; and adviſed him to go and ſeek Preferment in ſome Foreign Country, ſince he could not make him be believ'd Innocent, nor admit him further in his Preſence, without a general Diſcontent of all his Officers. He continued to deny; and a few Days after the Casket, with the Papers, were found in a neighbouring Garden. The diſmiſs'd Colonel remain'd ſome Weeks longer at *Iſtadt*; but ſeeing himſelf deſpiſed by every body, and that none would keep him Company, nor eat at the ſame Table in a publick Houſe, he follow'd the King's Counſel, and paſſed into *France*, then into *Spain*, as I heard, changing his Name.

As much an Enemy as he was to a malicious Lye, he cou'd bear with a gracious Indulgence any one wherein there was nothing but harmleſs Vanity, as a *Gasconade*; tho' he wou'd puniſh it with Raillery. To give a ſhort Inſtance of it; his Maſteſty had ſent three of his Officers to travel into *Egypt*, and other Parts of the *Ottoman* Empire, allowing them 2000 Ducats for their Expences: They ſtaid on their Return ſome Weeks at *Conſtantinople*, where I happening to aſk one of them, who was I think a Baron by his Birth, and whom I met oftner than the others, whether he had ſeen the Ruins of *Troy*? He answer'd, No; and gave for Reaſon, that tho' they had been pretty near it in a Boat, they were diſſwaded from venturing aſhoar by their Boatmen, for fear of Robbers. I ſmil'd, and told him that there was no living Man there, no High Road for Travellers; nor any thing to apprehend, unleſs they were afraid of the Ghoſt of *Heſtor*, and the other *Trojans* ſlain at the Siege of that ancient City; or of ſome Herds of Oxen, and Flocks of Sheep, feeding now and then among theſe Ruins, under the Conduct of two or three unarm'd Men. He ſeem'd to regret his not having been better inform'd, and enquired whether I had made any Remarks thereon? I ſaid, Yes, and he deſired that he might ſee them; I granted him his Deſire, on Condition neither he, nor any one for him, ſhou'd tranſcribe them. He gave me his Word, and broke it. The three Travellers being returned to *Bender*, gave his Maſteſty an Account of their Obſervations; but not a Word of *Troy*; till the Borrower of my Manuscript being one Day alone with that Prince, mention'd the Noble Remains he had read therein, as if he had ſeen them himſelf upon the

Spot. His Majesty was pleased with the Description he gave of them; but a few Days afterwards asking of the others some Questions about it, he found that they were afraid of venturing ashore; and contented himself with rallying them thereupon, without mentioning a Word of their Companion's Discovery.

Soon after my Arrival at *Bender*, Mr. *Fabrice* happening to mention me as a pretty great Traveller, and some Circumstances of my Travels to the King, he said, *These Travellers tell us strange Stories; I have sent three of them Abroad, one of which has seen the Ruins of Troy, and given me a beautiful Picture of them; and the others, who were always with him, saw nor knew nothing of the Matter:* Which Mr. *Fabrice* having related to me, and hearing how I had lent my Remarks to the Gentleman, diverted his Majesty with the Account. Thereupon the King bid him borrow my Manuscript; and the first time he saw the Transcriber, (who had also translated it into the German Tongue the more to disguise it) said, *Come, I have seen the Ruins of Troy as well as you, and in the same manner,* shewing my MS. and the Baron blushed; upon which his Majesty added, *Oh this is nothing, you Travellers take many such Privileges.* But if that Prince had known on what Condition I lent it, he wou'd have reprimanded him infallibly for breaking his Word.

Torpum.

To return to this Prince's Death: 'Twas agreed to conceal this fatal Accident for some time, that it might not alarm the Troops, and to carry him into his Quarters, as an Officer that had been kill'd. To this end, they disguis'd him, by wrapping him in a Cloak; whilst an *Aid de Camp*, whose Name was *Siguier*, taking off his Majesty's Hat, which was plain and with a Brass Button, (as it used to be generally) and putting on that Prince's Head his which was laced with Gold, besides his Peruke, he went with the Royal Hat to the Hereditary Prince of *Hesse Cassel*, (who had his Quarters at *Torpum*,) the others removed the King's Body, as had been resolved. *Siguier* being admitted, he inform'd his Highness what had happen'd; the Hat shot thro' the Crown by the Regicide Cartouch, was a melancholly Spoil that confirm'd it. His Highness, sending for the principal Officers, communicated to them the News, and a Council of War was held immediately; where it was determin'd, amongst other things, to raise the Siege, and seize Baron *Goertz*; both which Resolutions were executed the next Day. The Prince instantly dispatch'd *Siguier* to *Stockholm*, (without any Letter, the Council of War taking up his Time too much for him to write,) but with verbal Orders, "As soon as he arrived there to dismount at Count *Taube's* the " *Stadtholder*, or Great Governor of *Stockholm*, and to tell him what he " had seen. *Siguier* got there the 3d of *December* in the Morning early, and executed his Order. The Great Governor bid him keep close at his Lodgings, and went to inform the *Princess Royal* of the King her Brother's Beath, which her Highness heard with a Surprise and Grief that may easily be imagin'd; the Count comforted her as well as he cou'd: However, since it was a Fatality past Remedy, he advised her to summon the Senators, by sending them Word that she had an Affair of Importance to communicate to them; which she did, after having a little composed herself. The *Senate* being assembled, and appriz'd of the Business, held a Council, where mention was made of the *Regency*, and the Succession, &c. But some objected, that the News of the King's Death being but verbal, perhaps that Prince might only be wounded; in which case it wou'd be dangerous to take any Measures

tures concerning the Administration, during an *Interregnum*, as the others proposed.

Upon this, *Seguier* was sent for and examin'd, and he informed them of so many Circumstances of the King's being kill'd, as left no room for any Doubts. He even added, (without being ask'd, the Sentiments of the Army about the Succession,) that those few who knew of his Majesty's Death, at his coming away, named the *Princess* for *Queen*; and that he did not question, but as soon as it shou'd be publick, she wou'd be proclaim'd such by the general Voice of the whole Army. Having likewise told them, that Colonel *Damgarden* had received Orders to go and arrest Baron *Goertz*; that he had met the Baron on the Road to *Norway*; but that he had clapt Spurs to his Horse, that he might not be known nor question'd by him; and that he must have been arrested a few Minutes after; it was resolved to arrest also Count *Dernath*, with the Secretary *Ecclef*, &c. which was put in Execution that very Night about Nine a-Clock, by the Colonel of the Guards. They took up likewise the Counsellor *Haaghen*, with all Baron *Goertz*'s and Count *Dernath*'s Creatures and Servants; among others one *Rouyer*, a Mint-Master whom Baron *Goertz* had brought from *Holland*, and coin'd new Silver Species, having a Cross like that of the *English* Crowns and half Crowns, with the King's and the Kingdom's Arms upon the Reverse. Orders were sent to Count *Gyllemborg* to seize the Secretary *Stambke*, with all his Papers, as well as those of the Baron's which shou'd be found at *Loffo*; but whether he had timely Intelligence, or was apprehensive of some such Accident, he had secured both himself and his Papers at the *Russian* Plenipotentiaries; and some wou'd have it, the Count had underhand favoured his Flight.

The 5th of *December* at Night, Major-General *Bennett* brought the Confirmation of the King's Death in Writing; and gave out that the Army either had already, or wou'd acknowledge the *Princess* for *Queen*: Which (tho' contrary to the Truth) was the more readily believ'd, because it was generally wish'd. The *Sunday* following, the Clergy declar'd her such in the Churches, and pray'd for her under the Title of her Majesty; but the Day after she (by the Perswasion and Advice of the *Senate*) caused a Manifesto to be published, wherein she renounced of her own accord all Arbitrary Power, call'd *Sovereignty*, and invited all the *States* to meet at *Stockholm* the 20th of *January* of the Year ensuing, to confirm the Publick Vote by their free *Election*, and consult with them (as she said therein) about the present Condition of the State.

Towards the End of *December* Baron *Goertz* was brought to *Stockholm* in a Travelling Chaise, with a Guard of about 100 armed Men; not so much for fear of any Party in his Favour, as to preserve him from the Insults of the Populace, who look'd upon him as the sole Author of all their Misfortunes. This Year had been fertile both in the Quantity, Quality, and (one may add) in the Singularity of its Copper *Muntetekens*; which, with the Paper ones, were the only Species that were allow'd to be current, a Royal Edict having render'd liable to Confiscation all the Silver and Brass Money which the Subjects shou'd not discover, and exchange with the Government against a certain time for these imaginary Coin; of which above Fourteen Millions of Dollars were actually then issued out. The *Muntetekens*, last coined, were of six sorts, viz. 1. *Flink och Fardig*, that is, *Valiant and Ready*,

a Motto round the Effigies of a Man standing, arm'd with a Helmet, Back and Breast Plate, and drawn Sword, both on the Offensive and Defensive, having likewise a Spear in his Left Hand, and a Lyon roaring at his Feet. 2. Of *Saturn*. 3. Of *Jupiter*. 4. Of *Mars*. 5. Of *Phæbus*. 6. Of *Mercury*. *Hope* was already struck for the Year 1719, but did not appear till a Month after the King's Death; and then never passed for its intended Value of half a Dollar, but only at first for Two Pence, and lastly for the third Part of one, as much as its intrinsic Value.

These latter having for Legends the Names of the *Pagan* Deities represented on them, some Persons maliciously call'd them in Derision *Baron Goertz's Gods*; which gave Occasion to a Woman, who had heard them so term'd, to cry to him from her Window, as he was passing before it, surrounded by armed Guards, in his Chaise, *Our God has delivered you into our Hands; see if yours, which you have given us for Money, will release you.* The Populace was so incensed against him for their Publick Misery, that I believe, had he been exposed to their Mercy, and without Guards, they wou'd have torn him in Pieces, as the *De Wits* were in *Holland*. He was confin'd in a Chamber of the *Sudermalms-Huus*, or *Town-House of the South Suburb*; and had not the Liberty of being served by any of his own Domesticks; but was attended by a Citizen, who kept a Tavern in a part of the same House. Whether he was apprehensive of this Misfortune or not, and therefore wou'd not supply the publick Hatred with Arms against himself, he had either left at *Aland*, or burnt his Papers; so that very few or none were found that cou'd do him much Prejudice. But 'twas not so with those of Count *Dernath*; among others, the Copy of a Letter, which he had written to the said Baron, wherein he inform'd him that the *Swedish* Clergy had declared War against him, and that publickly and generally from their Pulpits, and that they made use in private of all the Power their Function gave them over the Minds of the People, to induce them to rid themselves of his Person. This being produced, exasperated the Gentlemen of that Robe extraordinarily against the Count. I will not aver, that the Informations given in that Letter were upon good Grounds; but of this I am certain, that 'twas the Priest *Brenner* who had been the Author of them, and that he was capable of all the selfish Malice wherewith they were stuffed: As for the rest, he was more deserving of his Brethren's Hatred than Count *Dernath*, since the latter only wrote what the other had dictated against them.

Other Letters of Count *Dernath's* to Baron *Goertz*, did him as much Service as the other was prejudicial; but one of them was very detrimental to the Baron, by confirming the Suspicions which the Publick had conceiv'd of him. The Substance of this Letter was, "That it was whisper'd that he (the Baron) acted as if
" he had a Design entirely to ruin the King, with his whole
" Army in *Norway*, and the Kingdom; by encouraging that Prince
" to make a Campaign there, and besiege Towns during the fe-
" verest Time of the Year, whilst all other Nations, who understood
" War, and who even were in more temperate Climates, were retired
" into their Winter Quarters. That even he was afraid himself, by
" the Measures which he saw him take, that the People wou'd speak
" the Truth in so saying; if not as to his designing it, at least as to the
the

“ the Consequence. Above all, he exclaim'd in the same Letter against
 “ a new *Placaert*, or Declaration, already drawn up, and upon the
 “ Point of being published, by which every *Swedish* Subject was obli-
 “ ged to pay (besides the usual and annual Contributions) the sixth
 “ Penny of all their Substance, whether in ready Money, Mortgages,
 “ Lands, or Effects, in short, the sixth Part of whatever he enjoy'd,
 “ even their Furniture of Houses, &c. and was obliged to declare the
 “ full and real Value of what he was worth, and to take an Oath
 “ that he did not possess a Penny more than he had own'd, and that
 “ on Pain of Confiscation of the Whole, if 'twas found that his Infor-
 “ mation was false; and this was to last every Year till the End of
 “ the War.” There were, among other Exclamations, these very
 Words in his Letter, *No Body doubts but that you dictated this Placaert,*
which seems an Invention of Hell. Notwithstanding this, and many
 other Proofs of the Innocence of this Count, he was kept thus till
 the latter End of 1720, under an Arrest, tho' more civilly, and ser-
 ved by his Domesticks, in his own House, but almost on the same
 Footing as Persons are detain'd in the Prisons of the Inquisition se-
 veral Years, without knowing, or their informing him wherefore; in
 short, without being examined, condemned, or discharged.

The *States* did indeed meet at *Stockholm* at the Time appointed by 1718-19:
 the *Queen*; but they only stiled her as yet *Princess Royal*, and were
 assembled (as they said) of their own Accord (the Throne being va-
 cant) to elect a Successor to fill it: However, they intimated plainly
 enough to her Royal Highness, that they would chuse no other but
 herself, provided that she would oblige herself as strongly and authen-
 tickly, as possible, to reign according to the Form of Government
 which they drew up; which sets Bounds to the Regal Authority in
 her, more than had ever been done before, even to any of her elected
 Predecessors: They enacted, or rather dictated to her, an *Authentick*
Assurance, (as they term'd it) wherein she acknowledged that she held
 the *Crown* of the States, without the least *Right* to it since her Mar-
 riage, any more than her Sister had after her's with the Duke of *Hol-*
stein. To all which that Princess having agreed to, she renounced in
 the strongest Terms, both for her self and her Descendants, all Arbi-
 trary Power, call'd in *Sweden* the *Sovereignty*, and then she was de-
 clar'd by them to be freely and duly elected *Queen of Sweden*; thereupon
 the Marshal of the Nobility, the Archbishop of *Upsal*, the first Burgo-
 Master of *Stockholm*, and the Secretary of the Peasants, were deputed
 to give her Notice of her Election. The States now acknowledging
 themselves to be conven'd in her Majesty's Name, the Diet was pub-
 lished on the Beginning of *February* by a Herald, at the Sound of Trum-
 pets and Kettle-Drums; and they all met together in a Body, with the
 Senate, in a great Hall of the Royal Palace, where her Majesty was
 sitting on a Throne of Silver, and received their Homage.

Count *Horn*, the Great Chancellor, made them a Speech in her Ma-
 jesty's Name, “ thanking them for the Concern they had shewn for the
 “ sudden Death of the King her Brother, for their constant Attachment
 “ to this Prince, their Fidelity to him, and their Choice of her Person.
 “ He assured them, at the same time, that her Majesty would in all her
 “ Proceedings endeavour, in Concert with the States, to obtain the Peace
 “ so requisite for the Ease of her People; and that she would take a
 “ Pleasure in ruling according to that happy Form of Government
 “ which they had drawn up. Baron

Baron *Peter Ribbing*, who was chosen Marshal of the Nobility, answered this Harangue with another, in the Name of the States, wherein (after having said, that they pleas'd themselves with the Choice they had made of a Princess, indued with so many Virtues as her Majesty, for their Queen) he assured, " That they wou'd have nothing so
 " much at Heart, as to study all the Means imaginable to render her
 " Reign easy; to signalize their Zeal for the Welfare and Service of
 " their Country; to shew her all the Allegiance and Affection that
 " cou'd reasonably be expected from good Subjects; to supply, by
 " their Subsidies, the Necessities of the Kingdom; to find Remedies for the publick Misfortunes; and, in fine, to submit religiously to all the Constitutions and Laws that required their Obedience.

Then were read the Acts of Assurance, or Renunciation to *Arbitrary Power*, that of the *Election*, and of the *Form of Government*; then they took the Oaths of Allegiance to her Majesty, who obliged her self, by another, to govern according to the Articles agreed on by the Senate and the States. This done, Count *Horn* again thank'd the States, in her Majesty's Name, for the generous Proof of their Affection and Distinction for her Royal Person, in chusing her their Queen, and settling, by the Act of Election, the Succession on her Male Children, if she shou'd have any.

On the 23d all these Acts were printed and published; they are in a perplexed and confused Style, with very little Connexion, and a great deal of Repetition. The Substance of the Act of the Election, dated the 20th of *January*, is, " That the States, being willing to provide
 " a Successor for the Throne then vacant, have, of their own free and
 " voluntary Motion, cast their Eyes on the Princess *Landsgrazine* of
 " *Hesse Cassel*; and, in Consideration of the august Virtues of her Ancestors, which she inherited, her Abhorrence and Renunciation to *Sovereignty*, and of her Oaths and Promises to profess and defend the
 " *Lutheran* Religion, exclusive of any other, and to govern according to
 " their Form of Government, &c. have spontaneously and unanimously
 " elected her Queen of *Sweden*, without her having the least Right to
 " the Crown, according to the Statutes of the Kingdom; quoting that
 " of 1604, which says, *That any Daughter of the King or Prince*
 " *Royal, being either married or engaged, without the Consent and*
 " *approbation of the States, loses her Right to the Crown, both for her self*
 " *and her Children.* They instanc'd Queen *Christiana*, who not being
 " married, succeeded by Virtue of her Father, the great *Gustavus Adolphus's*
 " Election, which gave her Right to be chosen; and on her
 " Abdication her Cousin *Charles Gustavus*, who being Son to a Princess thus married, was elected by the free Consent of the States;
 " and acknowledges in his *Assurance*, 1650, that he is chosen purely by their Favour and Courtesy, and that they did him Honour therein. The States, on their Side, declared, by the Act of the
 " Diet then held, that they had not chosen him out of any Obligation, or Duty, but out of their own free Will. It was decreed
 " both by the Act of *Election*, and that of her Majesty's *Assurance* or
 " Declaration, that she should forfeit the Crown, by endeavouring,
 " directly or indirectly, to restore Arbitrary Power; and whoever
 " durst propose to her, or any of her Successors, the Thoughts of it,
 " is declared a Traitor to his Country, and to be punished as such.
 " Nor

“ Nor is her Majesty to suffer any one to be admitted into any Employment in the State, but who is a *Lutheran*, born a Subject to *Sweden*, and abjures, by the following Oath, the despotick Power, thus. *I N. promise by Oath upon the Gospel, that I will in no wise endeavour, openly or secretly, either of my own Accord, or by the Incitement of others, by Council, or by Sollicitation, to introduce, establish, or maintain the absolute Power, call'd Sovereignty; but, on the contrary, I will strive, as much as in me lies, even with the Hazard of my Life, to prevent, oppose, and hinder it; and I oblige my self to reveal all that I can discover is plotted, contriv'd, or projected for its damnable Introduction; as also to impeach the Authors, and their Accomplices, if I can find them out. So help me God.*

The *Form of Government* contains 40 Articles. According to the first, her Majesty shall never profess any other Religion but the *Lutheran*, as it is established by divers Edicts and Laws; nor suffer either the publick or private Exercise of any other Religion, (excepting however the foreign Ministers, to whom it will be allow'd to have a Chaplain in their own Houses, for themselves and their Domesticks, as heretofore;) but other Foreigners settled in the Kingdom, &c. shall neither enjoy this Liberty, nor the Rights and Privileges of Citizens, nor have their Children christen'd or instructed by any other Priest but those of this our Holy Religion; which to speak against, is Degradation, Banishment, &c. or even Death, according to the Nature of the Disrespect or Blasphemy.—The 2d, after having recommended to her the Protection and Defence of the Laws, and Justice, gives her the Prerogative of granting Safe-Conducts, and pardoning such as shall be condemn'd, provided they are not altogether unworthy of her Favour; it requires likewise the having such Causes, as shall be brought before the Royal *College of Revision* from other Tribunals, examined and judged thereby.—By the 3d, her Majesty shall not alienate any Domains of the Crown in Favour of her Children, Male or Female, if she should have any; but they shall be contented with an ordinary Revenue, or a free Gift, according to the Laws; and are not to succeed to the Crown, nor ascend the Throne, till they have attain'd the Age of One and Twenty, give *Authentick Assurance* of their renouncing Absolute Power, and take the Oaths according to the Laws, acknowledging that they reign by no other Right, but that of the free Election of the States. In the mean while, the States must, with her Majesty's Consent, chuse them Persons of Merit, and of known Integrity, who shall be entrusted with the Care of their Education, and of bringing them up in the *Lutheran* Religion.—By the 4th, the *States* are dispens'd with obeying Laws which shall be made without their Consent; and her Majesty and the *Senate* are obliged to submit to their Examination, whatever Laws or Statutes they think fit to make in their Absence, without which they shall not have any Force.—The 5th directs her Majesty to employ all her Care for the Defence of the Kingdom, and to procure a Peace, without doing any thing contrary to the Laws; and prohibits her augmenting the Contributions of the People, without the Consent of the *States*.—The 6th provides against her declaring War without their Consent; but allows her, in case of a sudden and unexpected Attack, to oppose immediately Force by Force, by the Consent of the *Senate* only.—The 7th gives her the same Liberty as the foregoing, with Regard to the making Peace, and entering into Al-

liances, which also she may do by the Advice of the *Senate* alone.—By the 8th, the *States* are obliged to maintain the *Authority* and *Prerogatives* granted to her Majesty, according to the ancient *Constitutions*.—The 9th grants and confirms to her Majesty the Royal Privilege of *coining Money*, and obliges her to take care that the Gold and Silver Species are of a good Allay, and put as soon as possible on a good Footing; on Condition nevertheless that she shou'd not alter the Value, without consulting the *States*, and having their Approbation.—The 10th obliges her Majesty not to go out of the Kingdom, but with their Consent.—The 11th says, that as she can't singly attend and inspect all Affairs, considering the Extent of the Kingdom, she shall be assisted by the *Senators* and *Intendants* of Provinces, and other Officers.—The 12th prescribes the Method of making *Senators*, which is, that 24 of the Body of the *Nobility*, 12 of the *Clergy*, and as many of the *Burghers*, shall meet together, and after having taken an *Oath* to keep it secret, must unanimously agree between themselves upon the Choice of those whom they think the most capable and worthy of that Dignity, by naming three for each vacant Place, which her Majesty may fill up with whoever of the three she pleases. *N. B.* The same Article provides, that not one of the *Electors* shall be chosen or named, and that no *Senator's* Place, becoming vacant after the Separation of the *States*, shall be fill'd up but at a new *Diet*, which fixes the Number of *Senators* to 24, and does not allow above two out of one Family, either nearly related by Blood, or otherwise, much less three Brothers.—The 13th obliges her Majesty always to govern the Kingdom by the Advice of the *Senators*.—The 14th requires, that they (saving the Allegiance and the Respect due to her Majesty and their Country) should give all the Council and Advice that they judge most sound and beneficial, with the greatest Disinterestness and Impartiality, and without any humane Respect to their Relations and Friends; and avoiding to encourage, either actively or passively, the introducing *Arbitrary Power*, on Pain of Loss of Life, Honour, and Estate.—The 15th will have them all give their Advice when the Necessities of the *State* demand it, or at least ten of them, (when there are no more at hand) and to be responsible for the evil Administration of any Affairs that shou'd arrive through their Negligence. It adds that, in Case of an Equality of Voices among the *Senators*, her Majesty shall have the casting Vote, and turn the Scale to which Side she pleases.—The 16th directs, that if her Majesty shou'd be absent, or indisposed, the Administration of Affairs is to be regulated by the Plurality of Suffrages in the *Senate*; and that if the *Senators* happen to be equally divided upon two Opinions, that which is approv'd of by the eldest shall be follow'd; also, that if the Throne become vacant by the Death of her Majesty, there are no hereditary Princes; the Government is to be in the *Senate's* Hands, till the *States* assemble to elect a Successor, according to the Method prescribed in the Act of *Election*.—The 17th impowers the *Senators*, who are Presidents of *Colleges*, to give their best Orders and Directions to their Deputies to demand an Account of their Dispatches, that they may inform her Majesty of what is necessary relating to them.—The 18th assigns to every Court of Justice a *Senator* for President, who must have for Colleagues a Vice-President, and four Assistants; the two first whereof are to have no other Allowance than their ordinary Salaries, as regulated by the State. It also provides that no Gentleman shall be condemned by any

any other Tribunal than that of the Royal Court, call'd *Hofratten*, when it concerns Loss of Life or Honour, according to the Privileges of the Nobility, &c.—By the 19th, The *College of War* is to have a *Senator* for President, with two others of the same Rank for his Colleagues, (who must all three be well versed in the Knowledge of Military Affairs) a General of the *Artillery*, a General *Quarter-Master*, and two *Councillors* of War who understand Accounts. This *College* is to take care of the Land Forces and the *Artillery*, both in the Garrisons and the Army; to keep the *Fortifications* in good Order; make new ones when Necessity requires it, and call the *Colonels* to an Examination about the cloathing the Regiments committed usually to their Management; after which, all the Papers of the *College* shall be laid before, and referred to the *Chamber of Accompts*.—By the 20th, The *Forces*, both by Land and Sea, with their respective Officers, are obliged to take an Oath of *Fidelity* to her *Majesty*, the Kingdom and the *States*, according to the Form appointed for this purpose. The Contracts made with the *Peasants* and the *Cities*, for the Subsistence of the Infantry and Sailors, are to be observ'd; and if the Lands of any private Person have been assign'd, or given unjustly to any Officer, it shall be lawful for the true Proprietor to resume them by the Course of Justice.—By the 21st, No *Colonel*, nor any other Officer, is allow'd, without Leave given by her *Majesty* in full *Senate*, to march any Soldiers out of their ordinary Quarters, and that on pain of Loss of Life and Honour.—By the 22d, The *College of Admiralty* must have for President a *Senator Admiral General*, with all the other *Admirals* and Sea Officers that are present for his Colleagues; but (as the *College* is now at *Carelsbroon* with the Fleet,) it is ordered that a *Senator*, well versed in Naval Affairs, shall always assist at all the Debates in the *Senate* relating to it; and this *College* is to take care of the Naval Forces of the Kingdom, of the *Men of War*, *Frigates*, *Gal-lies*, *Brigantines*, &c. built or to be built, well provided, and kept in good Order.—By the 23d, The *Chancery College* shall have for President a *Senator*, and he for Colleagues three others of the same Rank, with a *Chancellor* of the Court, and three *Secretaries of State*. This *College* is to draw up all the *Statutes*, *Decrees* and *Ordinances* of the Kingdom in general; and the *Charters* of *Cities*, and *Privileges* of private Persons in particular; together with *Full Powers*, *Letters Patent*, *Credentials*, *Acts of the Diet*, *Treaties of Peace*, and *Alliances*, &c.—By the 24th, The President of the *Chancery* is to admit no one who has not a suitable Capacity; and Choice must be made of four Gentlemen, who, by their Studies and Travels in Foreign Countries, and their natural Ingenuity, have acquired the necessary Knowledge of the World and of Business; who must be employ'd in the *College* under the Name of *Cancellie-Yonkar*, or young Gentlemen of the *Chancery*. These must have certain Salaries, and (after taking the appointed Oaths) be allowed for their Instruction to see and examine the *Archives*, and other Pieces proper to give the justest Ideas, and best Insight into the real Situation of Affairs both Abroad and at Home.—By the 25th, The *Chamber of Accompts*, and the *Stadt Comptoir*, must have a *Senator* for President, with another for his Colleague, and the other *Councillors* of the *Chamber* for Associates: And all who have the Management of the *Revenues*, and Expences of the *Court*, must give them an Account, and receive their Orders from them. This *College* is to take

a particular Care, that these and other Revenues are faithfully deposited in the *State Comptoir* Chest, and that the *Regalia Fisci* are neither alienated nor neglected. The Subjects are not to be over-charg'd with Taxes, but when the Publick Service indispensably requires it; nor any one shan't be laid upon the People without the *States* Consent, no more than any Mony taken out of the *State Comptoir* Chest, without the Consent and Knowledge of the *States* or the *Senate*; excepting however, a small Sum not exceeding 50 Rix-Dollars, which is to be always at her Majesty's Disposal, or delivered to her single Orders. The *Chamber of Accompts* must have the supervising of the Directors of the Customs, and constitute Visitors over them. The entire Disposal of them must belong to the *Stadt Comptoir*, which is to pay the *Clerks* and other Persons employ'd by the State, as also most of the Revenues of the *Kingdom*.—By the 26th, the President of the *College of Mines* is to be likewise a *Senator*, and to have for Colleagues two Councillors of the Mines with four Assistants, who shall overlook and have the Care of every thing that relates to the Improvement of the Mines and Machines, &c.—By the 27th, The *College of Commerce* is to have another *Senator* for its President, with two Councillors, four Assistants and two Commissioners, who must be Merchants, and have their fix'd Salaries. And in case of any Business of Consequence, relating to Trade or Manufactures, they are obliged (jointly with the Magistrates of Cities) to hear the Opinion of the Citizens who are Tradesmen, and the Manufacturers both Foreigners and Natives, before they determine any thing.—By the 28th, The *College of Revision* is left upon the same Foot it was before, with a *Senator* for President, and the usual Assistants, to revise the Annual Revenues of the Crown; the Causes that are brought before them, by way of Appeal, from the Sentences of other Tribunals which have judged them already.—According to the 29th, The first *Marshal of the Court* must be a *Senator*, and be Comptroller of the Royal Table, Palaces and Stables, &c.—The 30th ordains, That the *Stadtholder*, or Governor of the City, (as the Governor of *Stockholm* is call'd here) being likewise a *Senator*, shall take care that good Policy and Order be observed throughout the City and Suburbs; and as Chief of the *Citizens*, have, jointly with the first *Magistrate*, an Eye upon the Preservation of their *Privileges* and *Rights*, assist at the *Reviews* to be made of the aforesaid *Citizens*, and order all the *Executions*, and other things annex'd to his Office.—According to the 31st, All the *Colleges* are obliged to be reciprocally assistant to, and help each other in every thing that regards the Welfare of the Crown, and the People in general; and to render ever Year a faithful Account of their Administration, both Publick and Private, to the *States* assembled.—By the 32d, The Charge of the *Provinces* and *Districts*, &c. of the *Kingdom* is committed to *Landsordings*, who are to rule them without the Title of Governors; and the *Lifgeddings*, consisting in Lands, &c. given heretofore to *Queens* (such as the late Grandmother of her Majesty now reigning had at *Wastena*) are abolished.—By the 33d, Those *Landsordings* are to see the Arable Fields, &c. regularly cultivated, receive the Revenues of the Country; and give a yearly Account of them.—By the 34th, Her Majesty is not to give any Employment of Consequence, without the Advice and Consent of the *Senate*; but when any Place is vacant, (for Instance in any *College*) three Persons are to be

pre-

presented to her of known Integrity and Capacity, out of whom she may chuse which she pleases to fill the Vacancy. As for Military Offices, the *States* are to have the Distribution and Disposal of all above the degree of a *Lieutenant-Colonel*. No Strangers are to have any important Post in the Kingdom.—By the 35th, her Majesty is desired not enoble so many as formerly, but only such as shall signalize themselves, by rendring some considerable Services to their Country.—By the 36th, She will call the *States* together every third Year, and oftner if the Publick Welfare requires it; then an Account of what has passed since their last Separation, and the present Posture of Affairs, must be laid before them. They are likewise to examine into the Conduct of the *Senate*, whether they had the Welfare of the Kingdom in view, or not. During the Absence, any dangerous Sickness, or the Death of her Majesty, the *Senators* may call the *States* together; but if there shou'd be no Male Heir, (in whose Name they may summon them) they are to meet of their own Accord, the 30th Day after the *Queen's* Decease, which must be immediately published by Order of the *Senate*, and by the Care of the Administrators of the *House of the Nobility*, the *Archbishop of Upsal*, and the *Landsfogdings* of Provinces and Districts, to the End it may be known timely by all those whom it concern'd.—By the 37th, the *Nobility* reserve to themselves the Right and Power of chusing their *Marshal*; and when there is to be a Division of the *States*, for the Examination of any private Affair, or any secret Conferences, each of them may name and chuse out of their respective Bodies such Members, in whom they believe they can best confide, to compose a Secret Committee with those of the other States. At the Beginning of every Diet, the *Talamenars*, or Orators of the assembled States, must name and chuse unanimously a *Secretary* of the Peasants, to digest into Writing what is requisite.—By the 38th, The *Nobility* of *Esthonia*, *Livonia* and *Oësilia* are to be re-establish'd and confirm'd in their *Rights* and *Privileges*, as soon as these Provinces shall be re-united to her Majesty's Dominions, by a happy Peace.—By the 39th, Her Majesty, on the like Terms, is to have the same just Regard and Consideration for those of her *German* Provinces.—By the 40th, She confirms the *Charters* and *Privileges* of all the Cities in the Kingdom. This Form of Government was Sign'd by the *Marshal* of the *Nobility*, the *Archbishop of Upsal*, the first *Burgomaster* of *Stockholm*, and the *Secretary* of the Peasants; and was afterwards ratify'd and sign'd by the *Queen*.

In the mean while, the People would have Baron Goertz to be sacrificed to their Resentment and Hatred. He was generally cry'd out against as the Author of the Misfortunes and Misery of the Kingdom. The Politicians said, That after having ruin'd the Army in *Norway*, he design'd to bring the *Russians* into the Heart of *Sweden*, and set up the Duke of *Holstein* for King, and the Princess of *Muscovy* for Queen; that in order to this, he had contriv'd and concerted a Marriage between them, intending to reign himself absolutely over the young Pair. Divers other Projects were ascribed to him, which flatter'd the Views of his *Czarian* Majesty upon *Germany* and *Denmark*, especially in favour of the Duke of *Mecklemburg*. The *Pulpits* and *Market-Places* resounded openly with Invectives against his Administration; they attack'd his very Thoughts and Belief in respect to *God*, gave him the odious Name of *Atheist*, &c. Hearing that he was already condemn'd by the com-

common Voice to die, he chose (contrary to such Aspersions) for his Spiritual Counsellor Dr. *Conrardy*, a Minister of the *German* Church, one of the most learned and moderate among his *Lutheran* Brethren. This Doctor had alone the Liberty to visit the Prisoner; and the better he became acquainted with him, the less he judged him to deserve such Usage and the Fate he was threatned with. His Tryal did not come on till the End of *January*; the chief Articles laid to his Charge are in the *Appendix*. His Defence was kept very secret; and I had, with a great Difficulty, the following Answers to three of them, as well as the Abstract of his Process; these three Articles are, 1. His being taxed with the Invention of the *Imaginary Species* of Paper and Copper. 2. With having advis'd the King to continue the War, and to his two Campaigns in *Norway* during the hardest Season. 3. With the Design to ruin the *Swedish* Army there; and as half of it perished in 1716, and a good part before the King's Death, &c. and to bring the Enemy into the Heart of *Sweden*. He defended himself so eloquently, that it was not judged necessary to grant him Council as he demanded; nor leave to sit down, which his Weakness, caused by his new Course of Life, being depriv'd of his Cooks, or rather by his fasting, made him desire; and they examin'd him for near two Hours at each Time, always standing.

To the Articles of the *Imaginary Species*, of War, &c. he said, " That he had but conform'd to the Scheme of them which had been
 " form'd at *Stralsund* by some of the King's Counsellors; that indeed
 " 'twas a Misfortune to the Publick, that the *Deputation* had been re-
 " duced to the Necessity of issuing a Quantity so little proportionable
 " to that of the good Money, and of having recourse to Remedies so
 " violent and so burthensome to the Subject, which was entirely con-
 " trary to his Intentions; but that, violent as they were, if such
 " Measures had not been taken, *Sweden* must have been forced to sub-
 " mit to the Yoke designed her by her Enemies, which wou'd have
 " been a much greater Misfortune. That, as a Proof he had not ad-
 " vised the King to continue the War, (to which his Majesty, with-
 " out being prompted, as they but too well knew, was sufficiently
 " inclined) was the holding the Congress at the Isle of *Loffo*; to which
 " he had induced the *Czar*, as well as his Majesty, to consent, at a
 " time when those two Princes were the most exasperated against
 " each other. That the principal End of this Congress was to divide
 " the Pontentates who had entred into an *Alliance* against *Sweden*;
 " and first to deliver the Kingdom from the most powerful of its Ene-
 " mies, the *Czar*; whilst his *Swedish* Majesty was employ'd in redu-
 " cing the King of *Denmark* to Reason by Force of Arms. That
 " Things were already settled upon such a good Footing, that if his
 " Majesty's Death had not of a sudden chang'd the Scene, they cou'd
 " not fail of meeting with as happy and unexpected a Success, as
 " *France* had done at the Congress of *Utrecht*, in the same, or at
 " least as dangerous a *Crisis*. That, as to his Intention to ruin the
 " Army and the King, wherewith they charged him, *God*, who on-
 " ly knew what pass'd in the Hearts of Men, cou'd bear him Wit-
 " nefs no such Thought had ever entred into his:" He added, " That
 " besides he had done nothing without his Majesty's Orders, he was
 " so far from advising him to lay any Burthen on his People, but
 " what was absolutely necessary, (as that of the last *Placaert* was,) " that

“ that he never sent a Penny out of *Sweden* but for the publick Use,
 “ and cou’d prove, that he had spent a good deal of his own Mo-
 “ ney in his Majesty’s Service ; nay, that he even refused 4 *per Cent.*
 “ which that Prince offer’d him as a Present or Reward upon all the
 “ Money that was under his Management, or that he could borrow ;
 “ begging *his Majesty* to suspend this Reward, till such time as the
 “ Affairs and *Finances* of the Kingdom should be restored to that
 “ prosperous Condition wherein he hoped to see them ; which he so
 “ ardently wish’d for, and so sincerely endeavour’d to bring about.”
 He alledged, as a considerable Service render’d to the trading Part of
 the Kingdom, “ his having mitigated the Severity of the Regulation
 “ of the *Privateers*, of which so many Complaints had been made, by
 “ prevailing on *his Majesty* to soften it, by the *Passports* he himself
 “ and his Majesty’s Ministers in *England, Holland, &c.* gave to Ma-
 “ sters of Ships, which this Prince wou’d not at first so much as hear
 “ of ; of which *Regulation*, ’twas well known, he neither had been
 “ Adviser nor Contriver.” But neither the Zeal he so eloquently plead-
 ed for the Publick, neither the King’s Authority for all his Actions,
 nor whatever he alledged for his Justification at his different Examina-
 tions, cou’d save him. As soon as Dr. *Conrardy* saw his Life in Dan-
 ger, he went to beg of the *Queen* “ not to begin her Reign with
 “ Blood, but rather with a generous Pardon of Offences ;” when, at
 the same time, several of the Clergy made their utmost Efforts to in-
 duce that Princess, naturally inclin’d to Clemency, to resent and punish
 those Offences ; representing to her Majesty, “ with what Haughti-
 “ ness and Contempt that Stranger had treated her during her Royal
 “ Brother’s Life ; and above all, how despotically he had carry’d on his
 “ tyrannical Projects, ever since he had found Means to gain that
 “ Prince’s Confidence,” &c.

Her Majesty, however, being moved by the Doctor’s Remonstran-
 ces, answer’d, “ That she could very willingly forgive the *Baron* what-
 “ ever he had done against her Person, and more ; but that, holding her
 “ Crown from the *States*, after *God*, she neither could nor would, without
 “ their Consent and Concurrence, pass by the Injuries done to the *Pub-*
 “ *lick.*” Thereupon this worthy Clergyman address’d himself to the *States*,
 to obtain their Consent ; but in vain : He gave himself as much Trouble
 to save the Prisoner, as the others (besides a great many Enemies he had
 among the Nobility, and both Civil and Military Officers in the King-
 dom) did more effectually to destroy him. He was condemn’d to be
 beheaded, and buried at the Foot of the Gallows, where all the Rob-
 bers and Highwaymen are hang’d, situated on one of the high Roads
 half a quarter of a Mile from the City. The *Sentence* of his Condem-
 nation was read to him on the 11th of *March*, after degrading and
 taking from him all his Titles of Honour ; and the *Order of the Orange*,
 wherewith he had been honour’d by the King of *Prussia*, was sent back
 to that Prince. The Substance of his *Sentence* was, “ That *George*
 “ *Henry Goertz* was condemned to lose his Head at the Foot of the
 “ Gallows, and be there buried by the Hands of the Hangman, for
 “ having render’d the Fidelity of his Subjects suspected to the late
 “ King *Charles XII.*—For having destroyed the Confidence his Maje-
 “ sty reposed both in the Senate, the Colleges of Chancery and War,
 “ and the *Stadt-Comptoir* ; and by that Means removing the *Ministers*
 “ that were most zealous for *his Majesty*, and the Welfare of the King-
 “ dom,

“ dom, from the Management of the most important State Affairs ;—
 “ For having ruin'd the Publick Credit, stript the Subjects of what lit-
 “ tle good Money, *Bank Bills*, and other solid Effects, they had left ;—
 “ For having encouraged that Prince to continue the War by his
 “ Councils, and the tyrannick Ways he had invented furnish'd him with
 “ Supplies, by abusing the Authority with which his Majesty had en-
 “ trusted him ;—For having sown Divisions, and created Misunder-
 “ standings between *Sweden*, and the Potentates her most ancient and
 “ sincere Friends and Allies ;—For having been the Author of all the grea-
 “ test Evils the Kingdom ever groan'd under, since he had found Means
 “ to advance himself to the Head of Affairs ; and several other capital
 “ Reasons too well known, and extracted from his Actions and Papers.

He heard this *Sentence* read (as was reported) with a constant and serene Countenance, and with a Resolution that seem'd not to be daunted by the Fear of Death ; but thinking the *Article* of being buried under the *Gallows*, where Felons and Highwaymen were hang'd, excessively severe and ignominious, he drew up a Petition to the *States*, of which Mr. *Conradi* took the Charge ; wherein he desir'd Permission to give an Account of the *Finances*, whereof he had the Direction, and begg'd them to mitigate the *Sentence* with Regard to his *Body*, by suffering either his *Friends* or *Domesticks* to have the Disposal of it after the *Execution*. Both these were refused him ; and during five or six Days that were granted him to prepare himself for Death, he wrote his own *Epitaph*, in the following Words ; *Fides erga Regem & Ducem, Mors Regis, mors mea* ; and had a Suit of black Velvet made for him, with Shoulder-straps fasten'd with Buttons. His *Domesticks*, who had in vain desired the Liberty to see him during his Confinement, saw him the 19th in the Morning, when he came out for the Place of *Execution*, and were allow'd to pay him their last Duty, by carrying behind him a Coffin to put his Body in, after its Separation from the Head, and bury it in the Grave dug near it. Not the least Alteration or Sign of Fear was seen in his Countenance ; on the contrary, perceiving on both Sides the *Prison Gate* his *Domesticks* with Tears in their Eyes, he said to them, *Don't weep, my Friends ; there are no Friends, no Masters, nor no Servants so good, but must one Day part* ; and afterwards he added, with a little Smile, to one of them, whose Name was *Duval*, who had been his Cook, and then his Steward, *I shall eat no more of your good Soups, Duval*. At the same time he entred into a hired Coach, that had been granted to carry him, having made Mr. *Conradi* get in first ; and as it froze very hard, and the Cold was very piercing, he ask'd for his furr'd Clock, wherewith he used to travel, which was given him and thrown over his Shoulders. This done, the Procession began, consisting, besides several thousands Spectators, of above 200 Guards arm'd with Pikes. As soon as the Coach arriv'd at the Foot of the *Gallows*, he came out, with his Hat on ; and having view'd the Beholders, on the right and left, with a resolute and sedate Look, amongst whom were above 60 Priests, whose Presence (to say the Truth) was not very edifying at the Place, he ask'd Mr. *Conradi*, *If he thought it proper for him to make a short Speech ?* But he advised him to the contrary. After this, not seeing any *Scaffold*, he enquired where the *Block* was ; which was shewn him, lying upon a Heap of Sand, about four or five Paces from the Coach, by the same Person, who held him by the Hand, and conducted him to it. As soon

soon as he was near enough to it, he gave his Hat and Wig to his *Valet de Chambre*, who in the room of them put him on a Night-cap; after which he himself unbutton'd the Shoulder-Straps of his Coat, whilst the other took off his Cravat; then laying himself flat upon the Ground, with his Neck upon the Block, he said in *High Dutch* loud enough to be heard by several, *Satiate thy self, Sweden, with the innocent Blood you so much thirst after.* The Executioner advancing at the same time, was stopt a Minute by Mr. *Conradi*, who, giving him 20 Ducats, told him, "He wou'd excommunicate him, if he touch'd the Body with his Hands, or any thing that belong'd to it, after its Separation from the Head." He promised that he wou'd not; and that Moment cut it off very dextrously at one Stroke: Which done, all the Blood having run out, the *Domesticks* put the Body and Head of their dear Master into the *Coffin*, bedewing it with Tears, and let it down into the Grave, which was not deep, on account of the Ground being frozen, covering it first with the Sand which had drank up his Blood, and afterwards filling it up with Earth.

The History of the Hangman at *Stockholm*, is remarkable enough to deserve being related: He was bred in *Smoland*, where he kept Goats; and being one Day (when a Child about 10 Years old) at Play, after such an Execution, with his Comrades, who had either seen or heard of it, he propos'd to choose one amongst them who should represent the Criminal, with Judges to sentence him, and that he would be the Executioner; which being done, the Person condemn'd went to his Mother to desire his best Cloaths, saying that he was going to be Beheaded; as she only imagin'd it to be Child's Play, she gave them to him, and being well cloath'd, he went to the Place design'd for Execution, whither he was accompanied by his Play-Fellows; one of which acted the Priest, and they play'd all their Parts so much to the Life, that the young Executioner actually cut off the Child's Head that was condemn'd. This tragical Diversion might perhaps have been continued by the others, (who hardly knew what Life was, far from knowing the nature of Death) so much they were pleas'd with it, if some body happening to pass by, and see, with all the Horrour that may be well imagin'd, this first Essay, had not hinder'd its going any further. The Parents of the dead Child rent the Air with their Cries; those of the others whip'd theirs, especially the Executioner, who was deliver'd up into the Hands of Justice; and he being judged too young, and too ignorant of the Nature of the Crime committed, to die, was condemn'd to exercise the Profession, of which he had just made such a cruel Experiment, as soon as he came to Age; and which he has since done with a great deal of Dexterity, having never (as is said) fail'd of Severing a Head at one Stroke. Note, this is the most usual Punishment in *Sweden*; where, for one that is hang'd, a hundred lose their Heads. Amongst others, I have seen him behead a Husband who had left his Wife, and a Wife who had left her Husband, and had been taken flying together, and convicted of double Adultery; and two single Women, for having lain in without Midwives, and expos'd their Children (which were found dead) in the Streets in the Night. He seem'd to be about 40 Years old, is well made, and cloathed in Blue, like a Military Officer.

I return to Baron *Goertz*, whom I have seen beheaded by that Man in the aforesaid manner. That Nobleman was certainly endued with many extraordinary Qualities: In a word, a fine and great Man, whe-

ther we consider his Body or his Mind ; tho' a greater Projector than successful Carrier on of his Projects : He spoke little and well ; nor was he less Master of his Pen ; he understood well the managing of the *Finances*, and was a great Admirer of Mr. *Laws*. As to the Atheism whereof some accused him, those who knew him best, affirm'd that he was not the least tinctur'd with it nor Prophaness ; that they had never heard him either Swear, or prostitute the Name of the *Divinity* ; that, on the contrary, he had often declared both freely and publicly, " That one must be worse than a Brute, and entirely destitute " of Sense and Reason, to deny a Supreme *Being*, who is Sovereign " Governor of the Universe, and had given it the Form, and pre- " serves it in the Order wherein we see it ; an Order, which makes " it evident to any one that will not shut both the Eyes and Ears of his " Understanding." They own'd, that he might indeed pass for a better *Deist* than *Christian* : He had declared pretty openly, " That he ra- " ther looked upon the Books of *Moses* as politick than divinely In- " spir'd ; and that he thought them full of divers wise Maxims pro- " per to keep Men in the Respect and Obedience due to their Governors " and Superiors ; but That he only found Temporal Promises in them, " which did not at all favour the strange Transition (as he call'd " it) to *Immortality* by Death, of which the New Testament gave " Hopes." They added, that these might rather be looked upon as Objections made by his Reason, than his real Sentiments ; that as to the rest, if they were so, Mr. *Conradi* had *Christianised* or rectified them in his Prison, by teaching him to submit his Reason to his Faith ; and in effect, that Priest has himself given this Testimony of him, that he died as a Christian.

In the mean while, the Day for the Obsequies of *Charles XII.* having been appointed and proclaimed by a Herald, (accompanied by Six Trumpets and a Kettle Drum) upon all the usual publick Places in the City and Suburbs, two Gentlemen of the Court invited the four States to assist at it ; and all Things being in readiness on the 26th, they who were to compose the Funeral Convoy went in the Order suitable to their Ranks, to take the Body of this Prince from the Palace of *Calberg*, to transport and inter it in the Royal Sepulchre at *Ridderholm*. The Coffin, wherein he lay, was set between Five and Six in the Evening upon a Chariot, (or rather a *Sledge*, for it had no Wheels) entirely cover'd with black Cloth, and over it was a Pall of the same coloured Velvet lin'd with Ermin, and thick embroidered with Crowns of Gold of different Sizes. At the Head of the Coffin was placed the Crown upon a Cushion also of black Velvet, and four *Councillors* of the *Chamber* took upon them to carry the other *Regalia*. A Canopy of the same also starred or embroidered thick with Crowns like the Pall, and supported by eight Pillars cover'd with Cloth of Gold, form'd a rich Heaven over this Sledge, which was drawn by Eight Horses entirely covered with black Velvet, hanging down to their very Feet, and having on each a Cross of two long Pieces of white Sattin sowed to the Velvet : These were led by Eight Gentlemen of the Court instead of Grooms, all in long Mourning Cloaks. The Order of the Funeral Procession, from *Calberg* to *Ridderholm*, was almost after this manner : Flambeaus were regularly placed on both sides the Way upon Posts 10 or 12 Paces from each other, forming two Lines, with some Regiments of Foot which were ranged by

by Seven and Seven between the Intervals of the flaming Posts. At the Head of the Cavalcade rode the Burghers. The *Lieb-Squadron*, or the Life Squadron, which properly consists of about 300 Guards *du Corps*, followed softly in good Order on Horseback. Upon whom it may not be amiss to make the following little Digression.

King *Charles XI.* formed a little Squadron of 200 Life Guards, whom he call'd *Drabants*, which he honoured by being himself Captain, creating a Colonel as Captain-Lieutenant, and a Lieutenant-Colonel as Lieutenant under him; which were picked, as well as the private Men, out of some Regiments of Horse; giving to the first 120 Crowns a Month, to the second 80, to a Corporal 25, and to every private *Drabant* between 8 and 10, with his Cloaths and Accoutrements. *Charles XII.* out-doing his Father, took for his Captain-Lieutenant a Major-General, and a Colonel for his Lieutenant, and chose all the Officers, as well as the private *Drabants*, from amongst several Regiments, allowing 100 Ducats a Month to the first, 150 Crowns to the second, 50 to every Corporal, and 30 Crowns to every single *Drabant*, with his Cloaths, Horse and Accoutrements. These were all fine picked Men, of an approved Courage and Valour. After this Prince's Arrival at *Bender* but few of these were remaining, above three quarters of them, being part of almost a Million of Men then sacrificed by that *Hero* to the *God* of War. After his Return to his own Dominions, he advanced those that were living, by incorporating them into other Regiments according to their Rank, their Services, or the Share they had had in his Royal Favour. In the room of these *Drabants* he substituted the *Lieb-Squadron*, which is also properly the Life-Guard, was himself also the Captain, had a Major-General for his Captain-Lieutenant, and a Colonel for Lieutenant; but their Pay was little more than that of a Colonel, and the private Guards had but 8 or 10 Pence a Day, with their Cloaths, Horse and Accoutrements.

To return to the Cavalcade: After the *Lieb-Squadron* came two Heralds with Six Trumpets and a Kettle-Drum, all on Horseback; the second sounding, and the last beating mournfully by Intervals; as did the Trumpets and Drums of the other Regiments.—Then the Court Steward, who is there call'd the second Marshal of the Court, on Foot, with a Silver Staff in his Hand, and follow'd by the Officers of the Court, with some Adjutant-Generals, &c.—Then the Marshal of the Nobility also on Foot, with the same sort of Staff, at the Head of the Nobles; and both those who composed the first, and those of the second, walked three by three.—Two Heralds riding before a Coach and Six Horses, who were entirely covered with long black Cloths hanging down to the very Bottom of their Feet, so that no part of their Bodies cou'd be seen; but yet so exactly made, that their Shapes might be discovered as those that drew the Funeral Sledge. In the Coach was the great Master of the Court, who is there call'd the Superior Marshal; his Office answers almost to that of the *Magister Officiorum* to the *Roman* Emperors.—The Funeral Sledge, upon which eight Colonels held the Canopy, being accompanied by the Captain-Lieutenant and Lieutenant of the *Lieb-Squadron*, with two Adjutant-Generals walking, the two first on each side the Head of the Coffin, and the two last at the Foot, and four Councillors of the Chamber, carrying the *Regalia* just by them, and four Chamberlains holding the four Corners of the Pall, which four Senators also on Foot took from

them, and held, after they had walk'd two thirds of the Way.—Immediately after the Sledge follow'd two Colonels, carrying the Standard of the Kingdom. All these had by their Sides the Court Pages and Footmen, with 30 or 40 Guards, holding Partisans in their Hands, which all together made two little walking Columns one on each Side.—The Hereditary Prince of *Hesse Cassel* and the Duke of *Holstein* were in a Mourning Coach and Six Horses, covered like the foregoing ones, with their Retinues on Foot.—Six Senators were in eight other Mourning Coaches and Six.—Sixteen other Mourning Coaches, with a Pair of Horses, with Cloths, only with Harnesses covered with black, in which were several of the Head Officers of the Army, down to Lieutenant-Colonel, with other Persons of Condition.—The Burghers stop'd on a Place about 60 Paces from the *Ridderholm* on the Right Hand; and the *Lieb-Squadron* on another just by that Island on the Left; so that, with the Advantage they had over the Infantry, and the Torch-bearers, they fronted the Cavalcade when it pass'd by. The Head, and some Members of the Procession, to avoid incommoding or stopping those that followed, took great part of them, at their Arrival in the Church, the Places assign'd them by the Master of the Ceremonies, according to their Ranks; as had before done a great many of the three Estates, the Ladies, and other Persons who had not been of the Cavalcade, all in Mourning, no body being admitted that was not. The Funeral Sledge being come to the Door of the Church, which was also hung with black Cloth, and illuminated with several thousand Tapers and Lamps, 20 Colonels rais'd up the Royal Coffin, and carry'd it in to a magnificent *Mausolæum*, erected before the Altar; the four Senators continuing to hold up the Pall, eight Major-Generals the eight Columns of the Canopy, a Senator taking the principal Staff of the Standard, which the two Colonels had brought thither, they still helping him to carry it by Supporters fastned to it, and four other Senators bearing the *Regalia*, which they received from the Councillors before-mentioned. During this, the Treasurer of the Court on Horseback, in the midst of six Troopers, and as many Foot Soldiers, threw amongst the People Funeral Medals of Silver of the Size of a * *Carolin*, having on one side the *Effigies* of the deceased King, with these Words, *Carolus XII. D. G. Rex Sueciæ*; and on the other, *Natus est D. 17 Jun. A. D. 1682. occub. D. 30 Nov. A. D. 1718.*

* A Silver Piece of Money worth 20 Swedish Pence, and about 14 English.

On both Sides of the *Mausolæum*, which was erected in the Shape of a Pyramid, illuminated by 500 Tapers, and ending in a sort of Urn, over which was a Regal Crown, were two Inscriptions in large Golden Characters upon a black Ground; whereof that on the Right gave an Account of the deceased Hero's Success for Nine Years; and that on the Left of his Misfortunes for an equal Space of Time. The Ecclesiastical Ceremonies, (which, with the Funeral Oration spoken by the Bishop of *Lincoping* who officiated, lasted from before Eight till a good while after Midnight,) being just ended, all the Senators, (except those who held up the Pall,) took up the Coffin to let it down into the Royal Sepulchre; at which time began a Discharge of 300 Cannon, and another of all the small Arms in the City; and lastly, after a Psalm was sung, and the Blessing given, every one being ready to go out of the Church, and putting himself in the Order prescribed for that purpose, there were two other Discharges made as the first.

Some

Some Days after Numbers of *Funeral Medallions*, of which the Figure is in the Print XXXII. N. 2. were sent in Gold to the Persons of the first Rank, and in Silver to those of the second. I was at the *Ombutzrod Mullern* when he received a Gold one; and casting my Eyes on the Reverse, and seeing the Lion bound or intangled with Cords, which he strives to break with his Paws and Teeth, I could not forbear telling him, that this, with the *Indocilis Pati* (save the good Meaning of the Author) had much of a *Satyr*, and would confirm the Idea which too many had conceived of that Prince; which considering, he said, that he did not indeed see any great *Encomium* in it. This Gentleman died soon after; had been much beloved by his late Majesty, who used to visit him almost every Day in *Turkey*, and had raised him to the Dignities mention'd in this Volume, on account of his Merit, as well as that of Love; and tho' he was pretty aged, I believe his dear Master's Death had great Share in his, for he fell sick soon after, and never well recovered. The *Lutherans* in *Germany* struck one Medal for his Majesty, which does him a great deal more Honour, with the Chronogram, N. 5. Print XXXVII. as they did formerly for *Gustavus Adolphus* N. (1) in the same Print, on his Triumphs and Victories, out of a pious Acknowledgment for his devoting his Sword gloriously for their Religion; and at last divers others, upon the Death of that Northern Hero kill'd at *Lutzen* also in *November An. 1632*. Amongst others, that represented N. 2. in the said Print, which I have by me in Silver.

Whilst the Publick were thus taken up with the Obsequies of the late King, the Domesticks of Baron *Goertz* dug up his Body, and carried it with the Head to the House where they lodged; when cutting off the Legs, as being too cumbersome, and having pickled or embalmed it as well as they cou'd, and put it in a travelling Chest, they transported it some few Days afterwards to the other side of the *Baltick*. A few Days after I received from *Constantinople* the third Letter in the *Appendix*, concerning the Peace concluded between the Emperor and the *Turks*; by which the former is to remain in Possession of *Belgrade* and *Temiswaer*, with all their Dependancies.

The Preparations for the Coronation of the Queen being made at *Upsal*, her Majesty came to that City; and on the 17th, about Nine in the Morning, the Three Estates of the Clergy, the Citizens and the Peasants, with the Ladies of Distinction, and others, went to take the Places assign'd them, according to their Rank, by the Master of the Ceremonies, and two Gentlemen of the Court, in the Cathedral Church; where, besides Benches, and other Seats, ranged in Form of an Amphitheatre for the Assistants and Spectators of both Sexes, there were three Thrones, or Silver Elbow Chairs, placed upon a kind of *Suggestums*, or Scaffold of Boards cover'd with Oriental Carpets; the 1st, three Steps high in the middle of the Nave; the 2d, four Steps ten or twelve Paces higher in the Choir; and the 3d also four, near the Altar. The Procession began at Ten a-Clock, and the Order of it, with the Ceremonies which succeeded it, were almost after the following manner. The Life Guards on Horseback, with their Swords drawn, form'd two Lanes from the Governour's House, where the Queen lodged, to the *Trinity Church*; and the Foot Soldiers, with Bayonets at the End of their Muskets, lined both Sides of the Way from thence to the Cathedral. Then (the Drums and Kettle-

Drums

Drums beating, the Trumpets sounding and Hautboys playing) came —1. The Hereditary Prince of *Hesse-Cassel* in a fine Coach and Six Horses, with his Court and two Chamberlains on Foot. His Highness being got to the Church, placed himself in a Box that was made on purpose for him where the *Altar-countertable* stood, which had been taken away; his Chamberlains being behind his Elbow Chair, and the rest of his Retinue here and there in the Places assigned them by the Master of the Ceremonies.—2. Came the Duke of *Holstein* in another Coach and Six, with his Attendants; his Highness took his Seat in the same Box as the Prince, and his Retinue were disposed of as the others.—3. A little after came two Heralds with Six Trumpets and a Kettle Drum, all on Horseback.—4. The second Marshal of the Court on Foot, with his Silver Staff in his Hand, at the Head of the Officers of the Household.—5. The Nobility, having at their Head (instead of their Marshal, who was indisposed) a Governor of a Province who supplied his Place.—6. Two Heralds, accompanied by Six Trumpets and a Kettle Drum on Horseback, like the former.—7. A Field Marshal, in the room of the first Marshal, or Great Master of the Court who was sick, in a Coach and Six, followed by Fourteen Senators, who were two by two in Seven other Coaches and Six Horses; the Eldest of them holding before them, on little Cushions of Cloth of Silver, the *Regalia*, viz. the Crown, the Sceptre, the Globe, Key and Sword.—8. The Queen very richly and finely cloathed, and dressed in her Hair, in a large and magnificent Coach (but something antique, having been made, as was said, for the Marriage of the King her Father) drawn by Eight Horses, led by as many Captains of Foot; the first Equerry performing the Office of Coachman, the second of Postillion, and a Major-General, Governor of a Province, riding before as first Equerry. At the two Coach Doors walked two Captain-Lieutenants of the *Lieb-Squadron*; and on the Right and Left of the Body of the Coach, were a Major-General, and a Colonel of the Regiment of Guards also on Foot, with four Chamberlains and twelve Gentlemen of the Court. Immediately after, and near the two hind Wheels, were two Senators on Horseback, carrying one the Standard of the Kingdom, and the other the Royal Mantle. All these had by their Sides, and behind them, Twenty four young Men of Quality that were Students of the University, and Twenty Guards on Foot, with their Partisans in their Hands.—Lastly, Came an empty Body Coach pretty magnificent, something lesser and more modern than the foregoing, with Six Horses. The Head of the Procession being got as far as the Western Gate of the Church-yard, (where the Heralds dismounted upon a red Cloth, with which the Way was covered from thence to the Altar), all of them (excepting the Trumpets and Kettle Drums, who remain'd without on both sides the Gate) walked on it in the same Order as far as the Choir, at the Entrance of which they stopt. Then the second Marshal of the Court, with the Heralds, and part of those who follow'd them, rang'd themselves in two short Columns on both Sides the Entrance below them. The others, who might have made a Confusion in the Ceremony, and were only to be Lookers-on, filed off to the Right and Left, to take their respective Places assigned them by the Master of the Ceremonies.

The *Queen* alighted at the same Place, and letting her long Train fall and trail upon the Ground, which was immediately taken up by
two

two Chamberlains to hold it, walk'd on towards the *Church*, under a large and magnificent Canopy, supported by Eight Pillars ; which were at first held up by as many Captaints of Foot, and afterwards by Eight Colonels, who took them out of their Hands. In the mean while, besides the Trumpets and Kettle-Drums without Doors, the Cathedral resounded with the Harmony of Forty Instruments within. Her Majesty, on her entring the Church, was received and saluted by the *Archbishops*, *Bishops* and *Superintendents*, cloath'd in their Priestly Vestments ; the *Archbishop* having in his Hand a little Golden Horn, wherein was what they call the * *Sacred Ointment*. Then the Musick ceasing a little, and the Procession making a sort of Halt, the Bishop of *Lincoping* said in a loud Voice, *Blessed is the Person that comes in the Name of the Lord* ; and the Bishop of *Scara* repeated in as loud a one a Prayer suitable to the Occasion. After which, the Musick beginning to play again, the *Archbishop* and Bishops went up to the Altar, on which the first laid his Horn, the *Bishops* ranging themselves on his Right, and the *Superintendents* on his Left. Her Majesty, with those that accompanied her, continuing to walk under the Canopy as before, passed near the first *Throne* without stopping ; then arriving to the second, she ascended it and sat upon it, the *Senators* placing themselves on both sides. Those who carried the *Regalia* went up to the Altar, and put them there ; which done, they return'd and sat near the second *Throne*, on Chairs cover'd with Crimson Velvet ; and the *Archbishop*, *Bishops* and *Superintendents* took their Seats in the Choir ; which having done here or elsewhere, according to his Rank and in good Order, her Majesty kneel'd down upon a Hassock cover'd with Silver Cloth, the Musick ceased, and the Bishop of *Stregnitz* chanted the Hymn *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, or *Come Holy Ghost*, &c. which being sung, her Majesty sat again on the Throne, and the Bishop of *Lincoping* ascended the Pulpit, and took his Text from the 8th Chapter of *Joshua*, Ver. 57, 58. &c. His Sermon being done, he chanted the *Creed*, which was followed by the *Litany* chanted by the Bishop of *Calmar*. This being over, the Musick began to play, and her Majesty arose and advanced to the third *Throne*, being preceded by the *Senators* who had carried the *Regalia*, accompanied by two others, viz. Count *Gyllenstierna* on her Right, and Count Field Marshal *Rheensshield* on her Left, and followed by him that bore the Standard ; and being seated upon it, three of her Ladies of Honour, rising from their Places, came to attend her, and pull'd off the Mantle she had then on, which was given in Charge to the first Chamberlain ; and the *Archbishop* at the same time taking that of the *Coronation* from the Altar, came to put it on her Majesty, being assisted by the two *Senators* before-mentioned, and the same Ladies fastned it on. After this her Majesty descended from the Throne, and kneeled down before a Desk, whereon was a Bible, which the *Archbishop* took, and read the First Chapter of *Joshua* ; which done, he laid it on the same Place ; and Count Horn, President of the Chancery, presented himself before her, dictating aloud the Oath she was to take to the State and the Church, which her Majesty repeated after him, in a clear and in-

* 'Tis a reddish Balm pretty liquid, and which they say is very pretious. The Swedish Priests, of whom I have enquired concerning the Nature of it, made a great Mystery thereupon, whether thro' Ignorance or Design I can't tell ; but they did not say that it was brought from Heaven in this Horn by an Angel, as the French do that wherewith they anoint their Kings, in the Viol called the *Sante Ampoule*.

telligible Voice, laying three Fingers upon the *Bible*; then the *Archbishop*, taking the Golden Horn, anointed her Forehead and Wrists with the *Balm* before-mention'd, which he accompanied with a concise Prayer. This done, her Majesty seated herself again on the *Throne*, and Count *Gyllenstierna* and the *Archbishop* taking each of them the *Regal Crown* from the Altar, put it on her Head, where it was fastned by one of the Ladies of Honour. Then after another Prayer, the *Archbishop* return'd to the *Altar*, and taking the *Sceptre* thence he put it into her Majesty's Right Hand; he did the same by the *Globe*, which she receiv'd also in her Right Hand, putting the *Sceptre* into her Left; then he presented her the *Golden Key*, which she also took in her Right Hand, giving the *Globe* to Count *Horn*, who stood by her Side, with the Bearers of the *Regalia*. Then the *Sword* was brought her, which she also receiv'd in her Right Hand; which *Acts* the *Archbishop* accompanied each with a suitable Prayer, as the two first. Lastly, Her Majesty delivering up the *Sword*, kept only the *Scepter*, *Mantle* and *Crown*. This done, a Herald proclaim'd, with a loud Voice, *Behold the Princess* Ulrica Eleanora, crown'd *Queen of the Swedes, Goths and Vandals, she only, and no other*. Thereupon a Signal given by the great Master of the *Artillery*, the Cannon was fired, and followed by a general Discharge of the small Arms of five Regiments, and the *Te Deum* and *Da Pacem* were sung in *Consort* with the Ecclesiastical *Musick*. Then the Cannon beginning again to fire, her Majesty quitting the 3d *Throne*, went back to the 2d, attended as before; and as soon as she was seated, the 72d *Psalm* was sung in *Consort* with the *Musick*, and followed by a Prayer; after which, she walked to the 1st *Throne*, whereon her Majesty being seated, the 2d Marshal of the Court, accompanied by a Herald, went to the Box where the Hereditary Prince of *Hesse Cassel* was, to whom the latter said aloud, *Most Serene Lord Frederick, Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, Duke of Hirschfelt, Count of Cattenellenbogh, Dietz, Ziegenheim, Nidda, and Schaumbourg, may it please your Highness to come to her Majesty's Throne, there to take the Oath of Fidelity to her, in Quality of Generalissimo of her Armies*. Hereupon the Prince following the Marshal and Herald, approach'd the Throne, and kneel'd down before her Majesty, and kiss'd her Hand; then repeating Word for Word the *Oath*, which was dictated to him by Count *Horn*, again kiss'd her Majesty's Hand: and his Highness return'd to the Box, the Marshal and Herald walking before him. Then the same Herald call'd out to the *Senators* to come to the *Throne* to take the *Oath* of Allegiance to her Majesty, which they did, Count *Horn* dictating it to them, as one of them did afterwards to him. The *Oaths* being taken, all the Musical Instruments in the Church, with the Trumpets, Hautboys, Kettle-drums, and Drums without, made the Heavens resound, accompanied with the firing of the Cannon and small Arms; and the Procession returned from the Church in the same Order which it came in, with only these Alterations, that her Majesty had on the Coronation Mantle, the Crown upon her Head, and the Scepter in her Hand; that the *Senator* who had brought the Royal Mantle on Horseback, was in a Coach like the others; the Treasurer of the *Kingdom* mounted upon a fine Steed, threw amongst the People handfuls of Silver *Medals*, with her *Effigies* on one Side, and the Reverse as (3) Print XXXVII). The Gold and Silver *Medallions* sent afterwards to Persons of Distinction, were as N. (8.) in my Print XXXII.

The

The Queen being arrived at the Gate of the House where she lodg'd, was receiv'd out of the Coach, and led to her Apartment, by the *Prince*; and the *Senators*, who carried the *Regalia*, laid them upon a Table covered with Silver Cloth; then whilst that was getting ready, whereon her Majesty was to eat, an *Ox* roasted whole, with the Belly stuff'd and fill'd with *Kidds*, *Lambs*, &c. and the Body crusted over (if one may use that Expression) with wild and tame Fowls of different sorts, was delivered over to the Populace, with six Fountains of Wine, which ran from as many large Tuns, from Five in the Evening till Nine at Night. Her Majesty being seated at little a Table, placed on purpose for her alone, was serv'd by the *Senators* and other principal Officers; and the general *Illuminations* of the Night prolong'd (if I may so speak) that Day, and made it in a manner but the same one with the 18th; Part of which was spent in publick *Oration*s and *Theses* at the *University*, at which the *Queen* was present, with the *Prince*, the Duke of *Holstein*, and other Persons of *Distinction*; and the *Archbishop*, the *Bishops*, and *Superintendents* had the Honour of dining at the Table with her Majesty, the *Prince*, and the Duke; the Doctors and Professors of the *University*, with all the Clergy of the City, were entertain'd at that of the second Marshal of the Court. On the 20th the *Queen* return'd to *Stockholm*.

C H A P. XIV.

A Treaty of Alliance renewed between Sweden and England. A Peace concluded with his Britannick Majesty as Elector, and the Kings of Prussia, Denmark, and Poland. The Czar's Firey Expedition in Sweden. A Voyage to the Isles of Aland. The Congress of Loffo broken. The Prince of Hesse Cassel's Accession to the Throne, by her Swedish Majesty's generous Resignation of it, &c.

IN the Beginning of *May* the Duke of *Holstein* set out from *Stockholm*, the Cannon firing as he left the City, being accompany'd by the Prince of *Hesse Cassel*, and several Persons of the first Rank, half a Mile out of Town, having received a Present of 50,000 Crowns to defray his Expences to the other Side of the *Baltick*; and a few Days afterwards the *States* came to a Resolution to call in the *Muntetakens* and *Muntscedules*, according to which the ancient *Carolins* continued to go for 25 *Swedish* Pence, as did in Proportion those of Baron *Goertz*, and the Pieces of 5 for 6; excepting that in paying *Customs* the *Caro-*

lins pass'd but for 20, as before, and the Five-penny Pieces for 5. After, a *Placaert* was publish'd, settling the Commerce upon the ancient Footing, and giving Liberty to Merchants to buy all sorts of Commodities, and dispose of them as they should think convenient; the *Muntetekens* were reduced from 32 *d.* to 2 *d.* and State-Bonds were given for them to those who brought them into the Treasury on the Foot of 14 *d.* They also took off much of the Strictness of the Prohibition concerning the Harbours of *Livonia* and *Curland*, in Favour of the Commerce to *Foreigners*. Baron *Peter Ribbing* being dead, the *States* chose Count *Horn*, who had resign'd, for their *Chancellor*, and some Days before for their *Marshal*; and on the 15th of the same Month they broke up, after having had many Debates upon Liberty, and taking all imaginable Precautions and Measures against the Resurrection of Arbitrary Power, which they had just buried with King *Charles XII.* The next Day her Majesty, having her Royal Robes on, came to the Hall where the *Senate* meets, (which was then magnificently hung, and nobly adorned) and sitting on a Silver *Throne*, erected on purpose for her, all the Members of the *States* had the Honour to kiss her Hand, or the Bottom of her Royal Robe, and to take Leave of her Majesty; and those who had not taken the Oaths to her Majesty, either being hinder'd by Sickness, or other Reasons, from assisting at the *Coronation*, took it at the same time. Not long after Mr. *Le Fort*, a *Brigadier* in the Service of his *Czarian* Majesty, came to *Stockholm*, to make the Queen Compliments of Condoleance in his Master's Name on the King's Death, and of Congratulation on her Majesty's Accession to the Throne; so did General *Lovenhor* from the King of *Denmark*; as also Colonel *Bassewitz* from his *Britannick* Majesty, as *Electo*r; who, as King of *Great Britain*, appointed, on the same Day, my Lord *Carteret* his *Embassador*, who arrived at *Stockholm* in the latter End of *June*, to do the same. It appear'd soon that that Nobleman, as well as Colonel *Bassewitz*, had, besides their Compliments, some Instructions or Proposals from their *Royal* Master, towards the Pacification of the *North*: For in the Beginning of *July* his *Excellency* concluded the Preliminary Treaty, renewing the *Alliance* between the Queen of *Sweden* and the King of *Great Britain*; and Colonel *Bassewitz* concluded another between this Prince, as *Electo*r, and her *Swedish* Majesty. My Lord *Carteret* was mediating also the Peace between her, and the Kings of *Prussia* and *Denmark*, &c. which the *Czar* being inform'd of, seem'd to be resolv'd to force that Princess to his own *Terms*, by sending above 300 both *Gallies* and *Galliot*s upon the Coasts of *Sweden*, who burnt and laid waste from the 11th of *July* to the Beginning of *August*, the Towns of *Norkoping*, *Nykoping*, *Noor-Telgia*, *Suder-Telgia*, with a great Number of *Villages*, *Farms*, and *Pleasure-Houses*: Besides this, they destroy'd several *Forges* and *Founderies*, and endeavour'd to burn as far as *Stockholm*, from whence we saw the Flames. Then removing from one Place to another, they landed sometimes 2, sometimes 3000, or more Men, where there was not so many as 300 to oppose them. As for Example, at a Place call'd *Steken*, where they set ashore upwards of 5000, being encounter'd with only 1300 *Swedes*, and having lost above 100 Men, (and the *Swedes* only 19, according to the Computation of the latter) they retired; then went to burn some where-else. In the mean while, the Inhabitants of the burnt Places had fled, and hid themselves in the Woods, with whatever they could carry off from their Houses.

These

These Enemies, not content with this, set Fire even to the Forests, gathering together and piling up the Timber, that was cut and dry, in Heaps, where the Trees were thickest, in order to spread the Flames all over more speedily from one Part to another; so that they seem'd as if resolv'd to make but one single Funeral Pile of all *Sweden*, in which the Inhabitants and their Houses, &c. were at once to be consumed.

During these Transactions Major-General *Coyet* being dispatch'd, in the Name of her *Swedish* Majesty, to thank the *Czar* for the Compliments he had sent her by *Brigadier le Fort*, (assumed his Title of Major-General, contrary to his Instructions, which were not to take a Character above that of *Brigadier*,) having found the *Czar* with his Fleet, consisting of 30 Men of War, at the Streights of *Leyzund*, the only navigable Passage between the Isles of *Aland* for *Abo* or *Revel*, he had his Audience from that Prince on board the Vessel he commanded himself. His *Czarian* Majesty among other things, said, *That he was sorry the Queen of Sweden, and her Counsel, had obliged him to lay waste and destroy her Kingdom, by rejecting, with so much Indifference, the advantageous Proposals he had so long made, and shewing so much Eagerness to accept those that had but just been offer'd by the King of Great Britain*; against whom, if Mr. *Coyet* * may be believed, that Prince inveighed after such a passionate Manner, and in such indecent Expressions, as were not at all suitable to the Royal Dignity, nor was the Major-General commended for publishing them.

* This Gentleman is the same who has been since arrested in Denmark, for traitorous Designs.

We soon heard besides, that he had assured his *Czarian* Majesty, "That the Treaties with *England* and *Hanover* were not as yet signed by her Majesty; and proposed, or requested that Prince, (meaning it for the best, at least, as he said, when he was reproach'd with having exceeded his Commission at his Return) to send with him one of his Plenipotentiaries from *Loffo*, to make a last Effort at the *Swedish* Court, by renewing, in an *authentick* Manner, his Offers; and took upon himself to introduce him, promising to back his Commission, or Proposals; and Mr. *Osterman*, a *German* by Birth, and 2d *Plenipotentiary* in Rank, and in effect the Principal, for his Ability in *Politicks*, came accordingly in Company with him. Being landed in *Sweden*, their whole Way, both on the Right and the Left, and before them, was but one continued Fire. The *Queen* gave indeed an Audience to Mr. *Osterman*, but his Proposals appear'd such to her, that she rejected them: He being not quite disheartned at it, but having got by the means of his Fellow-Traveller, a secret Interview with a *Nobleman* in Power, among others he made him so sensible of the Danger *Sweden* was in, of her total Destruction, if she would not readily accept of the *Czar* his Master's most gracious Offers; or, as some would have it, made him such Promises for himself, in case the *Queen* and *Senate* could be prevail'd upon to do it; that he went to tell her Majesty, that she should, in his Mind, hardly be *Queen of Sweden* 3 Weeks longer, if she persisted in her Denial. To which this Princess answer'd with a Resolution worthy of the Heroick Blood that runs in her Veins, *I had rather not be so, than reign on the Conditions the Czar would impose on us.* After which, Mr. *Osterman* return'd to *Loffo*.

After the Ratification of the Treaty of Alliance above mentioned, the *British* Fleet appearing on the Coasts of *Sweden*, found that the *Muscovites* were retired. In the Beginning of *September* another Treaty of signal Advantage to *Sweden*, was concluded between the *Queen* and the King of *Prussia*, whereof Mr. *Knipphusen*, his *Prussian* Majesty's

Minister, brought the Ratification from his Master, and received that of her *Swedish* Majesty. My Lord *Carteret*, who had mediated it, having received the King of *Great Britain's* Orders to offer again his Mediation to his *Czarian* Majesty, to whom his Ministers *Messieurs Weber* and *Jeffreys* at *Petersburgh*, and *M. Whitworth* at *Berlin* had already made the same Offer, wrote a Letter to his *Czarian* Majesty, wherein his Excellency represented to that Prince, "That the King of *Great Britain* being
 " a Friend to all the Potentates engaged in the War in the North, in
 " which that Crown neither had nor desired to have any other Hand,
 " than to endeavour to put an End to it by a General Peace, according
 " to the Measures already taken with his most *Christian* Majesty, and
 " its other Allies, of which Number the Queen of *Sweden* was one,
 " he added, That her Majesty had accepted of the said Mediation;
 " and that the King, his Master, had ordered Admiral *Norris* to sail
 " into the *Baltick*, only to give Weight to it, and protect the Com-
 " merce of the Subjects of *Great Britain*; that he hoped his *Czarian*
 " Majesty wou'd also accept of it, and cause all Hostilities to cease on
 " his Side, as the Queen of *Sweden* wou'd on hers. Sir *John Norris* wrote to his *Czarian* Majesty another almost to the same Purpose. An *English* Gentleman taking upon him to carry them, I was desired to accompany him, which I did. "His Instructions were to go
 " streight to *Loffo*, and demand there a Passport of the *Russian* Pleni-
 " potentiaries, to proceed from thence to his *Czarian* Majesty; to
 " give them Copies of the said Letters, if they required them; and
 " even to leave the Originals in their Hands, if they chose rather to
 " charge themselves with the Delivery of them to the *Czar* their Ma-
 " ster." We set out the 8th in the Evening from *Stockholm*, in one of her *Swedish* Majesty's Sloops, and arriv'd at *Waxholm*, (a Castle whereof I have before spoken, but 3 Miles off) where we embark'd next Morning at 5, on board one of her Brigantines, which carried us before 2 in the Afternoon to the Straights of *Leyzund*, where we were stop'd and examin'd by the Captain of the *Russian* Admiral's Galley which lay there. This Captain would not let us continue our Voyage, before he had made us drink a good number of Glasses of Wine, which is the height of Civility among the *Russians*; and I found them true *Greeks* in that Respect, as well as to their Religion; and 'twas past 8 at Night before we were permitted to pursue our Voyage, and could not arrive before 9 at *Loffo*, a little Island 5 Miles beyond *Leyzund*.

This Island, in its utmost Extent, is not above two Miles in Circumference, and was abandoned by its antient Inhabitants, when they saw it ready to fall into the Hands of the *Muscovites*, together with *Aland* and the other Islands; where they had burnt Villages, Farms, Churches, and every thing that cou'd be destroyed. *Loffo* had (as I was inform'd) before it was laid waste, two good Villages, with a Church, which is the only thing that they spared, or forgot; contenting themselves with plundering in them all that they thought worth carrying away, as the Glass Windows, Bells, &c. The Houses, built on both Sides for the Congress, were enough in Number to make two little Hamlets, and at a Musket-Shot from each other; one of them was call'd the *Swedish*, and the other the *Russian's* Quarter. Between these two, about the Middle, was the House for the Conferences, consisting of a Hall, and two Chambers, built at the common Expence of both these Crowns engaged in the War. It being so late, we lay on Board the
 Bri-

Brigantine, and next Morning we visited Baron *Liliensted*, who was sent in the room of Baron *Goertz*, and had just been made a *Senator*. He was the first and only Plenipotentiary the Queen had then there, she having forbidden Count *Gyllembourg*, who was then at *Stockholm* about some Affairs, to return just when he was ready to embark. His Excellency received us very civilly, and invited us to Dinner with him, where (he said) we shou'd meet Messieurs *Bruce*, *Osterman* and *Yagofinsky*, the *Russian* Plenipotentiaries, together with Mr. *Mardefelt*, Minister of the King of *Prussia*, who lodged in their Quarter, (the only Plenipotentiary from among the other Northern Allies, who had been admitted to the Congress.) From thence we waited on the 3rd first, to whom the *English* Gentleman declared the reason of his coming; and they demanded Copies of the Letters he had in Charge, which he gave them; and as they were in *English*, which was only understood by Mr. *Bruce*, a *Scotch* Gentleman by Extraction, and first Plenipotentiary, the two others desired them in *French* or *Latin*, and I translated them accordingly. As dining at Baron *Liliensted*'s took up all the rest of the Day, it without doubt hindered their examining them there; but the next Morning Mr. *Bruce* sent to invite us, together with M. *Liliensted*, to Dinner with him at his Quarters, desiring that we in particular wou'd come half an Hour before the Baron, which we did, and found there the two other Plenipotentiaries. M. *Osterman* speaking for all, said, "That they had examined the Contents of the Letters, and that
 " they had found them such as they had judged improper to be sent to
 " the *Czar*, their Master, who cou'd not (as he said, he imagined) see
 " with any Satisfaction the King of *Great Britain* set up for an Arbitrator, rather than a Mediator of a Peace, by sending a Fleet into the
 " *Baltick Sea* to give weight to his Mediation; Terms which, he believ'd, cou'd not be agreeable to his *Czarian* Majesty: That as for
 " the rest, they wou'd give their Master Notice of their Contents. In a word, he spoke as if he had received the *Czar*'s own Answer; and he might, if what was whispered was true, viz. That his *Czarian* Majesty was *incognito* on Board one of his Gallies. After this the Conversation turned upon indifferent Things; and Dinner-time being come, all sat down to Table, eat and drank pretty well; neither *Hungarian* Wine, *Champaign*, *Burgundy* nor *Pontack* being spared; but the two first were rather strong than delicious. On the 12th, Mr. *Liliensted* invited them all to his Farewel Entertainment, to which we were invited also, the Congress being declared dissolved by the Queen of *Sweden*, in Case of stopping our Voyage, and not accepting to forward my Lord *Carteret*'s and Sir *John Norris*'s Letters: He endeavoured to treat them as he had been by them; there was no want of any sort of Wine. On the 13th, the *Russian* Plenipotentiaries and Mr. *Mardefelt* gave their Entertainment at Mr. *Osterman*'s, or else he gave his for them all, and sent to invite us thither; as the Variety, and above all the Quantity of Wine is generally esteem'd by these Gentlemen the principal Part of the good Cheer, there was great Quantities drank of all the sorts that Mr. *Bruce* had given two Days before, and even greater Variety and Profusion. This Entertainment was closed by a Drink which they call'd *Bishop*, composed of several Bottles of *Pontack*, roasted *Seville* Oranges, and a proportionable Quantity of Sugar, Cinnamon and Nutmegs; these Ingredients being powder'd, squeez'd and strain'd thro' a Napkin, and then put into a Silver Vessel holding at least Eight Quarts; which

which was Sirnam'd the *Farewel*, all the *Plenipotentiaries* being to depart the next Day. Thereupon I took the Liberty to say, that they might then bury the Congress *Episcopally*, and in Ceremony, by going to drink off this Vessel in the House where the Conferences were held. Mr. *Mardefelt* back'd this Thought, as did all the rest of the Company; and Mr. *Yagofinsky*, who had prepared the *Bishop*, ordered the *Procession*, and had the Vessel carried by a Butler. We all followed it in pretty good Order into the Hall aforementioned, and sat round the Table, where before the Meeting upon the Fate of two Kingdoms were held, upon which it was placed with some Auxiliary Bottles of *Champaign*. The rest of the Ceremony may be easily imagined, and in what a Condition they broke up; thus ended the famous Congress, commonly call'd the Congress of *Aland*, which at first promised a separate Peace between the King of *Sweden* and the *Czar*, &c.

On the 14th, between Nine and Ten in the Morning, the *Russian Plenipotentiaries*, and Mr. *Mardefelt* first went on Board some Gallies that were in the Harbour, in order to go for *Abo* or *Petersburgh*; and we set sail about Eight in the Evening for *Stockholm*, in the Brigantine that brought us, in Company with Mr. *Liliensted*, who had a small Yatch waiting for him; and there being but little or no Wind, we did not get there till the 17th. I did not give myself much time to rest there, before I set out for *Dallarna*, where the *British* Fleet then lay. In order thereunto, steering my Course by the *Steken*, a Mile and half from *Stockholm*, I saw the Field of the abovesaid Battle. Nothing could be more melancholy, than to see on my way the Marks of the cruel Effects of War. Here on the Right Hand was a Country-Seat or a Farm reduced to Ashes; there on the Left whole Villages in the same desolate Condition, even the Huts of poor Fishermen were not spared; and on my Arrival at *Dallarna*, I found that part of the Village which was out of the reach of the Castle-Guns had not one House left entire. I went directly on board the *Dartmouth* Man of War, commanded by Captain *Eaton*; the same whom I had before known in *Turky*, when he commanded the *Winchelsea*, as I hinted in speaking of *Troy*. By his means I passed my Time very agreeably amongst his Friends; and he gave me an Account of the Satisfaction the Queen was pleased to express, and the good Humour she had shewn on Board Sir *John Norris*, where she dined some Days before: How after the Entertainment was over, her Majesty was graciously pleased to take out my Lord *Carteret*, with the Admiral, and several Officers of the greatest Distinction to dance with her, and distributed 6000 Crowns amongst the Sailors.

On the 28th of *September* a Suspension of Arms, mediated by my Lord *Carteret* and Mr. *Campredon*, the *French* Minister at the *Swedish* Court, between the *Swedes* and the *Danes*, was published; after that the former had lost *Maestrand*, either by the Treachery or Cowardise of the Governor. In the mean while, General *Poniatowsky* was with his *Polish* Majesty King *Augustus*, whose Pardon and Favour he had so far obtain'd, as to be employ'd to carry Proposals, or Answers to Proposals, of a Peace between that Crown and *Sweden*; of which he sent the Preliminary Articles to her Majesty, viz. That a *Suspension* of Arms shou'd be agreed on; " that King *Stanislaus* shou'd renounce the Crown of *Poland*, on " which Condition he was to be restored to his Patrimonial Estate as " Count *Lefinsky*, and to retain the Regal Title; and that a general " Amnesty

“ Amnesty shou’d be granted to those who had follow’d King *Stanislaus*’s Party, and their Estates be restored to them, and the Treaty of *Oliva* was to be confirmed.” The Duke of *Holstein* took on him the Title of Royal Highness (as ’twas supposed by the Advice of the *Czar*) as pretending to the Crown of *Sweden*, contrary both to the Declaration which the States had exacted from the Queen, and to their Right of Election, and Resolutions at the last Meeting, wherein they had even threaten’d to throw an Officer out of the *Ridderhouse* Windows, for proposing to give him that Title. The Publick hearing of it generally murmured against this Step; and Brigadier *Rantzau* coming to *Stockholm*, with the Character of his Envoy, and with Instructions to get his Title confirmed there, and make Complaints against the Treaty with *Denmark*, wherein *Sweden* (as he said) had had no regard to his Interests; her Majesty not only refused him Audience, but had Notice given him to retire out of the Kingdom immediately, which he did.

The States being reassembled at *Stockholm* in February 1720, Count *Meyerfeld* harangued them by the Queen’s Order, as first President of the Chancery, in the room of Count *Cronhielm*, who had been dismissed: The Substance of his Discourse was, “ That her Majesty was glad to see them meet again together, and thanked them for the Care they had taken about the Contributions and Subsidies for the Year 1719. At the same time he laid before them the Necessities of the State, which required the like; and informed them of the Treaties of Peace, and the Alliances that had been entred into with the Kings of *Great Britain* and *Prussia*, whereby her Majesty had increased the Number of her Friends, and lessen’d that of her Enemies.” Count *Horn* answered for the States, “ By thanking her Majesty for the happy Beginning of her Reign, the prudent and tender Disposition she had shewn for the Maintenance of the People’s Liberty, and the Defence of the Kingdom against the evil Designs of their Enemies yet remaining; assuring her, that the States wou’d ever have all the reasonable Inclination that cou’d be, to approve whatever Measures her Majesty shou’d take, by the Advice and Consent of the Senate: That they wou’d enter into, and contribute towards them with their Lives and Fortunes; and that even when the last, which were extraordinarily diminished, shou’d be drain’d and spent, their Fidelity and Zeal for her Majesty and their Country shou’d always remain as inexhaustible as inviolable.”

In the Middle of February, the Queen, being desirous either to ease herself of the Weight of Government, or to signalize her uncommon Love to the Prince, her Consort, wrote to the States, “ That she was very sensible of all the Testimonies they had already given her of their Value for her, which was not only in chusing her for their Queen, and their Zeal for their Country; and was encouraged to require a fresh Mark of both from them, in chusing as freely and unanimously the Prince, her beloved Consort, for their King, to be Assistant to her in holding the Reins of Government, as the late King *William* was to Queen *Mary* in *England*; assuring them, at the same time, of his Aversion to Arbitrary Power, which his Highness had been the first in advising her to reject, as well as to accept the Form of Government as the Rule of her Administration, and that he would make it also that of his; That he wou’d embrace the *Luthe-*
“ *ran*

1720.

"*ran* Religion, and defend it at the Hazard of his Life." She mention'd the Dangers to which he had already expos'd himself for the Defence of the Kingdom; the Advantages that they might promise themselves in having him for King at the Head of the Armies, and fighting no longer for the *Swedes* as Strangers, but as his Subjects and Children. She promised, in the Name of her said beloved Consort, all the Assurances desirable, and inviolable *Oaths*, as a Guarantee against the Re-introduction of Despotick Power, and that the Form of Government drawn up by them should be the inviolable Rule of his; That they might insert in the Act whereby he shou'd be elected, such Conditions and Clauses, as shou'd prevent the Hereditary Succession of his Heirs by any other Wife, in case she shou'd die before him without any. The States promised to consider and examine this Royal Proposal, and deliver'd it to a Secret Committee; which contested very much, and resolv'd on very little for many Days.

On the 22d, her Majesty wrote two Letters, one to the *Nobility*, and the other to the *Peasants*, to the same purpose. The *Nobility* having promised to examine the Affair, were divided into three Parties; the one wou'd agree to it upon the foot that her Majesty propos'd it; the other wou'd consent, that his Highness shou'd be elected King, on Condition that her Majesty shou'd renounce the Crown like Queen *Christina*; the third wou'd acquiesce with neither the one nor the other, but was for her Majesty's continuing to reign alone, as she then did. The *Peasants* made not the least Objection against it, but return'd an Answer full of Respect to her Majesty, with their Consent and good Wishes for the Success.

On the 27th, the Prince being informed that the *States* were for the most part agreed, and dispos'd to chuse him, sent them an open *Declaration* of his Intentions; or, as they call'd it there, an Assurance, "By which he engag'd himself to profess the *Lutheran* Faith; to defend it at the Hazard of his Life, in case it shou'd be attack'd; and not to allow the Publick Profession of any other throughout the Kingdom: In a word, to rule according to the Acts of Assurance, Election, and the Form of Government drawn up by themselves, at the *Queen* his Consort's Accession to the Throne, and with what Alterations and Additions they should think fit to make."

On the 28th, the *States* having given in Writing an humble Remonstrance to the *Queen*, of the Inconveniencies they believed to be included in the Proposal of reigning jointly with the Prince, her Consort, her Majesty answered them, "That if they thought so, (tho'twas not heard of any from the Example she had alledged them in *England*) she had so at Heart the Publick Good, that she would sacrifice to it the *Diadem* they had put upon her Head, if their Desire was that he should be King alone, and no body else with him." To use their Terms, she added, "That in her Proposal she never had any other View, but to enable him the better to bring, by his known Valour, all the Enterprizes necessary for the Defence of the Kingdom to a prosperous Issue; to preserve to herself her Right, in case of the Decease of her dear Spouse before her; and in such case, to resume the Reins of Government upon the same foot as they then held them by *Divine Providence*, and their Free Election:" Whereupon they agreed to chuse the Prince alone, with the aforesaid Restriction; and

and they accordingly drew up, on the latter end of *March*, the Abjuration of *Despotick Power, Election, &c.* in which they preserv'd her Majesty the Right she had received from them of the Regal Authority, without a new or prexious *Election*, in case he should die before her. This done, his Royal Highness was proclaimed King by an Herald, after the usual manner, in all the Publick Places of *Stockholm*.

On the Beginning of *April*, *Brenner* the Priest was brought to *Stockholm*, bound Hand and Foot. He had been seiz'd at *Hamburg*, by the Diligence of the *Swedish* Minister in that City, being accused and convicted of serving the *Czar* as a Spy, and other Crimes; and afterwards incurred the same Punishment, and in the same Place, as Baron *Goertz*.

On the 2d of *May*, the *States* presented to his Majesty the *Form* of Government, with these few Changes and Additions, *viz.* "That there
 " shou'd be but 16 *Senators*, after the present 24 being reduced to that
 " Number by Death, or otherwise.—That 7 of these shou'd be ob-
 " liged, and authoris'd to act with regard to giving Council in the im-
 " portant Affairs of State, as 10 of the 24 did actually.—That the Exa-
 " mination of Affairs shou'd be divided between 14 *Senators*, *viz.* That
 " the Domestick ones shou'd be assign'd to the constant Application of
 " 7 of them, and that all Foreign ones shou'd be transacted by the
 " 7 others; and that if any of them shou'd fall Sick, another shou'd be
 " admitted in his room.—That all the *Senators*, even those who were
 " then *Presidents*, or Members of *Colleges*, (excepting those of the
 " *Chancery*, and the Chamber of Revision) shou'd every Day be at the
 " *Senate*, for the Examination and Expedition of whatever Affairs the
 " Secretaries of State shou'd lay before them; and that in case any
 " thing of the last Importance shou'd occur, as the treating of *Peace*,
 " declaring of *War*, equipping and setting out a *Fleet*, &c. none shou'd
 " be dispens'd with from attending.—That two *Senators* shou'd be
 " chosen to accompany the King into the *Field*, or whenever his Ma-
 " jesty shou'd take any Journey.—That no *Senators* shou'd be admitted
 " into the *Colleges*, (after the Death, or dismissing of them, who have
 " been placed therein by the preceeding *Form* of Government) but
 " only Persons of a good Capacity, and well versed in the Affairs be-
 " longing to the respective *Colleges*.—That the King shou'd not have
 " the liberty, granted to the Queen by the said *Form*, of sending to
 " the *Stadt-Comptoir* even for 50 *Crowns*, without the Knowledge or
 " Consent of the *Senate*.—Lastly, That whoever shou'd attack or abuse,
 " either by injurious Words or Actions, any Deputy of the *Diets*,
 " shou'd be declared Vagabonds, and be punish'd as such by the Laws."
 His Majesty ratify'd and sign'd the *Form* with all these Alterations,
 and the same Day his *Coronation* was published after the usual manner;
 for the 3d, it was perform'd in the Great Church of *Stockholm*, with
 the same Ceremonies as that of the Queen had been at *Upsal*, except
 the Queen, in the Procession, went to the Church dress'd in the Royal
 Robes, had on her Head the Crown; and in her Hand the Sceptre she
 was going to resign to her Consort. The Illuminations were greater
 and more magnificent; for besides a greater Number of Houses,
 Churches, Cannons and Inhabitants here than there, they, as well as
 the other sorts of Rejoicings, were still encreased by Publick Mini-
 sters and other Strangers: Among the latter, an *English* Ship adorn'd
 with different Colours or Flags, Pendants, Streamers, &c. distinguish'd
 herself

herself by firing agreeably for three or four Hours ; but at last most unfortunately, as I'll say hereafter.

Some Merchants had sent in good quantity of Powder with Rhenish Wine, &c. and several Persons were invited to spend the Remainder of the Day on Board of her. I was so amongst the rest, and had given my Word to make one ; but broke it by lucky Forgetfulness in this manner : I had din'd with the Gentlemen who invited me ; and between Dinner-time and the Hour of our Meeting on Board this Vessel, I stole away with one of the Company, in order to see the *King* return crown'd from the Church, pass'd by the Place where was a roasted Ox, as at the *Queen's* Coronation ; and in the Crowd of Spectators, I lost my Companion, without being able to find him again. Whilst I was looking in vain for him, two of my Lord *Carteret's* Gentlemen stop'd me, and desired me to go with them to his Excellency's Palace ; where, as they said, we shou'd pass our Time more pleasantly over a Bottle of *Burgundy*, than to stay to be press'd to Death in the Crowd out of Curiosity. I excused my self upon having given my Word to be at Five-a-Clock on Board the *English* Ship : They answer'd, That it was but Three, and that I should have time enough left to go there : In short, they prevail'd on me to follow them, where, instead of one Bottle, I believe we drank three or four ; and hearing the Clock of a neighbouring Church at Eight at Night, (it was still too much time to run the same risque that cost above 30 Persons their Lives ;) whereupon I remembred the Appointment, left these Gentlemen to go on Board the Ship, at least to make my Appearance, and an Apology for not coming. I had not gone a third Part of the Way, when I met an old Colonel and his Lady, with whom I became acquainted in my Journey to *Danmora*, and from whom I had received a thousand Civilities. They were come to see the Coronation, and wou'd absolutely have me to accompany them to their Lodgings to drink Coffee. I pleaded for Excuse my Engagement ; but they told me all was over, and that nothing was now thought on but the *Illuminations* in the City : In a word, they dragg'd me away with them, if I may so say. In the meanwhile, the Company on Board were very merry, and the Cannons had all been fired at different times without any Accident happening to disturb them ; the Sun having given Place to the *Illuminations* all over the City and Suburbs, the Company were preparing to retire ; and the last Health going round, the Guns were again discharged, when the Powder taking Fire (no one knowing how) the Vessel was blown up in an Instant ; and out of above 40 Persons that were on Board, including the Sailors, not above 10 or 11 escaped ; and perhaps there had not been one saved, if the Vessel had had a greater quantity of Powder on Board, had been less old, and consequently less capable of a greater Resistance to the Force of Sulphur and Saltpetre. Amongst the Dead, was my Lord *Carteret's* Chaplain, a Gentleman of singular Merit, whose Body was the first found, and carried to the Grave with all the Solemnity possible to the *British* Nation ; but put into the Ground without any Ecclesiastical Ceremonies, either of the *Lutherans*, or the Church of *England*, the *Swedish* Clergy not being willing to perform the Funeral Service after their Manner, nor to suffer the others to do it after their own. I made thereupon some Remonstrances to divers Priests, mentioning my Surprise at such a Refusal, as having seen at *Constantinople* a *Swedish* Priest, who did not make any such Scruple

to bury, after the Manner of the Church of *England*, a Merchant of that Nation, in the Absence of the Chaplain belonging to the *Company*, casting Earth thrice upon the Coffin, (as both the *English* and *Lutherans* do) and reading the Office for the Burial of the Dead, contain'd in the Common Prayer Book. Hereupon 'twas propos'd to the Archbishop of *Upsal*, who not only forbid his Clergy's reading the Prayers even after the *Lutheran* Form, and in their own Tongue, but even their assisting at his Funeral, and carrying him themselves to the Grave, as they do their deceased Brethren, and as (I must confess) some were willing to do, there being but very little Difference between the Ceremonies of the two Churches. But in all Probability 'twas this Conformity itself that might cause the Spleen and Opposition. My Companion's Body was found 15 Days afterwards; most of the others never were.

The Medals that were thrown amongst the People had on one Side the King's Effigies with these Words, FREDERICUS D. G. REX SUECIAE, and the Reverse as (4) in Print XXXVII. and those that were presented to the Persons of Distinction, either in Gold or Silver, as (9) in the Print XXXII. And at the Conclusion of the Diet there was one struck for Count *Horn*, which is represented in the same Print N. (6), and given to the Members of the States, &c.

Some time after, his Majesty sent Notice of his Accession to the Throne to all the Foreign *Princes*, even to the *Czar*. My Lord *Carteret* left *Stockholm*, and went to *Copenhagen*, to conclude the Peace which was afterwards published with that of *Poland*, with the usual Ceremonies. About the same time there appeared at *Stockholm* a *French* Man, under the Title of the Baron *St. Hilaire*, who had quitted the *Czar's* Service, upon a Project something like that of the *Sieur Cobuë*, which was hearken'd to pretty favourably by Admiral *Wachmeister*; but (according to the Account of those who value themselves upon understanding Naval Affairs) he wou'd have ruin'd the *Swedish* Fleet in *Revel* Harbour, instead of burning that of the *Muscovites*, as he pretended to do, if Admirals *Sparre* and Sir *John Norris* had given into his Project as well as the first; and a Voyage which those Gentlemen made with their Fleet as high as that Port, and pretty near the Entrance of it, having him on board, discovered sufficiently how impracticable the Design was. Some Persons said thereupon, that the Projector was one of the *Czar's* Spies. What gave the most ground to that Suspicion was, that after his Project was looked upon as Chimerical by the *Admiralty*, he sold a Cargo of *Burgundy* and *Champagne* at *Stockholm*, which he had taken in at *Petersburgh*. At least the Traders of *Stockholm* in that Commodity, being perhaps jealous of his carrying on such a Trade, call'd him publickly the *Czar's* Agent; this Prince being said there to be the only Merchant in his own Country, engrossing all the Goods, and having Commissioners for the Disposal of them.

In the Beginning of *October*, the King took a little Journey, or rather went upon a Hunting-Match to *Upsal* and *Westeras*, and was follow'd by the Foreign Ministers; amongst which was an Officer of the *Czar's*, who was come to congratulate his *Swedish* Majesty in his Master's Name, on his Accession to the Throne. Sir *John Norris*, and Mr. *Finch*, the *British* Envoy, did me the Honour to take me in their Coach, in order to join his Majesty, who had already reach'd *Upsal*. We got thither that Day, *Upsal* and staid 3 or 4 more; when his Majesty setting out first, with some

Westeras.

Officers of his Court, and striking out of the Road to Hunt, kill'd 3 Elks before he arriv'd at *Westeras*, whither we soon follow'd him. Admiral *Norris* and Mr. *Finch*, to whom I had given a Description of the Scarcity of Men, in comparifon of Women, occasion'd by the Wars, (as I have faid fomewhere elfe) were furpriz'd at finding it fo true, we having all the Way only young Girls for Poftillions, who guided our Coach, mounted aftride upon the Horfes; a Novelty, which diverted thefe Gentlemen, efpecially the former, who had not yet feen it, tho' the latter had. The good Cheer at *Westeras*, and the Pleafure of Hunting in the Neighbouring Parts, of which we had our Share, took up his Majesty's time for 8 or 10 Days, and coft fome more Elks and Bears their Lives: After which we fet out with that Prince for *Stockholm*; and on the Way thither, had a fplendid Entertainment at *Elksund*, a fine Palace newly repair'd, which the late King had given the Princefs his Sifter, as her Dowry. The *Muscovite* Officer went on, without taking Part of this Feaft, feeming in very great hafte to return.

This prefent King has all the Politenefs and Affability that can be with'd in a Prince, with a world of good Humour, and a thoufand other noble Qualifications to be loved and efteemed.

C H A P. XV.

A Voyage to Denmark; a fhort Description of Copenhagen; its Harbour, Publick Edifices and Curiofities: a Trip to Hamburgh, thence to the Brill, and fo to Harwich. Remarks on Bremen by the Way.

IN the Beginning of *October*, Admiral *Norris*, not thinking the Seafon of the Year proper for the Fleet to ftay any longer in the *Swedifh* Harbours, took his Leave of their Majefties, and offering me a Bed in my Passage, I accepted of his Civility. We did not fet fail till the 26th of that Month, the Wind not being before fair for us; and three Days after, we had a violent Storm, which fwell'd the Sea to that extraordinary degree, that it overflowed great part of *Holftain*, doing confiderable Damage, and difpers'd feveral of the Ships, fome whereof were loft; fo that we did not reach *Copenhagen* till the Beginning of *December*, after having for between Eight or Nine Days been expofed to the Rage and Inconfancy of the Wind and Waves. As fome Affairs requir'd my Prefence at *Hamburgh*, I took my Leave of the Admiral, and return'd him Thanks for all his Favours, having firft ftaid fome Days to take a View of *Copenhagen*.

Copen-
hagen.

The Entrance of the Harbour, (which is one of the beft in *Europe*, and will receive above 500 Men of War of the Line) is defended by a Citadel and a Platform, which is fortify'd with Cannon that carries Balls of 12 to 18 Pound. Within the Harbour is a fine *Wet Dock*, which

which holds the whole *Danish* Fleet, and is surrounded by a fort of Gallery of Timber Work, supported by good Piles, divided into several Parts by Draw-bridges, constantly guarded by a good Number of Sailors, who are armed with Muskets in the Night, and exercised like Soldiers, as in *Sweden*; and in the Day-time, with a sort of Clubs between Seven and Eight Foot long, having at one End a Ball of Three or Four Inches Diameter, with a square Iron Spike of about a Fingers breadth in the Middle of it. The rest of the Ball is all thick set with lesser Spikes very sharp, not unlike those Arms of the ancient *Romans*, represented in their *Fasces*. Besides these, that Gallery is defended by two Batteries, one of 20, and the other of above 30 Pieces of Cannon, to keep off all Approaches of the Enemy; not to mention a good long *Stoccado* to secure it from the Ice, which might do considerable Damage to the Fleet, when the Flakes are driven impetuously against them by a sudden Thaw, and a strong Wind. The City is beholden, both for its Name and Original, to the Beauty and Goodness of this Port, *Haffen* signifying in the *Danish* Tongue a Haven, and *Kiopen* a Merchant. The Reason of its first being so call'd, (according to the *Danish* History) was thus: The Bishop of *Roschild* (a little, but ancient City, of which I shall make mention hereafter) had a Castle built (at the Bottom of the *Creek* that forms this Port) to secure his City and the Coasts from the Insults of Pirates, who used to take Refuge in this fine Harbour, then only rendered so by Nature. This, with the Plenty of Fish thereabouts, drew thither Numbers of Fishermen, who built several Cottages near and under its Protection, where they salted and dried their Fish. Hereupon Merchants, who dealt in this sort of Provision, built afterwards some pretty good Houses, and it became a pretty good Town; which, by the means of the Churches founded for the Performance of Religious Exercises, and Palaces built by the Nobility, being metamorphos'd and swell'd into a City, became at last the Capital of *Denmark*, and an Archbishop's See. 'Tis at present a very handsome and large City, encompass'd with good strong Walls, well terrass'd; the Turf wherewith its Works are covered, being reckon'd preferable to hard Stone for its Defence against Cannon, which lose and spend their Force therein, without doing Damage. It has for its greater Security, besides the Castle and Citadel that guard the Entrance into the Harbour, another Castle upon a neighbouring Island called *Amack*. The chief Thing that I saw with Satisfaction after this, was what they call the Chamber, or rather Chambers of Curiosities, there being many Apartments, with a fine long Gallery. In them are to be seen vast Variety of Rarities, whether Antique or Modern, Prophane or Sacred, Foreign or of the Growth of the Country; besides several precious Productions, both of Art and Nature, as Animals, Minerals, Plants, Vegetables, Arms, Vessels of different Metals, Paintings, *Idols*, *Mummys*, *Medals*, &c. In the Principal Chamber are shewn the Episcopal Ornaments of *Abraham*, first Bishop of *Roschild*, and afterwards Archbishop of *Lund* in *Scania*, and Primate of *Sweden*, with divers pretious ecclesiastick Utensils. 1. Amongst others was a Mitre divided very singularly into two Horns, such, as some pretend, was worn in the Primitive Church, and represented N. (10) upon the Print VII. A. 2. A Helmet upon the same Print, N. (13) peaked at the Top, and yet more singular for its Shape, which much resembled that of a Night-Cap; and the Antiquity of its Use,

which

which was (according to the *Romish Ecclesiastical History*) to denote the Episcopal, or Archiepiscopal Dignity of the first Prelates amongst the *Christians*, and to shew their Authority and Pre-eminency over the inferior Clergy, as ('tis pretended) a like Head-piece denoted that of the Sovereign *Pontifices*, *Archi-Flamens*, and the Priests of *Jupiter* and *Mars*, amongst the *Pagans*, over the other Priests. The *Ecclesiastical History of Denmark* says, That the Archbishop *Absalom* not only signaliz'd and distinguish'd himself by this Head-piece, but by the Sword; and that he successfully united the Art of War, with the Knowledge of Things Sacred, and made a glorious Confederacy of the temporal and spiritual Power against the *Vandals*, in favour of *Waldemar* the Ist. and *Canutus* the Vith. The Helmet is of Silver gilt, and pretty well wrought for the Time wherein 'twas made. 3. His Sword,* N. (II.) Two of his Episcopal Crostiers, mark'd (5 and 12) in the aforesaid Print; the Latter is reckon'd the most valuable for what 'tis made of, Horn, which they pretend to have belong'd to an Unicorn (if there is such a Creature, but in Heraldry;) but I should rather believe it to be of a *Rhinoceros*. The other is of Brass gilt, and has the Advantage of the former in Workmanship; on the Crescent, at the End of it, is the Representation of *Jesus Christ*, under the Figure of a Lamb, well wrought, with these Words on one Side, *Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata Mundi, miserere, da nobis pacem*; and on the other, *Non dominantes in Cleros, & forma facti greges ex animo*. 5. Two Sorts of Pontifical Fans made after the *Antique Manner*; one whereof is N. (10) (10) Print IV. but these almost entirely resemble those of the *Greeks* and *Armenians*, not having any Feathers like that of the *Pope*, but only round Plates of Brass, whereupon the Evangelists are represented under the Figures of the Animals whereby they are wont to be distinguished. 6. The Episcopal Slippers of the same Archbishop, N. (4) in the Print VII. made of Silk, with Straps; in a Word, entirely antique, and such as *Clemens Alexandrinus* pretends *Jesus Christ* himself wore, whilst on Earth. 7. A *Golden Chalice* (amongst several others not so pretious) with the Patene of the same, each embellish'd with Jewels, and curiously wrought; on the first is this Inscription in Monkish Characters, (as the *Danes* and *Swedes* call them) that is, modern *Gothick*; *Domina Christina de Avarstes ad honorem Dei, pro refrigerio animarum Carorum suorum hunc Calticem Aureum fieri fecit, orate Dominum pro eis*. On the second is this, *Margreta Danie, Norvegie Suecie Regina, orate pro eâ*; where one may see the single (*e*) for (*æ*) in the 2d, 3d and 4th Words, as I have observ'd; one may find in *Greek* on several Medals (*O*) for (*ω*) or (*ø*); tho' I take the first to be rather the Effect of Ignorance in the Authors of this *Latin* Inscription, than the Antiquity of the Characters. 8. Another *Chalice of Wood*, with a Patene of Brass, which is said to have been in Use in the primitive Church, before the 3d Century. 9. A *Cross* Silver gilt, enrich'd with Precious Stones. They shew in the same Chamber divers antique Rings, and Seals of Gold and Silver; among which, the most remarkable and singular one is pretty like that which is call'd at *Rome* the *Fishers Ring*, only that the Figures are different, there being on this an Eagle, with the Wings expanded, and a sort of Woolf, three lighted Torches, and

* Note, There is to be seen in the same Place an antique Sword, which he used in the War, represented N. (II.) in the aforesaid Print.

a Cross, with the *Greek* Words in the Margent. * 10. Two famous Vessels, shaped like a bended Arm, and almost as long, at least the 2d. Upon the first, which is called the *Danish* Horn, and is of Gold, there are divers Figures chased, of the Cælestial Signs, and other Animals, &c. it weighs above 20 Ounces, including its Cover; they tell you that it was found near *Osterby*, a *Danish* Village, by a Country Woman, who brought it to King *Christian* the IVth. and was (as they say) handsomely rewarded; they add, that his Majesty gave it his eldest Son, who used it as a Vessel to drink out of. The History of the 2d, which is of Silver, and weighs near four Pounds, and is call'd *Oldenburgh* Horn, seems entirely Fabulous, and is this, ' That ' as *Otho*, the first Count of *Oldenburgh*, having lost his Attendants in ' the Pursuit of a Stag, was hunting about for Water to quench his ' excessive Thirst, wherewith he was then troubled; a young Maiden, ' of exquisite Beauty, and a charming Air, her Cloaths all shining with ' Gold, Silver and Jewels, her Hair flowing upon her Shoulders in ' Tresses, after the Eastern Fashion, presented her self before him with ' this Horn full of a Liquor, which she call'd *Nectar*, or some other ' Drink of the Heathen Deities; that the Duke receiv'd it out of her ' Hands, but not carrying it to his Mouth, on account of some Scruple ' about the Colour, which was ruddy and thick, this Maiden, whom ' one may (I believe) call a *Goddess*, *Nymph*, or *Fairy*, with as much ' Certainty as there is in her then meeting of the Duke, invited him ' most graciously to quench his Thirst with it, promising him all ' the Happiness in the World if he did, and great Misfortunes if he did ' not; but the Duke's Scruple about the Colour encreasing, and turn- ' ing into Fear or Suspicion, he chose rather to bear this Thirst, than ' run the hazard of being poisoned, and spilt it; and that some Drops ' falling upon his Horse's Legs, fetch'd off the Hair, and chang'd the ' Skin to a livid yellowish Colour: Whereupon the *Nymph* demanding ' her Horn again, the Duke that Instant clap'd Spurs to his Horse and ' brought it away, without saying a Word, and rejoin'd his Company ' to whom he shew'd his rich Prize, which fill'd them with Astonish- ' ment at the Adventure. However, it is a very fine Piece of Work- manship, with this Inscription engraven upon it, *Drinc all tot*; that is, *Drink all up*; which Inscription seems to insinuate, that its Use was to be fill'd with Wine, or some other strong Liquor, which was drank off round at certain Entertainments; like the *Wellcomes* of 3 or 4 Pints (of about its size, tho' not quite so large) which they still actually make *Strangers* or new-come Guests drink, both in *Denmark* and *Sweden*. Another in like Characters, expressing these Words round the largest Part, *Memento mei ò Mater Dei*; some will have it to have been a Vo- tary of a Roman Catholick, who having perhaps found it among Ruins, offer'd it to the Virgin *Mary*; it is almost like the first as to its Form, but much bigger; it is curiously adorn'd with Figures of Men in *Relievo*; some perch'd upon a sort of Bastions with Pikes, and others on Cornishes, on the Edge of the Mouth of it, which are like Walls, give it the Air

* ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΕΛΕΟ. ΘΟΥ. ΡΟΜ. ΟΜΕΓ. ΑΤΘ. ΤΟΥΡ. ΑΛΒ. ΣΕΡΒΙ. ΒΟΥΛΓΑΡΙ. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ.

† They who pretend that these two Vessels are more ancient, say they serv'd to put in the Libati- ons, as Incense, Oil for the Sacrifices, or that the Priests made Use of them to call the People to Temple; or else they were royal Cornets, formerly us'd in War; and all these Diviners will have it, that the Inscriptions were added since by the Christians.

of

of a Castle, as do others standing in Niches that of a *Gothick* Church Porch. Among a vast Quantity of other more antique Rarities, as Urns, Idols, of Gold, Silver, Brass, Earth, &c. which well deserve Travellers Curiosity, and Pains to go and see them, I'll only mention the following ones, as well antient as modern. 1. Two *Mummies*, one of which is call'd *Egyptian*, and it may very reasonably be believ'd such, on Account of its Hieroglyphicks, and its being so well preserv'd. The other, which is call'd *Danish*, is not so well kept, and may have been a Body dry'd like the *Laplanders* Fish, partly by Smoke, and partly by the Cold, like those in *Greenland*, where (they say) whole Bodies may be seen of Persons who have been dead thirty Years: For I don't believe that the *Danes* ever had the Secret of embalming their dead Bodies, at least have not the Sycamore Tree, in the Wood of which the *Egyptians* used to preserve all their *Mummies*. 2dly, Amongst several little Statues, the most beautiful and best wrought are those of *Apollo*, *Mars*, *Mercury*, the *Roman Gladiator*, and the Head of *Seneca*, &c. They are of Brass and gilt, tho' an Ornament by no Means proper to prove their Antiquity. As to the Collection of the antique *Medals*, it is but small; the *Greek* ones are the less numerous, and the most considerable are those of *Lysander*, with this Legend, ΑΥΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΛΑΚΩΝΟΣ, round the Head, and upon the reverse the Word ΝΙΚΗ, with a triumphal Chariot, and those of *Athenæus*, *Miltiades*. The others are of *Alexander* and *Lysimachus*, only valuable for the Gold whereof they are made, otherwise very common in all Metals. Amongst the *Latin* ones, the most scarce are those of *Albinus*, *Balbinus*, *C. Julius*, *Diadumenianus*, *Gordianus Africanus*, *Macrinus*, *Otho*, *Papienus*, *Verus*, *Vitellus*, all of * Silver, the rest are very ordinary. To make amends for the Smallness of this Collection, there is a prodigious Quantity of the Coins of the first Kings of the North, down to the Time present; the most ancient and most esteem'd of which are those with Legends in the *Runick* Characters, such as those of the Print XXXII. an historical Series of *Modern Medallions* and *Medals* of the Kings of *Denmark*, &c. with their principal Transactions and Exploits, make the finest Show, in respect of the Metal and Bigness of them. Among the rest, none better deserves mentioning than the vast Medallion struck on Occasion of the making and fortifying the *Wet-Dock*, on the Side whereof is the Bust of King *Christian V.* with these Words; *Christianus, V. D. G. Rex Dan. Norv. Vand. Gothorum*, &c. On the other is the Harbour, with the Fleet represented in the Dock, with this Legend round it; *Sicstant conspicuæ Regali in sede Carinæ — & bene muniti Castella Natantia Regni*; and on the Top of the Reverse is represented the Pillar of Fire, and the Cloud that directed the March of *Moses* at the Head of the *Israelites*, with this Inscription, *His Ducibus*; and the other in the Exergue, *Nec irritantes, nec irritandæ*; a very fine one of Gold, struck on Account of the Death of *Queen Amalia*, of the House of *Brunswick Lunenburgh*, on the Side whereof is represented the Castle of *Amalienburgh*, and its Gardens; in the middle of which is an Urn, and within the Exergue xx Feb. 1685, and on the Reverse the Arms of *Denmark* and *Lunenburgh*, with this Legend, *Soph. Am. Dan. Norveg. Vand.*

* Medals are not the more to be valued for being of Gold or Silver. My *Macrinus* in Brass, Numb. 11. Print XXXVIII. is worth more than the Silver one at Copenhagen.

Gothor. Reginae, Cineribus Christianiss. Sacrum; another Gold one that was struck on Account of the fortifying *Cronenburgh*, which has on one Side, and on the Reverse the Bust of King *Christian V.* with this Inscription; *Christianus, V. D. G. Rex Dan. Nor. Van. Goth.* and on the Edge of it, *Terrâq; Mariq; tuetur*; even the Battles of *Hochstedt* and *Ramillies* are eterniz'd there on that Metal, in both which this Nation is known to have had a good Share, together with the Troops of *Great Britain*. In short, this Treasury deserves well the Name it bears, for the numberless Curiosities and Rarities it contains.

I shall not say much of the Churches, or the other Parts of the City, which is too near us not to be pretty well known. The first have nothing more remarkable than those of *Stockholm*, being, as they are, large *Gothick* Piles of Building, with this Difference, that the Steeples are for the most part higher. As for the rest, the interior Ornaments are much alike, and Divine Service is perform'd there after the same Manner; but the Government allows Strangers of a different Opinion the free Exercise of their respective Religions, and Places of Worship, which is not allowed in *Sweden*. I afterwards ascended the famous Tower, call'd by some the *Observatory*, and by others *Uraniburgh* (the Name of that which was built for the Use of *Tycho Brabe* upon the Isle of *Hwen*.) The first Stone of this was laid by *Christian IV.* in 1637, according to a *Latin* Inscription over the Gate; the other having been destroy'd in his Reign by the Enemies of that famous Astrologer. It is built winding; and yet its Stairs, which are 50 in Number are so broad, of such easy Ascent, and, in short, so contriv'd, that its Royal Founder was the first who made himself be carry'd up in a Chair by two Horses, as several others have since had the Curiosity to do. On the Top is a Chamber, and a sort of Cabinet; in the first of which are divers *Mathematical* Instruments; and in the second several little Holes bored, through which, the other larger Lights being shut, the Room wholly darkened, and the Day thus artificially changed into Night, one may observe and distinguish the Stars at Noon-Day in the Firmament. Over all these reigns a Terrace surrounded by a Balcony, whence one may not only have an advantageous Prospect all over the City, but all round it, to a great Distance, even to *Scania*. Coming down, about the middle of this Tower, is a Door that opens into a Chamber adjoining to it, wherein is a Library, consisting of a great Variety of good Books and Manuscripts. I saw after the Royal Palace, which is only to be commended for the Convenience of its Apartments, its rich Furniture, and fine *Paintings*; a *Theatre*, where his *Danish Majesty's French Comedians* act pretty well, under the Direction of the *Sieur Dubuiffon*. Leaving the City, one may find several of his Majesty's *Palaces*, more agreeable for the Regularity of their Structure, and being built after the modern Way. Amongst these, *Fredericksburgh* seem'd to me to deserve the Preheminence, both for its Beauty, Situation, charming Prospect, and its *Gardens*; though it is but very little, and is rather a *Pleasure-House*, where the Court passes good Part of the Summer, than a Palace.

Having staid six Days at *Copenhagen*, I departed thence, taking the ordinary Post-Waggon, in Company with two *Hamburghers*, in order to go for that Court, and call at *Gottorp*. Then we set out after Dinner, and about an Hour before Night we reach'd *Roschild*, an an- Roschild.
cient City, about three Miles from *Copenhagen*, the Seat of the first

Bishops, and the usual Burying-place of the Kings of *Denmark*. At present 'tis only a little Town, by reason both the Number of its Inhabitants and Houses are lessen'd since the Increase and Enlargement of *Copenhagen*. Its most considerable Remains are a great *Church*, built after the *Gothick* Manner, with divers Statues of He and She-Saints, some *Basso Relievos*, which Time has not destroy'd, and the Tombs of Princes and other great Men. The Monuments are for the most part of Marble, and handsome for the Time wherein they were erected, having Inscriptions upon Brass, setting forth the good Qualities of the Persons contained in them; amongst the rest, there is that of *Harald*, believ'd to be the first *Christian* King of *Denmark*, which has nothing more remarkable. There is besides in the Town a Convent of *Nuns*, who live almost upon the same Footing as those at *Lune*, of whom I spoke under the Article of *Lunebourg*, excepting their Number, which is not so great as that of the *Lune-Nuns*, no more than their Revenues. We only staid here to sup, after which we continued our Journey, and some Miles from thence met a Cross, on the Road Side, a Remnant of *Roman Catholick Worship*, that the Reformation of *Luther* has not demolished, no more than several others that are to be found both in *Denmark*, *Holstein*, and elsewhere, where the *Lutheran* Religion bears the Sway. We dined next Day at *Ringstedt*, a little Town that seem'd to have nothing more considerable than a pretty fine Church. From hence we cross'd a long and thick Forest; and leaving on the Left a Lake call'd *Sora*, we reach'd *Slagels* in good Time, which is a little Town as inconsiderable as *Ringstedt*; and the Ground being for the most part cover'd with Snow, which was render'd firm by the Frost, and the Heavens being very serene, we travell'd good Part of the Night; and crossing yet one Wood more of about a Mile over, we entered into a Champian-Country, agreeably diversify'd with fertile Fields, and little Villages, whereof (for two or three Miles together) I cou'd reckon 14 or 15 lying round within Sight; and the third Day in the Evening we arrived at *Korfor*, a little City, formerly considerable for its Commerce, which is now much fallen away, tho' it has retain'd all the Advantages it had receiv'd from Nature to favour Trading, as a pretty good Harbour, and its Situation on an Arm of the *Baltick*, call'd the *Great * Belt*. The Wind being but weak, tho' pretty fair, we were five Hours and a half in crossing over, and landed at *Nybourg*, another ordinary Town, with a Castle to defend it, towards the Sea. Here we dined, and continuing our Journey over the Isle of *Funen*, came to *Odenfee*, (which is almost in the middle) two or three Hours after Midnight, and rested there till about Seven in the Morning: It is the Capital, irregularly built, and after the old Fashion, and it has nothing agreeable but its Situation. I observed here and there on our Road several little Hills, like those mentioned in *Hertfordshire* in *England*; between *Taman* and *Tamrok* in *Tartary*, which they said were the Tombs of the ancient *Goths*, as in *Sweden*. This Island is very fruitful in Wheat, Rye, Barley, and Fruit, especially Apples, Honey, &c. It produces also great Numbers of good Horses, fit either for War or Coaches; besides this, it abounds with Game of all sorts, and we had at every Meal of one Kind or other, and that excellent. This Island had formerly its par-

* That Part of the *Baltick* that lies between the Isle of *Zealand* and *Funen*, is call'd the *Great Belt*, on Account of its Shape, which resembles a Belt.

ricular Princes, who resided at *Odensee*. Its Nobility contend for Seniority with that of *Venice*. The Family of * *Trool* had formerly the Precedency; but 'tis now in the Possession of the King of *Denmark*, whose eldest Son bears the Title of Prince of *Funen*. About seven Miles beyond *Odensee*, we cross'd the *Little † Belt*, and being got over, some Miles farther pass'd by *Hadersleben*, a little open Town, only ^{Hadersleben.} remarkable for its Situation, being encompass'd by a little clear River that winds pleasantly round about it. Going on from hence, in our Waggon, which was one of the straightest, our Postillion happening to slumber on the 10th in the Morning, overturn'd us, without doing any great Harm to any of us, excepting one of my Fellow-Travellers, who being very fat and heavy bruised one of his Shoulders, which made him utter with a thundering Voice some thousand *Sacraments* and *Houndsfoots*, against the Postillion. For my part, I escap'd with only breaking the Hilt of my Sword, which did not hurt me so much as to make me complain. As for the rest, I observ'd this Advantage in these narrow Waggon, that one does not run so great a Risque in them, as in those that are larger, and will admit two a-breast upon a Seat; for, if one shou'd have by one's Side a Man of the Size of him above-mention'd, one shou'd be crush'd to pieces in falling undermost. This Man was very singular, and lived in a continual Lethargy, snoring as if he was in the soundest Sleep imaginable, even whilst he was eating. I have seen him at Table drink his Bottle of Wine in that Condition, without speaking a Word, and almost without opening his Eyes. The 14th, about 11 at Night, having pass'd through ** *Flens-* ^{Flensbourg.} *bourg*, a large well peopled Town, and tolerably handsome, where we only staid to sup; and continuing our Journey, we arriv'd at *Rens-* ^{Rensbourg.} *bourg* the next Morning. This is one of the finest Towns belonging to the King of *Denmark*, and may be call'd the Key of his Country on that Side. It is very regularly and securely fortify'd, and they were actually at work to augment its Works. A Morass that surrounds it, and the River *Eyder* which fills its Ditches, contribute not a little to its Strength, and render all Approaches very difficult to any hostile Army. This River (as they say, is supply'd with Water from a Lake near *Kiel*; and, after washing *Rensbourg* in the manner before-mention'd, so as to make it an Island, disembogues itself near *Tonningen* into the German Ocean call'd the *Nord Zee*. It was the *Non plus ultra* of the Roman Conquests, according to an Inscription in the Margent, which is over one of the Gates of the City. The Soil between this City and *Flensbourg* did not seem so fertile as that we had before traversed, being cover'd with Heath, which they burn before they till it, to supply the Defect of Nature; to which they pretend the Ashes of this Heath contribute very much. From hence we went on to *Sleswick* and *Gott-* ^{Sleswick.} *torp*: The first is very narrow, but very long, and consequently irregular, consisting almost but of one Street, and situated on the River

* The Arms of *Trool*, (which signifies a Wizard both in the Danish and Swedish Tongues, from whence the French seem to have borrowed their *Drole*;) are a Devil in a Field Gules.

† Another lesser Part of the Baltick Sea, so called for the same Reason as the former. These Streights were so frozen over in 1658, that Charles Gustavus, King of Sweden, march'd all his Army over it, and had like to have taken Copenhagen.

* *Flensbourg* is accompanied with a Royal Castle upon a rising Ground, at the Bottom of a Bay in the Baltick Sea.

†† *Ydora Romani Imperii Terminus*.

Gottorp.

Slia. The second, which is at the End, and almost contiguous to it, is only considerable for its Castle, which is really worth viewing, and was more so before it was strip'd of its fine Paintings, and the principal Volumes of a Library sufficiently known in the learned World. This Castle is situated upon a little Island, that rises agreeably out of the midst of a Lake. It is flanked with four Bastions covered with Turf; the Foundations whereof were of Free Stone, which appearing several Foot above the Surface of the Water yield a fine Prospect. It has Communication with the Town by a long Bridge, at each Extremity of which there are two Draw ones. The first Entrance leads into a fine Court: There are on the Right noble Stables; on the Left is a Tennis Court very well contrived, which was built by the last Duke, who was a great Lover of that Exercise. The principal Gate into this Castle is magnificently adorned with Columns of a hard Stone with blue Veins, which they say was dug out of Mount *Kinne Kulla* in *Sweden*; but I believe it to be *Italian* Marble, tho' not of the finest. The Duke's Lodgings are well built, and after the Modern manner; and the others, tho' Antique, are not disagreeable, being adorned with all the Beauty of the Time wherein the Castle was first founded. The Furniture, which has been carried away, was (as I was told) worthy of the Apartments, both for its Richness and Workmanship; but I cou'd not see the Library, the *Danish* Governor having the Key, and being absent: However, they gave me to understand that there was a great *Vacuum* in it; the principal Books and most rare Manuscripts having followed the Fortune of War, as well as *Ticho Brake's* Globe, so famous for its prodigious Bigness; which the *Czar* had taken away for a *Memorandum* of the Part he had in the Conquest of the Country. The Chappel is handsome, and the Tombs of the deceased Dukes which lie there have each their respective Magnificence. From the Castle I passed by another Bridge like the first, into a noble Alley shaded with Trees, which leads into a delicious Garden for its Situation, fine Parterres, Water-works, Statues, &c. To this Garden is adjoining a very pleasant Park, with Number of Deer, which is above a Mile in Circumference.

Itzehoa.

Gluckstadt.

My Fellow Travellers having finished their Affairs, and I far satisfied my Curiosity, we eat a Mouthful in that little Town of *Gottorp*, which has nothing remarkable, and continuing our Journey we went to lie at * *Itzehoa*; from whence we set out at Five next Morning, and the Day breaking began to discover a very fertile Country, agreeably diversify'd with Villages, Farms, &c. amongst which the Castle of Count *Rantzaw*, Lord of *Elmesborn*, a little Town some Miles farther, and yielded a fine Prospect on a rising Ground; from whence (besides *Itzehoa*) it overlooks *Gluckstadt*, and a Number of other Villages and Towns intermingled with Woods. We passed no nearer to it than half a quarter of a Mile; and one of the Merchants, who had seen it, told me, that the Inside did not at all answer its fine outward Appearance, it being built and furnished after the antique manner, and its Apartments (excepting some Halls that were too large) being very small and ill lighted, having more the Aire of Prisons than Chambers. Now I mention Prisons, the present Count is (whilst I'm preparing these

* *Itzehoa*, a little Town situated at the Foot of a Mountain, washed by the little River *Ithor*, which disembogues itself into the *Elbe* below *Gluckstadt*.

Remarks for the Press) confined in *Rensburg* by the Order of the King of *Denmark*, on Suspicion of having been accessory to the Assassination of his Brother the Count then living. † We reached *Elmesborn* in pretty good time, where we did not stop quite an Hour; and before Seven at Night we got to *Hamburg*; where, during Eight or Ten Days that I staid there, I receiv'd new Proofs of the Civility of the *English* Merchants, and other Persons with whom I was acquainted; and they subscribed to my Travels, which I told them I was going to deliver to the Press in *England*.

I left this City towards the Beginning of *December*, in order to go for that Country, taking the ordinary Road of *Harburgh*, *Bremen* *Bremen*, *Osnabrugh*, &c. without writing any Remarks but on the City of *Bremen*, (the Name both of the Dutchy and its Capital, which is *Hanse* or Free City.) The Country is fertile, and abounds among other things in red Cabbages, which makes one of the favourite Dishes of the *Germans*, and are most esteem'd for their particular Goodness. The Sovereigns of that *Dutchy*, now in Possession of the King of *England*, retain still the Title of *Archbishops* of *Bremen*, as well as of *Hamburg*, and have their Archiepiscopal Palaces for their Governors in the City, near the *Dome* or Cathedral. Divine Service is perform'd only in this Church after the *Lutheran* Rite. It is a bold Structure, but not the handsomest of the kind in the City; the others that follow the Reformation of *Calvin* deserve better that Title. There is a Vault famous for preserving dead Bodies incorruptible. I saw one amongst the rest, which tho' it had been dead some Ages, was not more disfigured than several Mummies, and it was even less black than they generally are. I cou'd raise it upright easily with one Hand, it being very light, and dry'd like the *Laplanders* and *Hollanders* Fish, and perhaps preserved by a like Art. The *Roman* Catholics, when Masters of this City, ascribed it (as I was inform'd) to a Miracle; the present Inhabitants, not being of the same Opinion, think it rather the Effect of the Vault: To which I answered, That to confirm it, and confute all Objections, they ought to renew the Experiment on some other Corpse; but they reply'd, that was true, but no body as yet thought it worth his Curiosity. They added, that it was the Body of a *British* Countess; her Cloaths, which were a laced *Holland* Shift, a *Sattin* Gown, and antique Head-dress, were very rotten, and fell in pieces on touching. The Town-Cellar is not less famous for the preserving of *Rhenish* and *Moselle* Wines. I tasted some, which they told me was about 100 Years old, which seemed as good as that kept at *Hamburg*, and better to my Palate. The Town-House is worthy Observation; the Front is August, and looks upon a fine Market-place; in its lower Hall is the Picture of a prodigious large Fish, which they say was taken at the Mouth of the River that washes that City, that is not unlike a Whale, and some call it so. The Room where the *Senate* sits (which consists of four Burgo-masters and twelve *Senators*, all *Calvinists*) is adorned with the Pictures of all the Emperors of *Germany*, down to *Leopold Ignatius*. In another, just by, is that of *Wilharde*, an *English* Man by Birth, said to have been the first Introducer of *Christianity*, and Bishop of this City. Having reached *Holland* on the 7th, I cross'd it in two Days as far as *Leyden*, where the Professor *Heyman*

† Count Rantzaw, a little Sovereign and Prince of the Empire.

Brill.

detained me two more by his usual Civility; from thence I went to *Rotterdam* the 11th, and having waited there for the Wind till the 13th, I embarked at the *Brill* in the *Phœnix* Sloop for *London*.

C H A P. XVI.

Of the South-Sea, and its Directors. The Inoculation of the Small Pox. A Conspiracy; with new Remarks on both the Native and Foreign Inhabitants of England. Their Divisions, and some Publick Vices, &c.

Harwich.

London.

THE Wind blowing strong and contrary, it was with much Difficulty that we got the 15th into *Harwich*; where I heard that Sir *John Norris* had met with another Storm, by which one of his Ships was lost. The next Day I took Post for *London*; where I was confirm'd by the publick Complaints, of what I had heard of the terrible Catastrophe of the *South Sea*, which was fallen from 980 and higher to 130, *Tolluntur in altum ut lapsu graviore ruant*; and now the Adventurers in its imaginary Regions had (for the most part) suffered Shipwreck in their Fortunes, whilst their Pilots had enriched themselves with their Spoils. Never was a Scene so altered as since my last Voyage; Numbers of Gentlemen and Gentlewomen were reduced to walk on Foot, who before loll'd indolently in their gilded Chariots, whilst others drove about in Coaches, who used to ride behind them, or trudge the Streets. Never had the Nation seemed to me so universally Malecontent, both Parties, *Whigs* and *Tories*, having both lost, joined their Complaints against the *Directors*, as they did formerly against the late King *James's* Encroachings upon their Spiritual and Temporal Prerogatives. The most violent of the Losers breathed out their Invectives even against their *Sovereign* himself, as if he had invented this Bubble and drawn them in. This brought to my Remembrance the Gamester of *Lucca*, mention'd in speaking of that City; who threw, they say, a Stone at a *Crucifix*, being become desperate by the Loss of his Money, without reflecting that 'twas in his own Power whether he would play or not. Others, and those the most moderate, ascribed their Misfortunes, partly to themselves, blinded by the Hopes of excessive Gain, or against all the Dangers of the *South Sea*, when they had before their Eyes a world of fresh Shipwrecks in the single River of *Mississippi*, whereby a Neighbouring Nation was ruin'd. In the mean while the *Directors* were call'd, both in Writing and by Word of Mouth, publick Robbers, and all the Names that the most just Resentment could suggest, for having drawn in and decoy'd so many Families, who were well before in their Circumstances, under the specious Bait of rendring them more wealthy, but with the only View of aggrandising themselves; and thereby rendred a Scheme otherwise good in itself, if honestly managed, the most chimerical and insecure; and,

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in a word, destroy'd the Publick Credit. They were compared to Sharpers, who inveigle young Noblemen of great Estates that have an Itch of Gaming, with whom they don't part till they have strip'd them of every Farthing. There was a melancholly List reckon'd of Persons who were reduced to the lowest Poverty, and of the divers Tricks used by the chief Authors of it.

In the Beginning of *February*, five of the Directors being taken into 1720-21 Custody of the Black Rod, Mr. *Robert Knight*, late Cashier to the Company, absconded and ran away; whereupon was issued a Royal *Proclamation*, with a Promise of a Reward of some Thousands of Pounds, for the apprehending of him; and on the 14th came Advice to the Court, that he was seiz'd in *Brabant*, and shut up in the Castle of *Antwerp*: Whereupon his *Britannick Majesty* sent Colonel *Churchill* to demand him of the *States* of that Country; but they declin'd to deliver him, alledging the *Law* of Nations. 'Twas reported at the same time, that Mr. *Laws*, the chief Director of *Mississippi*, who had been said to have obtain'd Leave and a Passport from the *Regent* to retire from *France*, to avoid hearing the troublesome Noise of the Murmurs and Complaints of the unfortunate *Mississippians*, passed through *Colen*, and was actually at *Venice*.

On the 24th died his Grace *John Duke of Buckingham*, of the Family of * *Shieffield*, after having erected a costly Tomb at his own Expence in the Abbey of *Westminster*, to the Memory of the *English Poet John Dryden*: His Corpse lay for some Days in a magnificent *State Bed*, and was interr'd with great Pomp in the Chapel of *Henry VII*. The following Epitaph compos'd by himself was found seal'd in his Will: *Pro Rege saepe, pro Republica semper,—Dubius vixi,—Non Improbus;—Christum veneror,—In Deo confido omnipotenti & benevolenti,—Humanum est nescire & errare,—Ens Entium miserere mei*. Many Copies of this were handed about, as a worthy Composition of that learned Nobleman, whose Stile in his own Language is such as that which I have mention'd in the first Article of *England*, in speaking of the Learning of the *British Nobility*; but it met soon with *Criticisms*, and brought in question his Grace's Religion, and a great many pronounced that he did not believe in *Christ*, to whom his *veneror* seem'd to them to be a single Compliment, which distinguish'd him from God, in whom his *confido* declar'd that he solely trusted. Some said he had no Religion at all; but this may be interpreted, as his Grace does, in his Character of King *Charles II*. of *England* that of that Prince, which he call'd *Deism*. However, the Chapter of *Westminster* wou'd not permit the *Christum veneror* to be engrav'd with the rest of the Epitaph on a sumptuous Tomb, which was erected for his Memory by the Dutches his Spouse about a Year after; so that it was left out, in *Deo* (in God) alone, said they, implying the Trinity among Christians.

In the Beginning of *May* was set up, to the great Scandal of the Publick, a Club call'd *Hell-Fire Club*; which was a Meeting of young *Debauchees*, consisting in People of both Sexes, who swore and curs'd for Swearing and Cursing's Sake, ridiculing, in most prophane and disrespectful Manner, all sorts of Religions; gamed and committed all sorts of Extravagances on certain Nights of the Week, and abused the *British*

* John Sheffield, Duke of the County of Buckingham, Duke and Marquis of Normandy; Earl of Mulgrave, &c.

Liberties in Defiance of all Laws, wherein the most wittily wicked were the most applauded, and call'd *King* or *Queen* (of *Hell*) and others in Proportion to their Parts. There were besides (it were to be wish'd we could not say now there are) many *Gaming-Houses* kept by *Tavern-men*, *Bawds*, and other disorderly Persons, who subsist by harbouring *Highwaymen*, *Housebreakers*, *Pickpockets*, *masterless Servants*, &c. and these Sharpers are dress'd like Gentlemen, the Strumpets like Ladies. I never was in any of these *Gaming-Houses*, but a Gentleman who has, after having lost therein a great deal of Money, and who had the good Fortune to be cur'd of *Cards* and *Dice* before he was totally ruin'd, gave me the following List of the Titles, by which the Officers of these *Gaming-Houses* are distinguish'd. 1.—a *Director General*, (a Clerk of a Justice of Peace) who superintends the Room—a *Commissioner*, always a Proprietor, who looks in of a Night, and by whom the Week's Account is audited, and by two other Proprietors—an *Attorney*, (generally a *Newgate* Solicitor)—an *Advocate*, or Counsellor (out of the Commission of the Peace)—a *Captain*, who is appointed to fight any Man that complains of any of the Sharpers not playing fair; or of being wrong'd, that frightening and threatening to kill him that reveals that Mystery of Iniquity, or complains abroad of having lost his Money—an *Operator*, whose Office is to deal the Cards at a Game call'd * *Faroe*—Two *Crowpees*, who watch the Cards, and gather the Money given, to decoy others to play—a *Clerk*, (a Check upon the *Puffs* to see if they sink none of the Money given them to play)—a *Flasber*, to swear how often the Bank has been strip'd—a *Squib*, a *Puff* Apprentice, without Pay, who lives upon casual Presents for Attendance—a *Dunner*, who goes about to recover Money lost at Play—a *Waiter*, to fill out Wine, set up Candles, &c.—a *Porter*, generally a Soldier of the Foot Guards—a *Runner*, whose Office is to bring Intelligence of the *Justices* Meetings, or of the *Constables* being out—an *Orderly Man*, who walks up and down the Out-side of the Door to come and allarm the House at the Approach of the Enemies, or unknown *Constables*—*Common Bail*, *Affidavit Men*, &c.—a *Secret Committee*, consisting of merry Ladies to talk, drink strong Liquors, &c. There the Shop-keepers or Traders, Workmen, Apprentices, Clerks, or young Men of good Families, inclin'd to Gaming, do resort in their *Heures perdues*, (as the *French* say) or last Hours, the Time they can spare, lose their Money, then rob their Masters or Fathers, and being exhausted and turn'd out of Doors, go on the Highway to get Money, and become Sharpers by Trade themselves, if Hanging does not prevent it. I cannot help here making a short Digression, to give an Idea of an *English* Highwaymen to Foreigners: He is not barbarous as to add Murder to Robbery, as in *France*, witness the fresh News we have from *Calais* of the unfortunate Gentlemen robb'd and kill'd in its Neighbourhood; for in *England* nothing is more uncommon; and a Highwayman will frequently stop a Coach, put in his Hat, take what Money is given him by the Passengers, and ride without molesting them any farther; and some have been generous enough to return them again as much as would serve them to the End of their Journey. Besides, 'tis contrary to the natural Bravery of the Nation, to murder any one who does not resist them; which leads me to observe about their Duelling, that 'tis seldom known, when two fight Sword and Pistol, that the one having fir'd first, and miss'd his Adversary, the other ever takes the Advantage of it, but gives

* A notoriously cheating Game.

gives him his Life, they esteeming it Cowardice to kill a Man who is no longer able to defend himself. This natural Bravery of the *English* is visible even in the meaner sort of People, as I have hinted somewhere else, with whom nothing is more common than, without having the least Quarrel with each other, to strip and box, only to see which is the best Man, (to use their own Terms;) which having decided, they go to the next Alehouse, and drown all Animosity in a Mug of Beer. Besides this, there are some so hardy, as voluntarily to challenge each other to fight, after the Manner of the ancient *Roman* Gladiators, with Sword and Target; in which Combate they are often dangerously wounded, and this only for the Lucre of the Money given by the Spectators, which is given to whoever is the Conqueror. But I insensibly confound honest Men with Highwaymen; tho' I may, in respect of Courage and Contempt of Death, for there is no other Country (I dare say) in the World where there are so many hanged for Robberies; they are not deterr'd by Fear of it; they generally have a chearful or undejected Countenance to the very Gallows, where they kiss their Friends, as if taking their Leave of them, as for a Journey. Besides, 'tis well known that they will rather make away with themselves upon a Misfortune, or an extreme Necessity, which they know not how otherwise to remedy, than to take from any Person both his Purse and Life, for fear of being discovered and suffering for it, as they do in *France* and some other Countries, at least there are very few Exceptions; also too many who do it daily, and seem to do it purely out of Contempt for Life, or out of Melancholy, which no Body can give an Account for but the *moisty* Climate they live in. Whilst I am writing this, a Lord of the Bed-Chamber, generally esteem'd, and of good Parts and Circumstances, shot himself in the Head, without any Body's being able to tell the Reason of it. But I return to the Gaming-Houses, which occasion numberless Disorders, and the Ruin of Abundance of young Men, the suppressing of which has been so often recommended from the Throne to the Justices of Peace; but there are so many Persons, even of their Number, who get by the protecting of them, that the Remedy is almost impracticable even to the honestest ones, who are willing to execute Orders, whilst the Protectors, and other such mercenary Accessaries and Advocates to publick Vices, are in Power. The same Gentleman who gave me the List of the Officers of these Houses told me of one of the Members of the Gaming Society, who, among others, was originally a common Drawer, and grew almost as rich at the *Faroe* Table as some of the late *South-Sea* Directors; and, for the better carrying on his Employment, got himself put into a Commission of the Peace. I happen'd Yesterday to read the *Sentiments of a Church of England Man*, a Treatise which is said to be written by Dr. *Swift*, whereby he seems to deserve the Name of a *Christian*, deny'd to him by some, on Account of his *Tale of a Tub*. I observed that he complains much of the publick Vices and Injustice of his Country, and teaches a pretty good Way for the redressing of them, in these Terms.

“ There is hardly any Nation in the World where Fraud is practis'd in
 “ so unmeasurable a Degree, as in *England*; where the *Lawyer*, the
 “ *Tradesman*, and the *Mechanick*, have found so many Arts to deceive in
 “ their several Callings, that they far outgrow the common Prudence of
 “ Mankind, which is in no sort able to fence against them. The *Lawyer*,
 “ who perswades you to purchase an Estate which he knows is mort-
 VOL. II D d d “ gaged

“ gaged for more than its Worth, to the Ruin of you and your Family ; and the *Goldsmith* or *Scrivener*, who takes all your Fortune to dispose of, when he has beforehand resolved to break the next Day ; such deserve the Gallows much better than the Wretch who is carry’d thither for stealing a Horse. The many Corruptions, in every Branch of Business, are such, that I have heard it computed, by skilful Persons, that of six Millions rais’d every Year for the Service of the Publick, one third at least is sunk and intercepted, thro’ the several Classes and Subordinations of artful Men in Office, before the Remainder is apply’d to the proper Use. I cou’d name a Commission where several Persons, out of a Salary of 500*l.* without other visible Revenues, have always lived at the Rate of 2000, and laid up 40 or 50,000*l.* There is in this Town one Abuse, which contributes to the Promotion of Vice, *viz.* That such Men are too often put into the Commission of Peace, whose Interest it is, that Virtue shou’d be utterly banish’d from among us ; who maintain, or at least enrich themselves, by encouraging the grossest Immoralities, and to whom all the Bawds in the Ward pay Contributions for Shelter and Protection from the Laws. Thus these worthy Magistrates, instead of lessening Enormities, are the Occasion of just twice as much Debauchery as there wou’d be without them. For these Infamous double their Industry, to answer the double Charges of paying the Justice, and supporting themselves, like Thieves who escape the Gallows, and are let out to steal, in order to discharge the Jaylor’s Fees.” Comparing what this Writer says with what I have observ’d, I must confess, that I never saw any Place where publick Lewdness and Debauchery is so bare-fac’d as in *London*. The Courtezans, ’tis true, are suffer’d in *Italy*, as necessary Evils and Remedies against a worse Vice (as they give for Reason.) I won’t deny that they are oblig’d to give their Names to the Magistrate before they can trade in Kindness ; and are so far in some Places protected, as to have a Price set on their Favours, and Payment exacted by the Secular Power, if the Gallant refuse it. I have seen (amongst others) a young Knight of *Malta* arrested one Morning for not having paid his Bed-fellow, tho’ her Fees were regulated by the Law there but a *Mattese* Crown, or sixteen Pence. The Government there exacts nothing from them but some moderate Contribution, and this to be apply’d to the publick Use, as to some Covents and Hospitals. ’Tis unheard that these Courtezans ever pick up Bed-fellows in the Streets, or rob them, as I hear they do here, whatever Opportunity they may have ; so that they at least avoid giving Scandal, (which is a Curse pronounced by the Author of Christianity) and verify both the *Latin* and *Italian* Proverbs : *Si non Casté saltem Cauté*, “ If not Chastely, at least Cautiously :” *Per Strada modesta, in Letto sfaciata*, “ Modest (the *Italian* Curtezan) in the Streets, and shameless between the Sheets.” I must confess, I never met in *England*, nor any where else but in *Italy* and *Malta*, any Clergyman, who acted the Minister of *Venus*, in offering me (as too many do to Travellers) a young Nymph of his to whom I might offer up my Vows ; but they are punish’d if discover’d. And when I was at the latter Place an Abbot was threatned by the Bishop for his Services to both Sexes, with having Band and Cloak taken from him ; and I was inform’d that he was afterwards deny’d the Order of Priesthood, for having continued in that scandalous Employment. Another barbarous and inhumane Evil, which I never heard of but in *Sweden* and *England*,

England, is Women's murdering, or (which is little better) dropping their Infants begotten against the Laws; and all for want of Hospitals, as at *Paris*, *Hamburgh*, &c. where young Women, who have Children without being married, wrap them warm, and put them in at a Turning Box placed generally at one End of the Hospital, where they are well taken Care of, and that without being themselves exposed by it. And if they have a mind to reclaim them one Day, they enclose some Token, whereby they may be known with them, and may have them returned upon paying something for the Benefit of the House: if no body reclaims them, they are put Apprentices to the Trades or Professions they are found fittest for. I wonder, that in *England*, so rich a Country, where they have the finest Fleet in the Universe, where the Boys might be provided for, be serviceable to the Publick when grown up; and the best Woollen Manufactures in the World, where the Girls might learn to spin, and earn their living without being burthensome to the Nation, they have no such Hospital. And I think, that some raking rich old Batchelors, who had rather live upon the Publick than confine themselves to a Wife, ought to found and endow such a House, to indemnify the Kingdom, in some measure, for the Detriment it has suffered by their Intrigues.

The aforesaid Doctor, after having complain'd of the Contempt the Clergy generally lie under, he allows, that there are some scandalous Persons who wear the Priestly Habit, thus, "Whoever happens to see a
" Scoundrel in a Gown reeling Home at Midnight (a Sight neither un-
" frequent nor miraculous) is apt to entertain an ill Idea of the whole
" Order; and at the same time to be extreamly comforted in his Vices. He thinks it a Scandal to Government, that such an unlimited Liberty shou'd be allowed of publishing Books against those Doctrines in Religion, wherein all *Christians* have agreed; much more, says he, "To
" connive at such Tracts as reject all Revelation, the Divinity of *Christ*,
" the *Trinity*, the Immortality of the Soul, &c. and by their Confe-
" quences of denying the very Being of a Diety, &c. To remedy these and too many more Evils, He wou'd have the Government appoint a kind of *Censors*, as the *Romans* did, even when they enjoy'd their greatest Liberty: "He wou'd have, says he, the Number of the Justices of
" the Peace enlarged, and that they shou'd endeavour to admit none
" but such as were of virtuous and disinterested Principles, and who
" had considerable Fortunes, and perhaps receive into the Num-
" ber some of the most eminent Clergy. As to the Vices of the Town, "He wou'd have a Law made that all Publick House-keepers,
" shou'd be obliged upon the severest Penalties, to draw only a propor-
" tion'd Quantity of Drink for every Company; and when they found
" their Guest disorder'd with Excess, to refuse them any more: That
" they shou'd dismiss their Company by Twelve at Night, and shut up
" their Doors; and that no Women shou'd be suffer'd to enter any Ta-
" vern or Ale-house, under any Pretence whatsoever: He wou'd have
" the said *Censors* empowered by the Government, to inspect every
" where throughout the Kingdom into the Conduct, at least of Men
" in Office, with respect to their Morals and Religion, as well as their
" Abilities: To receive the Complaints and Informations that shou'd
" be offer'd against them, and make their Report upon Oath to the
" Court or Ministry, who shou'd reward or punish them accordingly.
" And surely (adds he) 6000 *l.* a Year wou'd not be ill laid out upon

“ as many Commissioners, duly qualify'd ; who, in three Divisions,
 “ shou'd be personally obliged to take their yearly Circuits for that pur-
 “ pose. That the straggling Clergymen, who came up to Town to
 “ seek their Fortunes, should be fairly dismiss'd to the *West-Indies*,
 “ where there is, says he, Work enough for them; and where some
 “ Provisions shou'd be made for them as they shou'd deserve : Or that
 “ none shou'd be allowed to wear the Habit, till he had the true and
 “ worthy Qualifications becoming his Character ; with some Prefer-
 “ ment in the Church, or at least some Temporal Fortune sufficient to
 “ keep him above Contempt. That a Law shou'd be made for limiting
 “ the Press, at least so far as to prevent the publishing of such pernici-
 “ ous Books which he has complain'd of, as, under Pretence of Free-
 “ thinking, endeavour to overthrow those Tenets of Religion which
 “ have been held inviolable, almost in all Ages, by every Sect that pre-
 “ tend to be *Christians*.

In the Beginning of *May*, the King gave Orders for the suppressing the Blasphemous Club before-mention'd to my Lord Chancellor, who sent Circular Letters to the Justices of Peace of *London* and *Middlesex* to that End ; those of his Majesty against disorderly Houses were renewed at the same time. In the mean while, the Inoculation of the Small Pox, which I left triumphant in *Turky*, work'd Miracles in *England* ; and Mr. *Wortley Montague*, who had been returned about Two or Three Years from his Embassy at the *Porte*, had the Operation perform'd on his Children, with as much Success as cou'd be wish'd for. This Example, together with those of divers Persons of an inferior Rank, who had already fortunately prevented, by this Operation, the Danger of this Distemper, and the Havock it usually makes with the Beauty and the Sight, gave almost a general Credit to it ; so that it had hardly any Enemies, except some few Ecclesiasticks, who declar'd War against it in their Sermons, as contrary to the Order of Providence ; and one of them call'd it a Plague wherewith the Devil afflicted *Job*. I remember the Doctors *Timone* and *le Duc*, both great Promoters of Inoculation at *Constantinople*, having drawn the *Greek* and *Armenian* Clergy upon their Backs, as well as the *Romish*, on that Account, answer'd them by way of Raillery, “ That their Invectives against the Inoculation, as disturbing
 “ the Order of Providence, hinted that Death was more agreeable to
 “ that Order than Life ; but seem'd to proceed only from a selfish
 “ Spleen, because they were, by this Method of Practice, depriv'd of
 “ the Profit of burying so many Children as died before every Day of
 “ the Small Pox.” To which purpose it may be observed, that there are no Nations where the Funerals are more magnificent or more solemn, than among the *Greeks* and *Armenians* ; they besides adorning their Corps with their best Cloaths and Jewels, have a Number of Priests accompanying them to the Grave : And there is hardly one among them so poor, but he will have the Patriarch in his Pontifical Habits, and several Metropolitans, to assist at the Burial of those whom Death snatches from him. The *Roman* Catholicks are not less pompous in the interring their deceased Friends, if one excepts the Custom of dressing them magnificently, and with their Faces bare ; neither have they a lesser Number of *Priests*, and the *Latin* Bishop usually assists at the Funerals. The same Doctors had many more serious and violent Disputes with Father *Brancornier*, the Superior of the *Jesuits*, and other Fathers of this Order at *Galata*, on the same Head. It cannot be proved,

proved, in my Mind, of the like selfish Spleen on the *English* Priests, for there is generally but one Priest at a Burial, and I don't see that he has any great Profit by it. It may be added on the contrary, that the Advantage arising formerly from hence to them has been almost quite taken away by the Reformation, and given to the Secular Undertakers, or Performers of *Funerals* as they are call'd, who make them very magnificent in their Way, and consequently very costly. I won't determine what is the Motive they act upon, but will believe 'tis only from a Tendernefs of Conscience.

Towards the End of *July*, the principal Members of the *English* College of Physicians, who were Favourers of that Practice, foreseeing that it wou'd be a great Benefit to the Publick, for the Preservation and multiplying of the *British* Subjects, in the Number of which consists the Riches of a Country, begged his Majesty to grant their Lives to five condemn'd Malefactors, who said they never had this dangerous Distemper, on Condition of their undergoing the Experiment; thereby to encourage grown Persons, to whom this Disease is generally more fatal, in Proportion as they advance in Years. His Majesty willingly granted this Favour; and the Operation being over, four of them had the Small Pox the fifth, sixth and seventh Day, in a very small Number, and almost without being in the least indisposed. The fifth, who was a Woman, and who said that she never had them, in all likelihood to save her Life, had not one Pock; and being well examined, and assured at the same time that the King wou'd not revoke his Pardon, even if he shou'd know that she had recourse to that Fraud to escape Death, she confess'd, that she was not certain, but that at least she did not remember her having them; and that her Parents, whom she lost whilst very young, had not let her know it, if she had. Upon these Examples, and a great many others (Numbers having undergone the Operation without any Mischance happening) the *British* Court judged it fit to have the young Branches of the Royal Family inoculated, upon whom they came out as well as cou'd be wish'd for. The most famous *English* Physicians wonder, that the *French*, who in very small Time have seen two *Dauphins*, and others of the Blood Royal, carried off by this dangerous Distemper, shou'd neglect a Thing so safe and so expedient for the Welfare of their young Monarch; not seeing any one Instance to deter them from it, amongst such Numbers that have undergone it in many Climates, even less happy than theirs. On the 10th of *August*, the King of *Great Britain* gave his Assent to an Act of Parliament for making several Provisions to restore the Publick Credit, which suffered much by the Frauds and Mismanagement of the former *South Sea* Directors, &c. and at the same time his Majesty acquainted both Houses, that he had renewed all the Treaties of Commerce with *Spain*, upon the same foot as they were before the late War.

We heard on the latter End of *February*, that the Czar, who has concluded such a Peace with *Sweden*, as I have hinted, was complimented thereupon by his *Clergy* and *Senate*; and firnam'd in all their Speeches and Addresses to his Czarian Majesty on that Account, as well as that of his other glorious Exploits, *Peter the Great* and *Emperor of Russia*, &c. and that he accordingly had sent Orders to his Ministers Abroad, to present Memorials in his Name, and make the necessary Instances at the respective Courts where they resided, to get this latter Title recognised thereat: That the King of *Prussia* was the first who

who acknowledged it ; and 'tis now said that many other Powers have done the same, as the Kings of *Spain, Sweden, &c.* From the latter he got that of Royal Highness for the Duke of *Holstein*, which was denied him hitherto by the *States and Senate*, as contrary to the Law or *Norkoping*, and their Right of Election ; and Advices from *Constantinople* tell us, that his Czarian Majesty is soliciting the like from the *Porte*, by his Envoy there ; but I dare say, that he will meet with no great Difficulty, since that Court allows every Sovereign to call himself *Patishaw*, or Emperor of his own Dominions : A Title she grants as freely *v. g.* to the King of *France*, as he takes it there by his Ambassadors being call'd *Francise Patishaw, Emperor of France* ; so we may hear soon that the Czar shall be stiled there *Moscow Patishaw, Nemine Contradicente*. As for this Title, the very Name of Czar is a Corruption of *Cæsar*. Besides, this Prince, according to the *Russian Chronology* of the Czars of *Muscovy*, derives his Origin from *Julius Cæsar*. The *Cæsars* were call'd Emperors, *Imperatores ab Imperando*, from commanding the *Roman Armies* ; he may pretend to be stil'd so, for having happily commanded his own Forces both by Land and by Sea, and added so many Conquests to his Dominions, to support gloriously that Name ; and accordingly 'tis reported he stiles himself in Foreign Letters thus, By the Grace of God, we *Peter the First, Emperor and Sovereign of all Russia, Moscow, Kiow, Woledimir, and of the Great Novogrod ; Great Duke of Smolensko, of the Lower Novogrod, Czenikow, Rezan, Kostow, Jaroslow, Bielozorow, Udir, Obdonia, Candy ; King of Ziberia, Cazan, Astracan ; Lord of Turkey, of Circassia ; Hereditary Lord and Possessor of Georgia, Cabordia, Korki, Bulgaria, Pleskow ; Duke of Estonia, Livonia, Carelia, Ingria ; Lord of Wiborg, of the Isles of Oesil, Dragoë, Maen.**

The 10th of *March* his *Britannick Majesty* having dissolved his Parliament, and call'd a New one on the 13th, the Elections for it were carried on with the usual Noise and Clamour ; several Coffee-house Papers were full of malicious and bitter Invectives and Reflections against the Old one, and abused both the Government and Ministry most disrespectfully ; as well as did scurrilous Ballads sung thereupon in the Streets, during this kind of *Interregnum* : In short, the Licence was like that which is taken on the *Thames* by the Watermen, and no more Notice was taken of it. Some of the *Pretender's* Adherents thought it a proper Opportunity, when the King was designing for *Hanover*, to raise a Rebellion against his Majesty in favour of the *Chevalier*. Their Project was first discovered by some of their Letters ; first by one intercepted in the Beginning of *April*, in which were found these Words, or thereabouts, *Pray let M. Chaumont know, that since the Parliament is dead and gone, I think it is a good time to make an Effort when the Elector is gone to Hanover.* It was confirmed by another, written even after a New Parliament was chosen, where the *Whigs* got the Majority as in the former. The Letters were reckon'd to be of the Bishop of *Rocheſter* to the *Pretender* himself : However, the Writer said therein, *Notwithstanding this Opportunity is elapsed, I agree with you another may offer before the latter End of the Year.* But

* The Swedes yielded the eight latter (to his Czarian Majesty by the Treaty of *Nyſtadt*), with the Territory and Dependencies of *Wiborg* in *Finland*. In short, by this Treaty, which was concluded on the latter End of *August, 1721*, this Prince has on his Side all the Articles he had insisted upon during the late King of *Sweden's* Life, except that of an Alliance Offensive and Defensive between the two Crowns.

his Majesty having timely Advices from Abroad of their Machinations and the Measures they were taking to carry on their Design, prevented the Execution of it; and on the 8th of *May* my Lord *Townshend*, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, acquainted, by his Order, the Lord-Mayor of *London*, "That his Majesty had received repeated and unquestionable Advices, that several of his Subjects, forgetting the Allegiance they owe to their Sovereign, as well as the natural Love they ought to bear to their Country, had enter'd into a wicked Conspiracy, in Concert with Traitors abroad, for raising a Rebellion in the Kingdom, in Favour of a *Popish* Pretender, and to overthrow thereby the most excellent Constitution in Church and State, and to subject a Protestant free People to Tyranny and Superstition." But he added, that he was commanded, at the same time, by his Majesty, to inform his Lordship, "That the Authors neither were nor could be supported, nor even countenanced, by any Foreign Power; and did not question but, by the Blessing of Almighty God, and the Assistance of his faithful Subjects, the Efforts of the Malice of his Enemies would be turn'd to their own Confusion; and that his Lordship, pursuant to the Trust reposed in him, would, in Conjunction with the other Magistrates of his good City of *London*, exert, with the utmost Care and Vigilancy, his Authority, in so important a Conjunction, for the Preservation of the publick Peace,

On the 9th the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Recorder of *London*, presented an humble Address to the King, wherein they express'd "their utmost Abhorrence and Detestation of the intended Rebellion; return'd their hearty Thanks to his Majesty for his tender and indulgent Regard for his faithful Subjects; assuring him of their steady and unalterable Affection and Zeal for his Royal Person and Government, and for the Continuance of the Protestant Succession in his Royal Family, and of their utmost Care for the Preservation of the publick Peace, and Vigilance of their Councils, in concurring with his Majesty towards entirely defeating and frustrating the Efforts of all his Enemies, or their Aiders and Abettors." To which his Majesty having given his gracious Answer, issued a *Proclamation* for putting the Laws in Execution against the *Roman Catholics* and *Nonjurors*, commanding the former to depart from the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and confining them to their Habitations, &c. The same Day the Right Honourable Sir *Robert Sutton* was sworn of his Majesty's Privy-Council. On the 16th of *June* died at *Windsor* the Duke of *Marlborough*, and his Body was brought a few Days after to his House at *St. James's*, there to lay in a State-Bed, it having laid for about a Month in his House at *St. James's*, on a most magnificent State-Bed of Black Velvet, with Plumes at the Corner of the Tester, was removed from thence the 9th of *August*, and carry'd to *Westminster Abbey* with an extraordinary great Pomp; the Procession marching in the following Order, thus—a Detachment of Horse Grenadiers—another Regiment of Horse Guards—the Artillery, consisting of fifteen Pieces of Cannon and two Mortars, with the great Kettle-Drums belonging to it, in Carriages, drawn each by two Horses, and accompany'd by Cannoniers and Bombadiers—the Detachment of the third Regiment of Foot Guards—a Detachment of the second Regiment of *ditto*—the first Detachment of *ditto*—Seven General Officers, a Major General, and two Lieutenant Generals—the Earl *Cadogan*,
Chief

Chief Commander of his Majesty's Forces, &c. attended by two *Colonels*, one as *Quarter-Master General*, the other as *Adjutant General*, and his six *Aids de Camp*—the eldest Company of *Grenadiers* of the first Regiment of *Guards*—the Porter of the *Heralds* Office in a Gown of Cloth, and a black Staff in his right Hand—Seventy three Out-Pensioners of *Chelsea* (the Number of the deceased's Years) with the Badge of his Crest on one Arm, two and two—*Trumpets* and *Kettle-Drums*, the first having Bandrols with his Scutcheons upon them, and the second cover'd with black Bay, adorned also with the same Scutcheons—a *Standard* on a Lance, with the like Scutcheons, carry'd by a Major, and supported by two Officers—a Mourning Led Horse, on whose Caparison were his Arms, adorn'd with Plumages—40 Mourners, two and two—*Trumpets*, with Bandrols, as the first—a *Rouge Croix Poursuant* of Arms—a *Guidon* on a Lance, carry'd by a Major—a second Mourning Lead Horse caparison'd, and adorned with Feathers, as the first—40 Mourners—*Trumpets*—a *Rouge Dragon Poursuant* of Arms—an Ensign carry'd by a Colonel, and supported by two Officers—a third Mourning Lead Horse, equipp'd as the foregoing ones—Divers *Trumpets* with Bandrols, having the deceased's Arms upon them as a Prince of the *Empire*—Blew Mantle *Poursuant* of Arms—a *Standard* with the *Imperial* Eagles—a fourth Led Mourning Horse also, with the same Arms on his Caparison—the deceased's Secretary—his two Chaplains—Two *Trumpets* in the King's Livery—the Banner of the Order of the Garter on a Lance, carry'd by a Colonel, and supported by two Officers—a fifth Mourning Led Horse, with Scutcheons of that Order in his Caparison—40 Mourners—the deceased's Chamberlain, Steward, Treasurer, and Comptroller, with the White Stuffs of their Offices—Three *Trumpeters* in the King's Livery—*Chester* Herald of Arms—The Duke's, as Generalissimo, great Banner full of Scutcheons, on a Lance, carry'd by a Colonel, supported by two Officers—the chief Mourning Horse cover'd with Velvet, and the said Arms on his Caparison, led by an Equerry, assisted by two * Grooms—The Duke's Spurs and Gauntlets, carry'd by *Lancaster* Herald of Arms—his Target and Sword carry'd by *Windsor* Herald of Arms—his Surcoat of Arms carry'd by *Norroy* King of † Arms—the Deceased's *Body*, with a Suit of *Armour* gilt, having the Truncheon in the right Hand, and the great Collar of the Garter about the Neck, with the *George* appendant, and the Garter on the left Leg—a rich Sword in a Crimson Velvet Scabbard, buckled on the Side by a little Velvet Belt, on one Side of the Head the Cap of a Prince of the *Empire*, and on the other a Ducal Coronet, the Feet resting on a *Lion couchant*: The lower Part of this Chariot was adorn'd on both Sides with Numbers of Shields, representing his great and glorious Victories, under which was a Scrole, with this Motto, *Bello hæc & plura*: It was drawn by eight Horses, all over cover'd with Velvet; the two first caparison'd with his Grace's Arms, as a Prince of the *Empire*; the two next with his full Arms, surrounded with the *Garter*, with the Supporter surmounted; the two following with the Ducal Coronet; the two next to the Body with his like full Arms, led by as many Grooms, besides the Coachman in deep Mourning—a Horse of State

* The foregoing Mourning Horses were led each only by a Groom. † All the Officers were in as close Mourning as the Military Profession does allow, the Soldiers holding their Arms turn'd after the usual Manner on such Occasions.

caparison'd with Cloth of Gold, led with a silken Rein by the deceased's Master of Horse, assisted by two Grooms, that was said to have been mounted by the Duke in his last Battle—the Duke of *Montague* in his chief Mourning Coach, with his Train-Bearer sitting over against him—The Earls of *Sunderland* and *Godolphin* in the next Coach—Seven others, four carrying two Dukes each, and the three two Earls each—a Led Horse richly caparison'd—the King's Coach—the Prince of *Wales's* Coach—those of the Nobility, &c. according to their Ranks. This Procession having taken its *Grand Tour* thro' *Hide-Park*, *Piccadilly*, down *St. James's Street*, then thro' *Pall-Mall*, so on by *Charing-Cross* to the *Abbey*, only the chief Standards, the Guidon-Bearers, the Herald and Chaplains, and the White Staff Officers entered in Church, with the Nobility, and a few other Persons; all the Detachments, with the Artillery, &c. went back in good Order to *St. James's Park*, there to stay till a Signal was given them to make a Triple Discharge of their Arms, on the depositing of the Body in the Vault of *Henry VIIth's* Chapel.

On the Arrival of the Chariot at the West Door of the Church, the Armour was taken off, and the Body carry'd into the Church, where a Velvet Canopy was placed over it, four Earls holding the four Corners of the Pall, the Organ playing all the while; then the Prebends in their Copes and Surplices, taking their Ranks between the great Banner and the Heralds, began to sing, *I am the Resurrection and the Life*, &c. going on till the Body was set on a Stand in the middle of the Chapel; after which, every Body being seated according to their Ranks, an Anthem was perform'd with vocal and instrumental *Musick*; which done, the Body was let down under the Vault, at which Time the Artillery and Muskertery in the Park fir'd three Volleys; then the Choir sung, *Man that is born of a Woman*, &c. continuing to sing till it was deposited; then the Dean read, *For as much as it has pleased Almighty God*, &c. which ended, the Choir sung, *I heard a Voice from Heaven*, &c. then the Garter King of Arms proclaimed the Stile of the deceased Duke; and immediately after, his Grace's Officers breaking their Staves, deliver'd their Pieces to the Garter, who threw them upon the Coffin, and every Body withdrew.* This Funeral was worthy of so great a Man, who, for above 10 Years, never fought a Battle but he won it, nor besieged a Place but he took it; to whom one of the greatest Heroes that ever sat on the Throne of *England*, King *William III.* gave this Character, That *he had a Cool Head, and a Warm Heart*; recommending him, at the same Time, to the Princess his Successor, a few Moments before his Death, as *the fittest Person to command her Armies*; a Character so much more generous, that 'tis said he had then some particular Reasons of not being well satisfy'd of his Behaviour in one Respect.

In the mean while, the Clergy, Mayors, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and other Magistrates of divers Cities, Counties, Boroughs, came daily to present their loyal Addresses to the King, to the same Purpose as those of *London* had done; and 'twas thought proper, for the Security of this City, as well as of his Majesty's Person and the *Royal Family*, to form in its Neighbourhood a small Camp, and another on the Plain of *Salisbury*, the King relying so far on the Loyalty of his faithful Friends and

* From the Time at which the Procession began to march, till then, the Guns did not discontinue Firing from the Tower every Minute.

Subjects for it, against the Attempts of the disaffected ones, as not to send for Foreign Troops, and thus sav'd to his People the Charges of it. Those moderate Dispositions being made, his Majesty set out on the 28th from his Palace at *Kensington* for *Salisbury*; where, as well as in *Hampshire* and *Wiltshire*, through which he passed, he was met by their Clergy, the Mayor and Aldermen, Sheriffs, and other Magistrates, in their Formalities, and received Compliments, with Addresses full of Loyalty, and Protestations of Affection for his sacred Person, and of Zeal for the Continuance of the Protestant Succession in his Royal Family. His Majesty made on the 30th a Review of his Forces encamped within two Miles of the Town of *Salisbury*, after having heard Divine Service in the Cathedral Church; and after a Stay of two Days at *Salisbury*, came back towards the latter End of *September* to *Winchester* by *Portsmouth*, (where he view'd his Fleet) through *Sussex*, *Guilford*, arriving at *Kensington* the 1st of *October*. That Prince received, during that Journey, thousands of Proofs of the Loyalty and Affection of his Subjects in every Place where he passed, and gave as many Proofs of his Royal Liberality to the Poor, especially to Parsons Widows, Prisoners for Debt, who were ordered to be discharged at his own Expence, those for Crimes not unworthy of his Clemency to be set at Liberty, and made great Conquests of the Pretender's Friends. I heard some say in the Country, that if his Majesty would be pleased to shew himself now and then thus to his People, there would be soon no more *Jacobites* and *Nonjurors* left in all his three Kingdoms, than there are now *Woolfs* in *England*, (to use their own Expression.)

In the mean while, several Persons had been and were daily taken up and imprison'd on Account of the said *Conspiracy*; among others, the most considerable ones were Dr. *Atterbury*, Bishop of *Rocheſter*, the Lord *North* and *Grey*, &c. 'Twas given out, that some Papers of the Prisoners, and divers Letters daily intercepted, shew'd that the Duke of O. wou'd have as great, or even a greater Share in the Revolution (as they term'd it) in Favour of the Pretender, than in that by which the Prince of *Orange* ascended the *British* Throne; he was gone, as appear'd, with such a Design into *Spain*, when King *George* and King *Philip* had their Difference about *Sicily*, in order to be assisted by his *Catholick* Majesty, but was disappointed in the Execution by the Agreement which was soon made by the two Monarchs. He having remain'd almost ever since there, seem'd to be encourag'd to make an Attempt, or an Effort, by some considerable Persons of his Friends and Council, and with the Assistance of the Pretender's Adherents both within and without the Kingdom. This Effort (which no Foreign Power would support) was said to be no less than to dethrone King *George*, and even make away with his sacred Person, those of the Royal Family, and the Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Forces, seize on the *Tower* and the *Bank*, &c. as 'twas concluded from many of the said Papers, and, among others, a certain Letter of *Plunkett's*, wherein he says, "Should O. come with
 " half a Dozen of Regiments only, he would make him (King *George*)
 " according to the best Decypherers Explanation, run for it." In another,
 " That if *Burford* and the Club have a mind to have him deliver'd up,
 " they shall, there being those that will undertake it, and offer to do
 " whatsoever is requir'd." In another, "I can assure you, Despair has
 " made some to take a Resolution to lay violent Hands on him, but
 " there

“ there is a stop put to them at present.” In another, “ That the *Regent* joins with King *George*, &c.” In one, of a certain Person call’d *Willson* to a Lawyer call’d *Layer*, who was arrested afterwards, “ That if *Cadogan* were but shot, the Soldiers would declare “ for O. &c.” To which I heard several *Tories* say, “ That they “ could not think that the Duke of *Ormond* a Person of true Va-
 “ lour, whom they pitied as being misled by the ill Counsels of
 “ some of his too much interested and ambitious Friends, (and they
 “ named one of the Prisoners for one) nor any of those Lords who
 “ were seized, knew or would ever approve such barbarous Means;
 “ that indeed the Contrivers of them seem’d not so intent to serve
 “ so much the *Pretender*, as their private Interests ; but rather in Imitation of those Soldiers who expose themselves to the greatest Dangers of an Assault on a besieged Place, with the only Prospect of Plunder, to put their Country to Sword and Fire, and rob it of its Treasure, and ruin its Credit ;” in short, they express’d as much Abhorrence as the most zealous *Whigs* for the Publick Good could have of them. The Prisoners, as well as their Papers and Letters intercepted, being carefully examined by the Committees appointed for that purpose ; it appeared from them, that the first Intention of the Conspirators was to have procured a regular Body of Foreign Troops ; who with those already listed in the Kingdom, and others who would be invited to leave King *George* for their intended King *James*, would perform the Business in hand at the time of the Elections, a time of Riots, wherein the boundless Liberty already mentioned is taken, when all the Freeholders of *England* are necessarily assembled together, and when the whole Nation is too apt to be in a ferment, even in the quietest Times. But being disappointed in their Expectation by the Majority of the *Whigs*, they resolved to make the Attempt as soon as the King should be gone to *Hanover*, by the help of such Officers and Soldiers as could pass in *England* unobserved from Abroad, and those who were already there listed, or known to be well affected, or gain’d to him under the Command of the Duke of *Ormond*, who was to have landed in the River *Thames*, with a Number of Arms provided in *Spain* for that purpose ; at which time the *Tower* was to have been seized, and the City of *London* made a Place of Arms. ’Twas said, that according to Advices from a trusty Person at *Rome*, the *Pretender* was speedily to embark at *Porto Longone* ; but this Design being also disappointed by the Discoveries made there, his Majesty putting off his Journey, and the Encampment of his Forces at Home, as well as the sending for those from *Ireland* ; and by the Readiness of his good Allies the *States General*, to assist him with some of theirs in case of Need ; by the Orders given in *Spain*, at his Minister’s Request to that Court, that the said Duke should not be suffer’d to embark there on any Expedition, and the like Orders issued in *France*, that he should not be permitted to pass that Kingdom, &c. the Conspirators found themselves under a Necessity of deferring their Attempt till the breaking up of the Camp. ’Twas concluded from the said Papers, &c. that during this Interval they were labouring by their Agents, Messieurs *Layer*, *Plunket*, *George Kelly*, a Nonjuring Clergyman, who was said afterwards to have been a great Assistant and Friend to the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, to write and convey’d Letters for him, as well as another Nonjuring Clergyman call’d *Carte*, and other Emissaries, to seduce the Officers and Soldiers

ers of his Majesty's Army: They depended so much on this Defection, and the general Discontent of the Nation, as to entertain hopes of Success, tho' they shou'd obtain no Assistance from Abroad; which nevertheless they had not dropt soliciting, as was confirmed by unquestionable Advices from almost all the Parts of *Europe*; but his Lordship denied always he had had any particular Acquaintance with the said Persons: That by one *Neynoe's* Confession, he had been employed by *George Kelly* and one *Watson*, to draw up three several Memorials to the *Regent of France* for a Succour of Forces to the Number of 5000 Men. But by that of *Layer*, a Lord of very great Parts who seem'd not to entertain a great Opinion of the Success of this Plot, and wherein he was found to have no other Part, than to know that there was such a one projected, had told him, that the *Regent* was not to be trusted; and that the *French* had made a Tool of the *Pretender*, as long as they thought he could serve their Ends, but now did not care for him. By one Letter sent from *Rome*, to one of his Majesty's Secretaries of State, it appeared that the Miscarriage of the *Grand Project* was attributed there to the want of the necessary Subsidies from their Friends in *England*, and to the suspected Faith of the *Regent*, as well as to the Pufanimity of the *Pretender*; who, to avoid hazarding his own Person, proposed to send his Child*. The Committee observ'd from *Layer's* Scheme, as well as from a Letter of one *Sample*, who had made his Escape from a Messenger, that the City of *London* was to be involv'd in Blood and Confusion, the *Bank* plundered for Encouragement and Reward of the Undertakers, and an Insurrection managed in the Country: That there were already 6000 Arms ready; all which Circumstances, and many others, were not only proved by some of the Prisoner's own Confession, and the Letters of the *Plot* Contrivers, &c. but even by Foreigners; as among others, by one Captain *Bähr*, employ'd in the *Swedish* Expedition for bringing the *Madagascar* Pirates to *Gottenborg*, to settle there and in other *Swedish* Ports, form'd under the late King's Reign, and mention'd in my Account of that Country; for whom the Lords Committee sent, and from whose own Mouth I had repeated what he had said to their Lordships; but much more concerning that Project. I thought it dead indeed with King *Charles*; but I was informed by him, that this present King, with the *Senate*, judg'd it worth considering, and found it should be a great Relief to the Government, and Benefit to the *Publick* as Affairs then stood; that accordingly a Convoy was form'd and fitted out at *Gottenborg*, where several of the *Pretender's* Adherents being at that time, enter'd themselves in the *Swedish* Service; some on board the *Swedish* Commodore *Ubrick*, some on board the others. As this Convoy was to carry Arms to the *Madagascarians*, for the Security of their Passage from their Island to *Gottenborg*, those Men had Interest enough with the *Swedish* Captains and Officers, and the *Commodore* himself, to treat with them for a great Quantity to be deliver'd (on being well paid for) at *Cadiz*; that Place being in their Way, and *Sweden*, *Great Britain* and *Spain* being mutually at Peace. So far the *Commodore*, and the other Captains and Officers, who agreed to it, (thinking perhaps they were for the Use of the *Spaniards*) cou'd justify their Conduct to all three Courts; but not in what follows,

* There were but few or no Roman Catholicks concerned in the Plot; and some would have that the sending of the Pretender's Child was advised by the Bishop of Rochester; who, to encourage the Protestants in the Rebellion, made them understand he would have him bred up in the Church of England Belief.

for being arrived at *Cadiz*, the chief *Swedish* Ship *Carolus* was taken into the *Pretender's* Service and call'd the *Revolution*, the Name given to the then meditated Conspiracy in *Great Britain*. There not only the Arms put on Board for his Service, but even those intended for the Pyrates, with most of the Powder and Ammunition, were disposed of to his Partizans. The *Commodore* permitted several of his own Officers, and of the other Ships, to enter into the *Pretender's*; which Conduct, with his returning home *Re-infectâ*, were so far from being excused by the *Swedish* Court, that he was arrested on his Arrival.

On the 11th of *October*, the Parliament being met for the first time, the King went to the House of Peers with the usual State and Solemnity, and the Lord Chancellor read his Majesty's Speech to both Houses; the Substance of which was almost like that of my Lord *Townshend's* Letters to the Mayor of *London*, concerning the Conspiracy lately form'd; adding, That the Conspirators, notwithstanding the Discovery of their wicked Design, and the Measures taken to prevent the Execution of it, and that several of their Accomplices were seized, had not yet desisted from carrying it on; but that his Majesty did not question, that the Parliament would on this Occasion exert themselves with a more than ordinary Zeal and Vigour for the Preservation of the Peace and Tranquility of the Kingdom, recommending to them the Union so absolutely necessary among Well-wishers to the present Establishment and Constitution, both in *Church* and *Government*, &c. and promising to continue making the Laws of the Realm the Rule and Measure of his Actions, &c. As soon as his Majesty was withdrawn, and the Commons retired to their House, the Duke of *Grafton* took Notice of that horrid Conspiracy lately formed, and still carrying on against the King's Person and Government, shew'd the Necessity of strengthening his Majesty's Hands for a full Suppression of all these traiterous Practices; and thereupon presented a Bill for suspending an Act called *Habeas Corpus*, empowering the King to secure and detain such Persons as his Majesty should suspect were engaged in the Conspiracy, and that for the space of one Year. This Act met with a pretty deal of Opposition; some looking on it as an Encroachment on the *English* Liberties and Prerogatives of the Subjects; others finding the Term too long, and insisting to have it reduced to that of Five or Six Months, 19 Peers entred a Protest against it; but on the Question being put that the Bill do pass with the said Term of a Year, it was carried in the Affirmative by a Majority of 246 against 193, and his Majesty went on the 17th to the House of Peers, and gave the Royal Assent to it.

On the 26th, *George Kelly* being taken up and examined by the Committee of Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, was committed to the *Tower*, so was the Duke of *Norfolk* on the 27th; but his Grace was afterwards released, as well as all the other Lords under Arrest.

During these Transactions, the *Whig* and *Tory* Writers laying the *South Sea* aside, as an old exhausted Subject, fell on that of the Conspiracy, tho' in an opposite way; the first representing it with the blackest Colours, and the others lessening the Malice of it, and endeavouring to give it an Aire of Fable in their Writings and Conversations. The Bishop's Imprisonment made a great Noise, and gave occasion to many Reflections; the *Whigs* pointing at the *Tories* said, "See now the Tendency of your *Passive Obedience* Principles! Who a more strenuous Defender of it than Dr. *Atterbury*? Who deeper in the Conspiracy to
" betray

“ betray a *Protestant King*, on whose Head he even assisted to put the
 “ *Crown*, and to whom he took the Oath of *Allegiance* ? Who more
 “ ready to take it back again from his Royal Head, and crown a Po-
 “ pish Pretender with it ; so to overthrow at once the best Constitution
 “ both in Church and Government ?” Then repeating almost King
 George’s own Words in his late Speech, “ Had King George, since
 “ his Accession to the Throne, ever attempted any Innovation in our
 “ Establish’d Religion ; had his Majesty, in any one Instance, invaded
 “ the Liberty or Property of his People, we should less wonder at any
 “ Endeavours to alienate the Affections of his *British* Subjects ; and
 “ would join with you, as in the last happy Revolution, for the Pre-
 “ servation of those Sacred Laws and Liberties ; but on the contrary,
 “ what Law, nay, what Tittle of Law has that Prince violated, or has
 “ not maintain’d ? What Treaty has he broken ; or into what unjust
 “ War has he plunged the Nation ? Has not he, by his Wisdom, con-
 “ firm’d ; nay, preserv’d inviolably, and even amended the Treaties
 “ concluded before his coming to the Crown, in those very Points
 “ that seem’d most advantageous to the Kingdom of *Great Britain*.”
 For Instance, they quoted the Harbour of *Dunkirk* entirely filled up,
 the new Works at *Mardyke* destroy’d and given over ; the Duties of 10
per Cent. on the *Spanish* Coasts in the *Mediterranean* restored to the
 ancient Foot of 6 *per Cent.* in favour of the *British* Merchants ; new
 Alliances contracted with the most ancient formidable Enemy of *Great*
Britain, &c. “ Now, continued they, allarm as much as you please the
 “ People with your usual Clamour the *Church is in Danger*, because the
 “ Bishop is in the *Tower*, we will take care to dissipate the Allarm, by
 “ shewing that it is less in Danger since he is there ; and we have a wise
 “ King, who, assisted by his loyal Subjects, will remove all the rest of
 “ the Danger, in which the Conspirators were bringing both our Spiri-
 “ tual and Temporal Liberties, &c.” The *Tories* esteem’d indeed the
 Doctor as a great Champion in their Party, for his true Learning and his
 extraordinary Eloquence and Hatred to the *Whigs* and Dissenters ; but did
 not love him generally for his proud and haughty Temper. I heard
 some moderate *Tories* say, that the *Whigs* wrong’d them very much in
 confounding them thus with the *Jacobites*, as they seem’d to do in their
 Invectives and Publick Papers ; that they ought to distinguish between
Tories and *Jacobites* ; and tho’, said they, “ Most of us oppose the Court
 “ in many Respects, yet we are so far from being Nine Rebels in Ten, as a
 “ Foreign Minister was pleas’d to say, for want of being well acquainted
 “ with our Inclination, ’twould be a difficult matter to find One in Ten
 “ that are so. Besides, continued they, our Party Divisions or Opposi-
 “ tion to the *Whigs*, and that of them to us, are so far from being a de-
 “ triment to the *Publick*, that they serve to keep us vigilant over each
 “ others Conduct, and may prevent those at the Helm from running such
 “ lengths towards giving up the Peoples Liberties, as otherwise they
 “ might do, if there was none to be Spies on their Actions, and allarm
 “ the *Publick*. As to the Passive Obedience which they reproach us with
 “ misapplying, as if we thought our selves bound by it to acknowledge
 “ the *Pretender* as a lawful Heir, we are not less wrong’d in this respect
 “ than that of opposing the *Whigs*. Did not our Clergy, who preach’d it
 “ up and we join unanimously with the Protestant Dissenters as our near
 “ Relations in Christ ; or rather were we not the first to invite them to
 “ join with us against the late King *James II.* by making them sensible
 “ of

“ of the Danger in which the Protestant Religion in general was, when
 “ he began to break through our happy Constitution ; That the Liberty
 “ of Conscience, and other Privileges that Prince granted then to all the
 “ Dissenters in general, were purely to favour those of his Religion, and
 “ a Snare to them (the Protestant Dissenters) to be quiet and unactive,
 “ and not disturb him more in the overthrowing the *Church of England*,
 “ than they were disturb'd in the free Exercise of their own Worship, till
 “ he had re-established the *Romish* Church in its former Power and Splen-
 “ dour here, and gain'd thereby Strength enough to entirely root out the
 “ whole *Protestant* Religion, with greater Safety, while the Professors of
 “ it were at Variance among themselves, and assisted to destroy each
 “ other.” They added, that their Sentiments concerning *Passive Obedi-*
ence were not all such as they were represented by their Adversaries,
 but most like those of a Church of *England-man*, written by Dr. *Swift*,
 and already mention'd, which they advis'd me to read, and I have done
 so. This learned Clergyman writes in the following Manner : “ The
 “ Question originally put, and as I have heard it disputed in the
 “ Schools, is this ; *Whether, under any Pretence whatsoever, it may be*
 “ *lawful to resist the Supreme Magistrate ?* Which was resolv'd in the
 “ Negative ; and this is certainly the right Opinion. But many of the
 “ Clergy, and other learned Men, being deceived by a dubious Ex-
 “ pression, have mistaken the Object to which *Passive Obedience* is due.
 “ By the Supreme Magistrate, is properly understood the Legislative
 “ Power, which in all Governments must be absolute and unlimited.
 “ But the Word *Magistrate* seeming to denote a single Person, and to
 “ express the Executive Power, it came to pass that the Obedience
 “ due to the Legislature, was, for want of knowing or considering
 “ this easy Distinction, misapply'd to the Administration.” Thus, by
 such a Distinction, he justifies the late Revolution, and the Exclusion of
 the Pretender, and praises the Zeal of *Magdalen* College, which furnish'd
 the Prince of *Orange* with Arguments for both. “ Granting, says he,
 “ that the Right of a lineal Successor to a Crown (for the Topick of
 “ his suspected Birth is meerly popular) were upon the same Foot with
 “ the Property of the Subject, still it may at any Time be transferred
 “ by the Legislative Power, as other Properties frequently are. The
 “ Supreme Power in a State can do no Wrong, because whatever that
 “ does is the Action of all ; and when the Lawyers apply this Maxim
 “ to the King, they must understand it only in this Sense, as he is Ad-
 “ ministrator of the Supreme Power ; otherwise it is not universally true,
 “ for he may be controlled in several Instances easy to be produced.”
 He supposes “ a Prince limited by Law, like ours, yet running into a
 “ thousand Caprices of *Cruelty*, like *Nero* and *Caligula* ; I will suppose him
 “ renouncing *God* and *Christ*, and worshipping the *Devil*. These, and
 “ the like Exorbitances, are in the Power of a single Person to commit,
 “ without the Advice of a Ministry, or the Assistance of an Army ; and if
 “ such a Prince, as I have described him to be, cannot be deposed but by
 “ his own Consent in *Parliament*, I do not well see how he can be resist-
 “ ed ; and what can be meant by a limited Monarchy, and what signi-
 “ fies the People's Consent in making or repealing Laws, if the Person
 “ has no Tie but Conscience, and he is answerable to none but *God* ?”
 He uses many other such strong Arguments to the same Purpose.

During the Examination of the Prisoners, the Pretender, who was
 at *Lucca*, heard, with all the Uneasiness that can be well imagined, that
 his

his Design was not only discover'd, but prevented, by the Arrest of his principal Agents in *England*, the fittest Persons to serve him in it. He sent thereupon a Declaration, printed in that City, under the Name of *James III.* King of *England*, &c. and dated the 20th of *September*, and in the 21st of his Reign. It was handed about in *London* among his Friends; but as soon as render'd a little publick, was burnt by the Hands of the common Executioner before the *Royal Exchange*. In this Declaration he accuses the present Government of "violating
 " the Freedom of *Elections*, subverting the *Constitution*, and inventing
 " *Conspiracies* on purpose to give Pretence for new Oppressions, and
 " (as if his Word was to be taken when speaking in his own behalf)
 " says, 'twas at a Time when 'twas well known that all Attempts
 " were impracticable," But one Part of this Declaration seems to contradict the other; for what Probability is there that a Prince, who (as he owns himself in it) "governs a willing and obedient People,
 " where he is under no other Limitations than the natural Goodness
 " of his Temper, shou'd commit so many tyrannick Acts, in a Nation
 " where he is restrain'd from it by the Laws and Constitution?" What he chiefly enlarges upon, is his own natural Inclination for Lenity and Moderation, and his Aversion to shedding Blood, and Violence; whence he takes Occasion to exhort King *George* "to resign the
 " Throne to him of his own Accord; on which Condition he permits him to retire to his *German* Dominions, allowing him to retain
 " the Title of *King*, and would perswade him to prefer a calm and
 " undisturb'd *Sovereignty* over a People, who obey him as much by Inclination as Duty, to one, which he represents as usurp'd over a Nation, which can't suffer a *Foreign* Master, whilst there is one who has
 " a *Native* Right to it." The *Whigs* said, "that this Declaration did
 " talk the same Language as the *Tories*, or that the *Tories* were talking like it in their Publick Papers, calling the Conspiracy a *Mock-Plot*, which the Declaration call'd, *invented for new Oppressions*; complaining of Standing-Armies without Need, (to the great Charge of the Nation) for so they call'd the few Troops quarter'd about the City; of the Innocent's being imprisoned and prosecuted, under Pretence of holding a Correspondence with the Pretender, &c. of vile Informers and false Witnesses: And, they added, the Reasons of these Complaints were easy to be guess'd at; that they proceeded from the Disappointment of the Conspirators in the Plot; that they would have his Majesty stay quite unguarded, that these Wretches might lay violent Hands on his sacred Person, &c. as some of the Prisoners were convinced, by unquestionable Proofs, of having design'd; and thus, by that barbarous Way, to get a new King of their own making, the Object of their Passive Obedience; a bigotted *Popish* one, who had not so much as named the *Church* of *England* in this *Manifesto*, any more than in the others publish'd before, or to have given a good Word to the *Protestant* Religion, or promis'd to protect and defend it, which he ought to have done in good Policy; if the Nation was under any Burthen of Expences for supporting the pretended and magnify'd Standing-Army, they ought to be thank'd for rendring it necessary, by their frequent Plots and restless Humours, and Inclination for a Change of Master: Which the *Tories* deny'd, and said that they were as sincerely resolute against the Pretender as the *Whigs*, and would have themselves believed to
 " be

“ be so ; and that if they did oppose the Court now and then, ’twas
 “ purely from a Principle of Love to their Country, which they were
 “ as fit to serve as the best of them, and not at all out of any Disaffec-
 “ tion to the King, whom they would dissuade from making too gene-
 “ ral a Use of them ; that their chief Aim was to preserve both the
 “ *Church* and the *State* from the Dangers wherein they might be
 “ brought, by too great a Favour to *Dissenters*, or by ill Counsellors ;
 “ that indeed a King of *England* was not to be look’d upon as infallible,
 “ but tho’ a *Protestant* one, he might be misled even by a *Protestant*
 “ Parliament or Ministry, preferring their private Interest to the publick
 “ Good.” That Silence of the Pretender upon the *Church*, or *Protestant*
 Religion in general, reminded to me what I heard from a Gentleman
 of Honour, whom I met in my last Travels, *viz.* That a Nobleman of
 the same Nation, who had been tax’d with engaging in Measures con-
 trary to the *Hanoverian* Succession, and who, after the *Queen’s* Death,
 went over to his pretending Majesty, (to use his own Terms) was
 desired (as being one of the best Orators and Pens in the Kingdom)
 to draw up a *Manifesto* to prepare the *Britons* for his intended Expedi-
 tion into *North Britain* ; which he did accordingly. But having in-
 serted, among others, a very pathetick Article in Favour of the Esta-
 blish’d *Church*, and the *Protestant* Religion in general, (in order to in-
 gratiate him with the Body of the *People*) importing, that he would
 confirm and protect them in their *Civil* and *Religious Liberties*, without
 suffering them to be disturb’d, or making therein any Innovation what-
 soever, the pious *Chevalier* dash’d it all out with his own Hand ; where-
 upon the Noble Writer was so much disgusted with him, and his *Canaille*,
 (for that was his Expression) that he forsook his Party, leaving him
 (added he) to the Applause of his bigotted Council of Conscience, and
 to a Success worthy of his Conduct. He added, That if, contrary to
 all Appearance, he shou’d ascend the *Throne*, he would fall from it ra-
 ther faster than his Father. The Person who told me this, had it from
 the Nobleman’s own Mouth.

All that can be said for the pious or scrupulous *Hand* that blotted
 out this Article, or for the Advisers of it, is, that it may be judged a
 Sign of greater Sincerity than Policy of the *Chevalier*, in not being
 willing to promise what he never intended to perform, *viz.* to pro-
 tect those that he deem’d *Hereticks* ; and it seems that his *Confessor*
 has never read the Conversions made by the *Jesuits* among the *Chi-
 nese*, or did not know how to make Use of their mental Reservations
 in respect of the *Christian Worship*.

On the 31st *Christopher Layer* being brought from the *Tower* to the
King’s Bench Bar, Westminster, and being there arraigned on an *Indict-
 ment* for *High Treason*, he pleaded in Abatement a *Misnomer*, *viz.*
Christopherus for *Christophorus*, and pleaded over to the *High Treason*,
 Not guilty. The 3d of *November* being again brought thither, the
Attorney General demurred to his Plea in Abatement, and the Court re-
 quired him to join in *Demurrer*. Then he thought fit to withdraw his
 said Plea ; upon which the Court made a Rule for his Tryal on the
 21st of the said Month, at which Time he was try’d before the Chief
 Justice *Prat*, and the Justices *Powis, Eyre, and Fortescue Aland* ; and
 after a full Hearing, was brought in Guilty. The 27th a Sentence
 passed upon him as in Cases of *High Treason*, and the Court order’d a
 Rule for his Execution at *Tyburn* on the 11th of *December*, when his

Majesty was pleased to respite it till the 22d, and so from Time to Time till the 17th of *May* of this Year 1723, when he was executed, as I'll mention in its proper Place.

1722-23. The 21st of *Jan.* Mr. *Pultney*, from the same Committee which had been appointed to examine the said Mr. *Layer*, having acquainted the House of Commons, that upon the Perusal of the Papers relating to his Case, and in their Examination of him, frequent mention was made of one *James Plunket*, then in Custody of one of his Majesty's Messengers; it was ordered that the said Committee be empowered to examine him, and to address his Majesty thereupon; and on the 22d a Packet of Papers, relating to the Prisoners, seal'd up, were laid before the Commons, who referred them to the said Committee. Among those Papers were, as I was told, two Draughts of Letters, sworn to be his Hand-writing, to the Pretender, under the Name of *Jackson*, dated the 22d of *March*, 1721, to whom he writes thus; "I look, Sir, on your Law-Suit to
" be in such Forwardness, that a speedy and happy Replication (Re-
" volution) must inevitably ensue. The *Waggs* as well as the *Tan-*
" *ners*, which he explain'd to *Layer* to be *Whigs* and *Tories*, seem both
" convinced, and unanimously agree upon nothing less than to redress
" their Ruin: The *Precepts* my Friend and I gave in lately have con-
" tributed much to this *Emulation*, and we have more to give in; and
" if they improve them as they have done the former, you will have
" a good Game in it. The *Tanners* will certainly stand by you on
" Occasion, and do even offer to bear my Charges, to go and give
" you a better Account of the Matter by Word of Mouth, &c." The
other to *Digby*, dated the 21st of *May*, in which he says, "I hope in
" in a little Time Mr. *Joseph* (which *Layer* own'd to be another ficti-
" tious Name for the Pretender) will be the Ministry's only Refuge.
" There are those who will undertake to do the Job in less than twelve
" Hours, and K. G. will be got off by Hook or by Crook." The same
Gentleman made the like Representation about *George* and *Dennis Kelly*, Prisoners in the Tower.

The 4th of *February* being appointed for *Layer's* Execution, he was repriev'd then to the 11th; a Day wherein I found at my Return from a Friend's Country-House, where I had pass'd two Days and two Nights, that the Maid-Servant, whom I have mention'd in the second Article of *England*, p. 147. on Occasion of the Abuse of the *British* Liberty, had been seduced away; and soon after that I missed the Silver *Medals*, &c. also mention'd *ibid.* relating to this Work, which were stolen out from among fifty Brass ones, for which I thanked the Ignorance of the Thieves, in respect of the latter; for one of them his Grace the Duke of *Devonshire* gave me 12 Guineas, and 18 for twenty more. As I look still upon my self here as a Traveller, this way of wronging any Body with such a barefaced Impunity, even under the sacred Veils of *Justice* and *Religion*, seems so singular to me, that I'll add it more at length to my Remarks on *England*, with which I am now to close my Travels, as an Instance of the publick *Vices* so much complain'd of by Dr. *Swift*; and returning to *Turky* for a few Minutes, compare the Usage I have met with there, on Account of another Girl, with that which I have met with here on Account of this: Which gives me an Occasion to say some thing more of the way of buying of Slaves, &c. I bought this *Cossack* (a Monster of Ingratitude!) in the Neighbourhood of *Bender*, at my Return from *Circassia*, almost all naked, being
a poor

a poor Country Girl, looking after Cattle, as the Man who sold her told me when she was taken; and indeed, if she had the best Cloaths which those that trade in Slaves use to dress them with, to expose them the most advantageously to sell, I should not have had them in the Bargain, it being not customary. I cloath'd her very handsomely from Head to Foot, took a *Pengick*, or Bill of Sale, from the Seller, mentioning her Age, Complexion, &c. as usual; I bought a Waggon to carry her to *Constantinople*, in order to serve my Family there, for which I had redeem'd her; for, as I have hinted before in the Article of *Turky*, the *Christians*, even those of the County, (tho' a conquer'd People) can hardly find Servants themselves of their own Nation, and consequently much less we *Franks*; the poorest sort, especially Women, being so proud, and living at so cheap a Rate, that if any Body who is easy in his Circumstances wants Servants, and ask them the Question, they generally answer, *I am not a Slave*; at least there are very few who will accept of any such Service, and none among the *Turks*, either Men or Women. A Gentleman of my particular Acquaintance, one of the chief Officers at the *Swedish* Court at *Bender*, hearing of it, offer'd me another free Girl, whom I might (said he) have for nothing; adding that the Charge of Carriage were almost the same to carry many as one. He invited me to Supper at a Gentlewoman's who had her, and to whom she had been recommended by a *Moldavian* Woman, as a poor Orphan, whose Father pretended dead many Years before, was a *Pole*, and her Mother lately, a *Moldavian*, who had bred her up in her Religion, under the Name of *Anna Wosky*, saying that she was very willing to serve in any *Frank* Family, and talk'd good *Polish*, besides *Turkish* and *Moldavian*. The Gentlewoman told me after Supper, that she was a good Servant; and better for Labour than the Slave I had bought, being stronger and older, and indeed she proved so; but that having one already of her own Nation, she wanted no more. I desired only that she should be asked whether she would go so far for Service as *Constantinople*? she was so, and answer'd *Yes*. At the same time a *German* House-keeper to Mr. *Fabrice*, wanting to go home by way of *Adrianople*, *Belgrade*, &c. desired a Place in my Waggon as far as *Adrianople*, which I granted her; and Mr. *Fabrice's* *Valet de Chambre* being then to go that Way into *Germany* for his Master's Affairs, was to take her along with him; which being agreed upon, I went to take my Leave of the *Bashaw*, of whom I ask'd a Pass for the two said Girls, for one as a Slave, and the other free Servant, and I got it; after which we set out, the Men on Horseback, and the other Sex in the Waggon. Having reached *Adrianople* I parted from my *German* Companions to proceed on my Journey to *Constantinople*, and went directly to alight at my own House in *Pera*. As I looked upon both Girls as *Greeks* by Religion, I told them that I would put no Constraint upon them in that respect, but they might go to their Church with a *Greek* Woman in our Neighbourhood; but they both said they would go rather to ours. The first time they went Abroad, they were seiz'd as Commodities for which I had not paid Custom; thereupon I went to the Custom-House Officers, and excused myself for not having done so, as being a Stranger who had never bought Slaves, and consequently was ignorant of the Duties to be paid. He answer'd, he believ'd so; but this would not exempt me from paying double Custom, the only pain in *Turkey*, (as I have said elsewhere) for running Goods. I reply'd, that I was content to do so for the *Cossack*

Girl, the other being free ; which having made appear by the *Pengick* and the *Bashaw's* Pass, he was so too ; and having received my Money, and given me a *Teskare*, or Ticket, he added, You may sell or dispose of her in what manner you will, without apprehending any Trouble ; and indeed I had none but what I met here in *London*. But I cannot say the same of the other, who was like to prove a very dear Present to me, and involve my Family in a great Trouble ; for she was neither *Orphan*, nor *Polish*, nor *Moldavian*, nor *Christian*, but had a *Lipka* or *Lithuanian* Father, of those *Mahometans* whom I mention'd in the Article of *Bender* ; as another, a Relation of his, among them who brought from thence the King of *Sweden* Prisoner to *Demotica* about two Years afterwards, discover'd it thus : He happening to come to *Constantinople* some Months since, for some Business, saw her unveil'd, following my Spouse to Church, (for the *Frank* Women seldom use Veils unless they will go *incognito*) he spoke to her in *Turkish*, without my Spouse's observing it ; but she made as if she had not known him ; whereupon he told her, *I see you are turn'd Guiaour (Infidel) I'll acquaint your Father with it ;* and he was as good as his Word. The Girl at her coming Home seem'd very uneasy, cry'd, and would not eat. I ask'd her the Reason, which she confess'd at last, with all that she had conceal'd till then ; and added, that she had the worst of Mothers-in-Law, who occasion'd her deserting her Father's House ; which reminded me that I had not had a good one myself in *France*. I pardon'd her in my Heart, tho' I told her that she should go back to her Father, and beg his Pardon, and I would be at all the Charges to send her there : But she answer'd, she would rather drown herself, (a desperate Action, and unheard of in *Turkey*), and pray'd for God's Sake I would hide her in some Family of my Friends ; but I was not so great an Enemy to any of them, as to propose such a thing. I wrote all this to the Gentleman who had help'd me to her ; He was surpris'd, as may be imagin'd, and desir'd me, that in Consideration of the Condition their Affairs were then in at *Demotica*, I would endeavour to save him from new Broils. Hereupon I consulted those Friends who were the best acquainted with the *Turkish* Laws and Customs ; and they represented to me how nice a Point it was for a *Christian* to be serv'd by a *Mahometan* Girl, whom the *Turks* themselves not allow to have, nor even to see unveil'd any Maid Servant, or any other young Woman of their own Nation, besides that of her going to a *Christian* Church, which was yet worse ; and advis'd me to get her out of the Country, that she might not be forced to turn Evidence against me, and then have it publish'd that a Maid Servant runn'd away clandestinely from my House ; I follow'd their Advice, and did well, as I'll say hereafter.

As I was then designing for *Germany* and *England*, I hasten'd my Departure on that account, had her dress'd in Men's Cloaths, took a Pass from the *Porte* for myself and a Servant, and she was that whom I mention'd in my Journey from thence in 1713. We took the Post, as I said then, on Horseback ; and she being a Horseman's Daughter, seem'd to have learnt riding from Nature, for she rode all the while as hard as my self, nay even as a *German* Courier whom we met on the Road between *Philippopoli* and *Demir Capy*, without her Sex being even suspected ; and having got Acquaintance with a good honest Family in *Hungary*, I recommended her to them as a Slave, who being

taken

taken young, was bred up in the *Turkish* Religion, but was willing to be a *Christian* again, and serve any Family of that Religion who would take her; and she was received there the more gladly, that one or two of the same Family had been in the same case, as they thought thereby; but I heard soon after my Arrival in *England*, that her Father being informed by his Relation of what I said before, was come to *Constantinople*; where hearing that she was run away, he made a great Noise, threatned and brought my Spouse before a *Cady*, who did not judge for want of Evidence on his Side; then to the *Divan*, where both the *English* and *Dutch* Ambassadors sent their Interpreters to plead our Cause, which they did so strenuously, saying, That the Girl's Flight was an Argument of Guilt, and a Sign of a Trick put upon us, he having no sufficient Evidences to prove that she was his Daughter; and many attesting for us, that they heard her say that she was a *Polish* Orphan and *Christian*, my Spouse was soon cleared from further Prosecution.

I return to the *Cossack* Girl, who had not been brought over here, if her humble Request, and Promises of Wonders in respect of Service and Fidelity, had not prevail'd on the Counsel of our Friends in *Turkey*, who told to my Spouse, that if she was good for any thing, she would soon prove a true *Cossack*, or be spoiled by the *English* Liberty. She prov'd however tolerably good, till her chief Seducers came to lodge in the House where we are now, and whence they got her out. They hid her so carefully, that all the Rewards, with a Pardon for her, I promised in the Advertisements, could not get her discover'd till they had her christen'd again, and thought thereby to have sufficiently secured their Prize; when she made boldly her Appearance from her new Mistress's, under the *English* Name of *Nelly*. Looking upon that Mistress, to whose Character I was a Stranger, as a Gentlewoman, as perhaps impos'd upon by the Malice and Lies of the said Seducers, I went to her, told her my Case, and asked her who had recommended to her my Servant. She answer'd, That she knew her two Years ago, and had no occasion of Recommendation, and she thought her entirely innocent of what I laid to her Charge. I added, that Innocence did not want a second *Baptism*. To which she reply'd, That she was not certain of her being christen'd. I said, That indeed 'twas so long ago, and she was likely so very young then, that she could not remember it; that if she had express'd such Doubt, for several Years she had lived in my Family, I would ascribe it to her having heard some *Roman Catholics* say, that those who die unchristen'd go to *Limbo*, and would have her cured from that Fear of going there, by convincing her that all the *Cossacks* are *Christians*; but that her leaving clandestinely my Service, absconding for five or six Weeks, my missing several Things of Value, as two Gold Rings, Linnen, &c. besides my Medals, at which no body could come at but herself, or those she admitted in the Room where they were, could not appear to any impartial Eyes as Signs of Innocence; and thereupon she began to deny that she absconded, but that she was as free as myself in *England*, and not obliged to give me an account of Things that she had not taken, and did not want neither my Pardon, nor to serve my Family. I told her, That she must be very ungrateful, since she did cost me so much Money, and had been always very handsomely cloath'd, (and indeed she wears to this Day the very last Cloaths which I gave her, and it came to Eighty Pounds

Pounds Charges to me the buying and bringing her to *England*). After such other Contestations to no other purpose, she profer'd to carry me to her *French* Uncle *Hotteville* a Vintner, that I might talk with him; and imagining that he might be more reasonable, I agreed to it; and indeed he appear'd so, till Passive Obedience, under which his *English* Wife, her real Aunt, seem'd to keep him, made him alter his Language or be silent; she talk'd upon the same threatening Tone as the Niece, and even in a more haughty manner. In the mean while, *Nelly* was dispatch'd to fetch the Seducers to witness her Honesty. They came, and I told them I did not wonder at their Proceedings, whatsoever they might do henceforth, after having seduced my Servant so far, that one of them passed whole Nights with her in the Room were my Medals, &c. were. They began to threaten me in a bold manner, worthy of their Character. As the *French* Uncle and the *English* Aunt offer'd to appear before a *Justice* of the Peace, I said I had yet some Compassion for the Girl, tho' render'd by her Seducers unworthy of the Pardon I had offer'd her in my Advertisements, and would give them 24 Hours to think on it; after which I would have her arrested, if they did not prevent it by fair means, so left them abruptly; and I did accordingly take a Constable along with me, at a Time which I had even notify'd to them: For which reason the Niece had prepared a strong Black Guard for the Defence of her Prize; and no sooner heard the Name of *Justice P--y* pronounced by the Constable, but she repeated two or three times, as in an Extasie, *Justice P—y*, oh! I am very glad, I know him well. They were led into a Room, where the Landlord's Wife was, and her Maid came, a more impudent one than I had ever before heard talk, and a kind of Attorney of those whom the *English* call Pettyfoggers, fit for Officers in the Gaming-Houses before-mention'd, with the Uncle and the Landlord, another sort of Non-resisting Husband: The two first gave me such Language, that I could imagine my self passing thro' *Drury-lane* * after the Setting of the Sun; but apprehended that they intended to provoke me so far, as to call them the Names which their Language deserv'd, in order to take Advantage of it. I was confirm'd in my Imagination by the Attorney's bullying me in the same Strain, threatening me with a swinging Action (to use his Terms) the Uncle and the Landlord being silent, appeared as if design'd for Evidences, in case I had done as they expected; but contenting my self to face the bullying Pettyfogger, and say, Sir, 'tis enough indeed to be robb'd, but too much to be insulted and threaten'd into the Bargain; which, with a despiseful Silence, was my Answer to their Insults. The Niece, during this was in her Room, giving to her new Maid *Nelly* alias *Arpina* Instructions, as appear'd afterwards; a Coach was call'd, she took her in and her Landlady; the three Champions walk'd by themselves, and I alone with the Constable, so we went before the *Justice* too; where we all staid a good Quarter of an Hour without his appearing, or any body else of his People, but a young Man, who seem'd pretty intimate with the Girl's new Mistress, and entertain'd her very familiarly. I enquired into the Reason of our waiting so long; but I was told that he would not appear before the Witnesses should be present, and it happened that these Witnesses were

* *Drury-lane*, a Place in London, the most famous Evening Walk for the Votaries of Venus, where 'tis impossible to pass without being attacked by some of them, or hearing a Language not to be heard in any Publick Place besides, at least where I had been.

the very Seducers of the Girl; and they no sooner came in, but he did so too. The young Man presented them a *Bible*, they kiss'd it, and laying their Hands upon it, swore that she was very honest, and that I had said so my self. To which I answer'd in vain, what I have said *Pag.* 147. Then he ask'd the Girl, whether she could swear that she had not robb'd me? She answer'd, Yes, and did so. I might conclude by what I had heard and what I saw, and swearing again and again were made nothing of, and perform'd as easily and readily as requir'd by some People in *England*; nay, she moreover swore, without being ask'd, but this with a trembling Voice, and looking at her new Mistress, as a Child repeating her Lesson, that I had attempted to debauch her. At which I thought my self in a Dream, distrusting my Ears and Eyes: However, I ask'd her why she did not take then that Opportunity to leave honourably my House, instead of doing it so clandestinely in my Absence, &c. But she continuing to look at her Mistress who stood just by her, seem'd to beg an Answer for which she was not prepared; which not receiving, gave none. Of this the *Justice* took no more Notice, than of what I had reply'd to the Witnesses; but discharg'd her in the manner mention'd in the said *Pag.* 147. I retir'd, as I have said there; and my Landlord having call'd after this the Seducers and Witnesses, the very Dregs of the People, and given them other such Language he knew they deserved, did me the Satisfaction to turn them out of his House, as unworthy (said he) to live in any honest one. The more I thought on what Ground the swinging Action, which I had been threaten'd with, might be enter'd against me, the less I could guess it, till I was inform'd that the Girl ought to swear a Rape upon me; even that one of them had said, that she was mad for not having done it; may be she was not yet so far perverted, or did not understand the Meaning of that Word, or had forgotten it.

Happening to dine some time afterwards at a Gentleman's, who is in an eminent Post at Court, he asked whether I had found out my Servant or Medals, which I had advertised in the News Papers? To whom I gave this Account, ascribing such Usage to my being a Stranger here. "Don't think so, answer'd his Lady, I was robbed by one of my Maids, nay, even seen her wearing my own Linnen, and had her brought before a Justice, who bail'd her himself."

I was advis'd by several Persons to have the Girl taken up again, and brought before another *Justice*, saying, That they are not all alike; and to enter an Action against my Threatners; and I had done it long since, if Justice was administer'd here in its primitive Simplicity or Purity, and with that Speed as in *Turky*, or in the Manner I have observed in the Chapter of *Egypt*; of which I'll relate only one Example, among a great many admirably remarkable ones. Mr. *Stafford*, a Merchant, who liv'd in my Time at *Gallata*, carry'd before the *Cady* of the Place a Debtor who would have play'd the Rogue with him for 17000 Dollars, and had false Witnesses to swear that he had paid them; the *Cady* pronounced, on their Deposition, in his (the Debtor's) Favour; the Creditor appeal'd to the *Divan*, where his Cause being pleaded by himself, and the *English* Interpreters, his Character, and that of the Debtor, as well as that of the Witnesses, being examin'd according to Custom, the Debtor was sent to Prison, there to remain till he had paid, and his Witnesses to the Gallies, and all this for a trifling Expence, and in less than two Weeks. The same Merchant told me, that he

he had a Law-Suit in *England* for less than 200 *l.* which lasted near a Year, and the Expence of which ran higher than that Sum.

On the 12th of *March*, *John Freind*, M. D. was taken into Custody of one of the King's Messengers, and committed on the 15th to the *Tower* for High Treason; but was afterwards releas'd on Bail, and is now quite discharg'd. The 16th a Captain in *Cadogan's* Regiment shot himself, and dy'd on the Spot; and the 16th of *May* the Lord *Tenham* did the same; so has likewise this Week Capt. *Long*, an extraordinary rich Man. The 17th *Layer* was at last deliver'd by the Governor of the *Tower* to the Sheriffs, and drawn on a Sledge to *Tyburn*, where he was attended by two Priests of the Church of *England*. After the usual Devotion, he delivered a Paper to one of the Sheriffs, to be publish'd after his Death; and having embraced the two Priests, he was hang'd till dead, then his Body was cut down and quarter'd, his Heart and Bowels taken out and burnt; and his Head being cut off, was the Day after set upon a Pole on a Gate call'd *Temple-Bar*; his Quarters, which were carried off in a Hearse, were bury'd decently by the Care of his Relations. Tho' he was bred up to the Law, he did not manage Matters with that Art and Caution as the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and the Clergyman *Kelly*; for tho' they were accounted guilty by many Proofs and Evidences, these Proofs and Evidences were not sufficient, according to the Laws of the Country, to condemn them; therefore an Act of Parliament was made on purpose to inflict certain Penalties on them. Upon the reading of the Bill, there arose a Dispute in the House of Commons, whether the Bishop should be banished, or confined in some Castle at home? But the * Oracle of that House soon determin'd it, he alledging that Banishment was the properest Way to have him soon forgotten, and instancing the late Duke of *Ormond*, who, tho' much more belov'd and popular, was now hardly ever heard of or remember'd. This extraordinary way of Proceeding seem'd to alarm the *Tory* Party, who pretended it might one Time or other be made a Precedent to affect the Innocent, and destroy by degrees the Subject. Several *Lords* voted and protested against it; whereupon two new *Tory* Papers soon appear'd, and defended very strenuously the banish'd Bishop, and that which continues the most admir'd was under the Name of *The True Briton*, and is generally believ'd to be written by no less than a Duke, call'd by the *Whigs* a Defserter, his Family having been (they say) always of their Party. He bestowed the highest Encomiums upon the banish'd Prelate, representing his Sentence as a too great Hardship, which he did not deserve: The other took the Name of *Loyal Observer Reviv'd*, at the Head of which Paper was represented in one Corner a Trunk of a Tree with three Sprigs, and these Words of *Job*, *For there is Hope of a Tree, if it be cut down, that it will sprout again, and that the tender Branch thereof will not cease*, *Job* xiv. 7. and on the other Corner a young Woman, with a Child in her Arms; which Tree cut down the *Whigs* interpreted to mean *Charles I.* one of the Branches or Sprigs the Preten-

* *Mr. Walpole*, is said to lead the House just as he pleases, would never accept of any Title not to part with his Power therein; wherefore his Majesty has conferr'd the Dignity of Baron upon his Son; and 'tis said that he (tho' a Commouer) will be installed a Knight of the Garter, as only a Title of Honour, which won't take him from the House, of which there has hardly been an Instance since Queen Elizabeth. He is First Commissioner of the Treasury, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and one of the King's Principal Secretaries here during his Majesty's Absence.

der, the Woman his Lady, and the young Child his Son. The *Whigs* answer'd, " That to call that Method illegal, or an Infringement of the Laws, were to argue that the Government had not a Power within its self (tho' not delegated to any one) to preserve its self; which would be the greatest Absurdity in Nature. They added, that what seem'd such a Severity in *England*, (thro' the Tenderness of the Laws, with Regard to the Lives and Liberties of the Subject) would be so far from being thought such in any other Government, that no Person whatever would have taken it into his Head to have question'd the Justice of the Sentence, but wou'd have deem'd it rather too mild for such black Treason. That Mr. *Kelly* in his so much cry'd up Speech, nor even the *Bishop* in his, had not clear'd themselves from the Guilt; but only evaded the Imputation, by dwelling upon the want of lawful Evidence, replying to the most insignificant Parts of their Charge, and vilifying the Characters of the Witnesses; That as to Capt. *Gustavus Bahr*, and several others, against whom no Objection could be made, they took not the least Notice of their Depositions; only endeavour'd to vindicate themselves in the Minds of the People, by their subtle Oratory, their eloquent Sophisms, and cunning Dissimulations, according to this Maxim, *Artis est Celare artem*, &c. in which they both (said they) were well known to excel, if their Speeches did not testify it, as well as their wanting of Sincerity. They added, that to call some few Troops a Standing-Army, which were rais'd and paid by the Parliament, and quarter'd in or about *London*, both for the Security of the Royal Family and that City, against the horrid Attempts which they were threaten'd with, could not proceed from any thing else, but from a true Sorrow caused by the Discovery of these projected Attempts of the Conspirators, for their being disappointed by the necessary and timely Measures taken to prevent them; from a malicious Design to make the *British* Subjects uneasy, and create in them Fears and Distrusts of their Sovereign, as if he design'd to invade their Liberties; or at least from the most visionary Brains." Some said more, and wou'd even have the University of *Oxford* (which they call the *Tory* University, as the *Cambridge* is call'd the *Whig*) to be in the Plot, at least by Inclination: " They took Notice of the *Almanack* for 1723, which they said she had consecrated to the expected new *Monarch*; and that a young Man, the chief Figure in it, among many others represented in Royal Robes, holding and bowing a *Sceptre*, &c. exactly resembled the Pretender's Face and Shape, of which (they added) a vast many Prints were almost publicly sold in the latter End of Queen *Anne's* Reign; that his bowing that *Sceptre*, was a Sign of his gracious and grateful Protection, offer'd to her in Acknowledgment of her Zeal for his Service." They interpreted that of a Man in Armour standing behind him, and that of a Bishop in his *Pontificalibus*, with a Mitre on his Head, to mean one the D. of O. and the other Dr. *Atterbury* design'd by his future Majesty to have the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, and to crown him, &c. For this, and other such Explanations, the *Whigs* themselves were styl'd, *vice versa*, by the *Tories*, a Pack of chimerical Dreamers, mercenary Court-Writers, and many other worse Names; of which both Parties are reciprocally very prodigal, or liberal to one another. However, the *Whigs* were well pleas'd to have out of the way the Bishop, who oppos'd them on any Occa-

sion that he could find Ground for; and the Generality of the *Tories* did not seem much concern'd for it, for the Reasons above hinted. His Defenders are now silent on his Praises; so that indeed Mr. *Walpole* has said right, he is almost dead in the Memory of the People.

The *True Briton* distinguish'd his witty Pen afterwards, by rallying an Oath exacted by an Act of *Parliament* from the *Protestant* Subjects of both Sexes, by which they are oblig'd to make a kind of negative Confession of Political and Religious Faith. They swear, "that the Pretender has no Right to the Crown of *England*; that the Pope's excommunicating Princes, and dispensing Subjects from their Allegiance to their lawful Sovereign, or the *Roman* Catholics from keeping Faith to those whom they style Hereticks, and upon any Pretence, are false and unjust Pretensions of that Pontiff's Authority; in a Word, to abjure *Transubstantiation*, with a few other Tenets of the *Romish* Religion;" and this under the Penalty of having their Estates register'd and tax'd upon the same Foot as those of the *Roman* Catholics, or rather worse, they being liable to Confiscation, if the Possessors, being *Nonjurors*, are prov'd to have had a Hand in or knew of any Plot. This Paper and the *Loyal Observer* made now and then so free with the Ministry, that the Printers were often taken into Custody; which Punishment ordinarily falls the heaviest on their Purses, for themselves are soon releas'd on Bail.

In the mean while, the Duke of *Buckingham's* posthumous Works, in Two Volumes, being suppress'd upon their Appearance, were much exclaim'd against by the *Whigs*, especially the Volume in Prose, which is the chief Offender; (for in the other, all in Verse, there is hardly any thing that can be call'd so, except a Satyr against the Ministry of 1707, of whom he says, "That they hate Merit, and mean nothing but Pence, and rule without Sense; and compares them to *Moses*, *Joshua*, and *Deborah*, who (says he) so once bestrid poor *Israel*.") They burst out into those Expressions, or rather violenter against it; "What a bare-faced Piece of *Jacobitism* is the Duke's Account of the *Revolution*? How prophane and disrespectful is his other, call'd *The Feast of the Gods*, wherein that Author vilifies and cries down our happy *Revolution*, abuses almost all Christian Kings both dead and living, except his Hero King *James II.* the Invader of our Spiritual and Temporal Liberties?" To this the *Tories* answer'd, "That, laying this aside, that Prince's having shew'd him always a particular Kindness, and even a Preference in his Esteem and Love before the Duke of *Monmouth*, and being endued with many Royal Qualities, he thought himself bound by Gratitude to transmit them to Posterity; that his Grace pity'd that Prince, and would not have him suffer himself to be misled, and reduced to abandon the Throne, but govern well, having Talents capable of it." Then the *Whigs* went on with their Exclamations and Account of the chief offensive Places, thus; "Because the Duke would be grateful to King *James*, must he be ungrateful to King *William* and his Royal Consort, from whom he received Pensions, and even to Queen *Anne*, who made him Duke, by representing them as Usurpers? Must he abjure his Allegiance to them at his Death, as he does the Divinity of *Christ* by his Epitaph? Must he be so maliciously prodigal of his Venom, or satyric Wit, as to com-

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“ pare that great Prince to *Jupiter* turning his Father *Saturn* out of
 “ *Heaven*; and to that false God's leud Love for *Ganimede*, his pure
 “ and grateful Favour towards a Nobleman, as well as the Honours he
 “ bestow'd on him, for one of the most generous Actions in the World,
 “ which saved that Prince's Life, *viz.* laying with him, and drawing
 “ out of his Breast the worst sort of Small-Pox, which this generous
 “ Bedfellow never had, and contracted thereby to the utmost Danger
 “ of his own. Can any polite or sincere Tongue and Pen interpret
 “ thus that Action? (asked they again) and to tax besides with a *pro-*
 “ *digious Heaviness and Laziness*, a Prince whose Activity, Wisdom and
 “ Bravery were generally confess'd even by the greatest Enemies he
 “ fought with; nay, who catch'd his Death by falling from a Horse,
 “ his most constant Exercise in spite of his weak Constitution? What
 “ disrespectful Aspersions are cast upon the sacred Ashes of one of his
 “ Allies, not to mention several other crown'd Heads still living, a-
 “ bused and named in this Work, than to stile him an odd Animal only
 “ call'd *Emperor*, by wearing an Imperial Crown; as a little *Indian*
 “ Bird is called a *Pope*, because there grows a Husk topping upon his
 “ Head? To ridicule his Zeal for his Religion, in which he differ'd from
 “ us, because he joins with us in Politicks against some of that same
 “ Religion.” I heard some, after having thus breath'd out *quid quid*
 “ *justit splendida bilis*, add, “ If we were as violent as the *Tories*, we
 “ should have burnt such Works, a down-right Satyr against our happy
 “ *Revolution*, with much more reason than they have done the Bishop
 “ of *Ely's* Preface, and many other Pieces of Orthodoxy and Loyalty.
 “ The Author (added they) seems not to have been contented with
 “ casting these gross and black Colours on the Instruments of the *Re-*
 “ *volution*, and several crown'd Heads; but as if he was afraid that
 “ any Reader should miss the Persons he intended to vilify, he has
 “ taken care to have their Names put in the Margin.” The *Tories* an-
 “ swer'd to all this, as they do to the many other like Things laid to their
 “ Charge by their Antagonists, *viz.* “ That they ought not to be stig-
 “ matis'd with the Title of *Jacobites*, or rather that they ought to be
 “ distinguished from them; and that they wished well to their Coun-
 “ try, and did it out of pure Generosity of their Inclinations, having
 “ no Places in the Government; and if any of those who are call'd
 “ *Tories* write some Things against the *Revolution*, or the present *Con-*
 “ *stitution* both in Church and State, they did not approve of it. But
 “ some said in Vindication of the Author, that they could not believe
 “ that the Names complain'd of had been put in the Margent by his Or-
 “ der: Nay, they blamed those who have printed them, and say that
 “ if they had not, the Publick had not been depriv'd of that Work,
 “ which contains many excellent Things; and indeed I believe so too.
 “ What he insinuates, *e. g.* of the Emperor *Leopold's* Zeal from persecu-
 “ ting the Protestants, and being allied with others Abroad, might as
 “ well be apply'd to the late King of *France*, who did the same in his
 “ own Country, when he sent Troops to the *Hungarians* against the *Em-*
 “ *peror* their lawful Sovereign. The *Tale of a Tub*, and the *Mechanick*
 “ *Operation of the Spirit*, are each of them a bitter ridicule of all the Dis-
 “ senters, (who are all *Whigs*, tho' all the *Whigs* are far from being Dis-
 “ senters,) were written, and appeared for the first time during a *Whig*
 “ Ministry, as well as *The Battle of the Books* and the *Dedication to Po-*
 “ *sterity*; there are abundance of Persons of the first Rank very ill
 “ V O L. II. G g g 2 treated

treated therein, but only describ'd by the first and last Letter of their Names and a Dash; which any Writer may make use of with Impunity: There have been three or four Editions of these *Miscellanies*, the last appeared with Cuts. I don't hear that the Author, Printer or Publishers have ever suffered by it. There are some Names indeed printed, which they call the Key of them; but it is a separated Piece disown'd by the Author, as I have been told, and not generally judged a just Interpretation of them. But now that the first Volume of Dr. *Burnet's History* is come out, the Duke's Apologists say to the Exclaimers, Your famous *Whig* Dr. *Burnet*, who lay under so many known Obligations to King *William*, confirms what the Duke says of him in respect of the Laziness, and the Vice ascrib'd to that Prince in these Terms, "He put on some Appearance of Application, but he hated Business of all sorts; he had but one Vice, in which he was very cautious and secret." They answer'd, that he did not name the Vice as the Duke, therefore it cannot be said to be meant the same; and that the Bishop is all over in his Writings, as well as he has been in his Dealings, a constant Friend to the *Revolution*. 'Twould be endless to relate all that had been said and answer'd on both Sides: So I pass on to another Subject.

The King of Great Britain went the 3d of June from his Palace of St. James's to Greenwich, when his Majesty embarked on Board the *Carolina* Yacht, which sail'd between 11 and 12 for *Holland*, in order to visit his German Dominions. Few Days after I happening to pass, in the Evening, thro' *Drury-lane* with a Friend, he made me observe many of these publick Votaries of *Venus*, as well as some young Men of their Acquaintance, wearing White Roses; and upon asking him the Occasion, he told me that 'twas the *Pretender's* Birth-day, that most of them are *Jacobites*, and that they use to sing in Taverns or their Apartments, a Ballad to his Honour; and if I happen'd to go into a Tavern where there were any of them, I might hear this Verse of it, *Here is a Health to young Jemmy, I'll drink on my Knees, &c.* but I had not that Curiosity, and knowing how much Liberty common People are suffer'd to take here in singing, talking, &c. as well as the other sort do in writing, &c. I answer'd, that I believ'd him, having heard in the Streets many Songs, and seen Prints at the Head of them, especially during the Dissolution of the Parliament, to this purpose.

A little after was a Presentment of the Grand-Jury of *Middlesex* against a Book, entitled, *The Fable of the Bees, or private Vices publick Benefits*. The Author is a Doctor of Physick, and a very ingenious Writer. He seems to extol the Benefits accruing to the Commonwealth from the Vices of the Publick, as *Luxury*, *Vanity*, &c. as there does often to those of his Profession, from the many Distempers by which human Kind is afflicted, and are contracted for the most part by Lewdness and other Disorders of Life; to Priests of some Religions from their Sins; to Lawyers from Law-Suits, &c. "For, says he, *e. g.* the Profession of the Law could not be maintained in such Numbers and Splendor, if there was not too many selfish and litigious People— That what we call *Evil* Morals, as well as Natural, is the grand Principle that makes us sociable Creatures, the solid Basis of Life, and Support of all Trades and Employments without Exception— That there we must look for the Origine of all Arts and Sciences; and that the Moment *Evil* ceases, the Society must be spoiled, if

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“ not totally dissolv'd—That the Excellency of human Thoughts and
 “ Contrivance has been, and is yet no where more conspicuous, than
 “ in the Variety of Tools and Instruments of Workmen and Arti-
 “ ficers, and the Multiplicity of Engines that were all invented, either
 “ to assist the Weakness of Man, to correct his many Imperfections,
 “ (both Corporal and Spiritual) to gratify his Laziness, or obviate his
 “ Impatience.” He quotes, for Example, “ The industrious Part of
 “ Mankind who get their Livelihood by its Labour; to which the
 “ Vain and Voluptuous must be beholden for all their Tools and Im-
 “ plements of Ease and Luxury—That indeed the short-sighted Vulgar,
 “ in the Chain of Causes, seldom can see farther than one Link; but
 “ those that can enlarge their View, and will give themselves leisure
 “ of gazing on the Prospect of concatenated Events, may in an hun-
 “ dred Places see *Good* spring up and pullulate from *Evil*, as naturally
 “ as Chickens do from Eggs: In a word, That the worst of all the
 “ Multitude did something for the Common Good.” He says in his
 Defence against the Imputation given to many Passages in the *Presen-*
tation, that he never intended to commend or encourage *Vices* in writ-
 ing this Book; but relates Things *in statu quo*, such as ancient and
 daily Experience represent them to any Body, who opens his Eyes upon
 the general and different Courses of Life and Governments in the
 World; “ and as that, *e. g.* what he writes of the *Musick-houses* at
 “ *Amsterdam* is as proper to create as much a Disgust and Aversion
 “ against them, as what the *Holy Writers* say of *David*, and his cruel
 “ Usage to *Uriah*, to enjoy alone *Bathsheba*, *Lot's Incest*, &c. is to
 “ inspire an Horror for Murther, Adultery, Drunkenness, Lewd-
 “ ness, &c.”

About the same time there was another Presentment against a publick
 Writer call'd *Cato*, who had for a good while been chiefly writing against
 all the Tyrannical Governments in general, and the *South-Sea* Directors,
 but now turn'd his Pen against the *Conspirators*, and seem'd to take for his
 Text the old Saying, *In Nomine Domini incipit omne Malum, All Evil*
is begun in the Name of the Lord: For he ran over Ancient and Modern
 History, to prove that all the most execrable Treasons, and most bar-
 barous and bloody *Conspiracies* in all Nations, and in all Ages, were
 sure to have one or more *Priests* at the Head of them. He observ'd
 first how the *Pagan* had imposed on the Credulity of the People, by
 the *Oracles* making them worship all sorts of Animals, as Oxen and
 Crocodiles, and even Vegetables, as Onions; and sacrifice Human
 Victims to them, as *Deities*. Then he fell upon the *Roman Catholicks*,
 said that they had imitated them, and made use of Religion to give a
 Sanction to the most inhuman Barbarities, as the Massacres of *Paris*,
Ireland and the *Spanish West Indies*, the Inquisition's Prison, Fire, &c.
 Lastly, he added, that too many of the Church of *England* had
 preached Sedition, and set the People together by the Ears, and con-
 tinued still so to do; whence he took Occasion to fall on the *Charity*
Schools, of which the late King *James* seem'd a very zealous Pro-
 moter. This Writer stiled them Seminaries of *Jacobitism*, and Nurse-
 ries of Rebellion and Disaffection against the *Protestant* Succession in
 the House of *Hanover*, as it is now settled, &c. whereby he drew
 upon himself the *Odium* of the Clergy so far, that they prevail'd to
 have his Writing presented to the Grand Jury, as injurious to Christia-
 nity, or contrary to a *Christian* Education, &c.

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The 16th we read in the Publick News, that the *Commissioners* of the Money apply'd to Charitable Uses were setting the Day before at *Leatherseller's-Hall*, in order to find out proper Means for redressing the Abuses complain'd of, concerning the Distribution of the yearly Sum of 15000 *l. per Ann.* for Forty Years past; as it was advertis'd, "That they had been inform'd that the Money call'd the *Royal Bounty* having been paid into the Hands of certain *French* Directors, for the Support and Relief of the poor *Refugees*, has in a great measure been rendred ineffectual by the fraudulent Management of the said Directors." Indeed, not only the *English* are divided among themselves about what I have mention'd; but, as I've observ'd, the *French* Refugees also, both about the Partition of that *Royal Bounty* Money, and that which arises from the Publick and Charitable Collections in their Religious Meetings. The complaining Party said, "That the Elders of their Churches, and those *Directors*, had paid their Servants out of that Money, putting their Names on the List when they hired them, and striking them out when they went away; that they distributed it among their Relations and Friends, and even their Mistresses; and not amongst those who were really Neccessitous." Some of their Ministers had a long while preached and wrote against this Conduct. Amongst others, the famous, bold and eloquent Orator Mr. *Armand Du-bourdieu* had this Expression of one of them in his Sermon, naming him, "He is a *Boor*, an *Afs* and a *Robber*: First, a *Boor*, because he is the Son of a Ploughman; Secondly, An *Afs*, because he has not the Sense to distinguish himself from his Father by any Personal Merit, but only by the Vanity of assuming *De* to his Surname, as knowing it to be a Token of Nobility among the *French*; and Thirdly, a *Robber*, because he has found the Secret to make Silver flow into his own Pockets, by lessening the Income of Honest People, who are Martyrs to his strange *Metamorphosis*, &c." Another, who was formerly a Roman Catholick Priest, and is turn'd one of the Church of *England*, laid to their Charge, both in talking and in writing, many scandalous Actions; at least, as I have been credibly inform'd, for this happen'd before my last coming over here. He said in general, "That they drank in Wine the Poor's Blood, robb'd the Neccessitous to give to those who were not so; he wou'd have that *e.g.* the Money of the *Royal Bounty* taken out of their Hands, and put in those of honest *English* Commissaries or Directors, who should distribute it, where is the true Neccessity, upon disinterested Recommendations: but he never made so great an Impression as the former, by reason of his being accounted less impartial, or more interested himself in the Matter. To his Accusations and Complaints the Persons taxed with a Misdemeanor, answer'd, "That such Charges were a malicious Contrivance, or Suggestions worthy of *Roman Catholick Priests* or *Fryars*, who were come to profess here, more openly than they could do in *France*, *Libertinism*, under a Protestant Gown or Cloak, or who did remain still in their Hearts such as they were before; and that they would approve of the Money-Distribution, if it were applied to the maintaining of them in Idleness." To which he reply'd, "This could not be proved neither on himself, nor on any others whom he named; that 'twas too plain by the many Instances he gave, that they did not value enough the Protestant Religion, to think that any body should embrace it sincerely; or rather, to wish that those should embrace

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“ it who wanted to be assisted with a small part of the said Money.”
 He named even some of the *French* Ministers, who should have said
 publickly and generally, *That there were no honest Profelytes* ; from
 whence he concluded, “ That such uncharitable Ministers, as he call’d
 “ them, question’d the Sincerity and Honesty of the *Apostles*, of the
 “ *Fathers* themselves, or all those who embraced Christianity above
 “ 17 Ages ; he asked them what Opinion they had of *St. Paul*, *St.*
 “ *Austin*, &c. and descending lower, of *Luther*, *Calvin*, the Refor-
 “ mers, &c. of many Modern Protestants, who were properly all Pro-
 “ felites, among whom he named the King’s *Turks*, *Mehemet* and
 “ *Mustapha*, &c.” The Persons who inform’d me of all this, added,
 that ’twas a scandalous thing to hear and see how the *French Refugees*
 were divided among themselves ; what ungenerous Aspersions they
 cast one upon another, especially the common and middle sort of
 them ; that they seem’d to have left their Country on Account of tem-
 poral Interest, and purely to live better here than they could do there ;
 “ that there were more Envy, Noise, and Quarrels, and more Scandal
 “ talk’d by one of another among them, in Proportion of their small
 “ Number, than among the rest of the Inhabitants of this populous
 “ City ; and that if they exceeded the *English* Tradesmen, (as truly
 “ some did in Diligence and Industry) they exceeded them even
 “ also in their different Ways of Cheating, so much complain’d of
 “ here.” I said, that I could not be Judge of such Divisions and
 Quarrels, since I did not know six *French* Families in *England* ; and
 indeed, to say the Truth, I am hardly acquainted with three of them,
 to whom I owe, at the same time, the Justice to avow, that they don’t
 deserve any thing like such a Character ; but indeed they are not of
 the common ones. As to those that are so, and give Occasion for
 these disadvantageous Observations, besides their being Foreigners,
 it makes their Failings appear greater than they perhaps are in Effect ;
 for being bred up under a despotick Power, they don’t know how
 to use the Liberty they meet with under this ; and the Populace, who
 generally want a good Education, are rude almost every where, re-
 cede too often from Honesty, and are very noisome, when they are
 not restrain’d enough by the sacred Ties of Religion, or by civil Laws.
 I cannot but quote here for an Instance of this, the *French* Protestants,
 and those of *Geneva* at *Constantinople*, where they are protected, tho’ out
 of pure Favour, by the *French* Ambassador, in respect of *Temporals*, and
 by the *Dutch* Ambassador, as to the *Spirituals*: I have heard two *French*
 Ambassadors say of their Quarrels, Law-Suits upon wronging one ano-
 ther in their Reputation or Interest, &c. that they would rather pro-
 tect, and could govern more easily all the other *European* Nations, be-
 sides their own, than them. And I read an *Italian* Author, who, in his
 second Edition, wrote thus, “ *Li Ugonotti Francesi è Genevrini arteg-*
 “ *giani, cioè i gioiellieri, orefici (per la maggior parte orloggieri) è molti am-*
 “ *ogliati, sono fra se stessi in risse è contese quasi perpetue, spesso ridicole*
 “ *è convengono il più delle volte per differenza d’un ò duoi feudi ò d’alcune*
 “ *parole offensive d’una donna all’ altra, avant’ il Signor Ambasciator*
 “ *di modo che la cancellaria di Francia in Constantinopoli, abbonda più*
 “ *dei litigi di quella sorte di gente in duoi mesi, che del resto del Commer-*
 “ *zio in dieci anni, a segno che un Ambasciator passato, nel render conto*
 “ *al Re del suo ministerio suggerì con facezia che per loro fosse necessario*
 “ *il mandar in Constantinopoli un’ Ambasciator a parte.*” In *English*
 “ thus :

“ thus; The *French Hugonots*, and those of *Geneva*, (*viz.* Artificers,
 “ as Jewellers, Goldsmiths, most Watchmakers, &c.) many marry'd,
 “ are among themselves almost continually in the most ridiculous
 “ Quarrels, and carry one another as often before the *Ambassador* for
 “ the Difference of one or two Crowns, or for the ill Language of one
 “ Woman to another, so that the *French Chancery* at *Constantinople*
 “ abounds more in two Months with their Law-Suits, than of the rest
 “ of the Commerce in ten Years; which gave Occasion to an *Ambas-*
 “ *sador* at his Return from his Ambassy at the *Porte*, in his giving an
 “ Account of it to the King, to tell him pleasantly, That this sort of
 “ People wanted an *Ambassador* apart for themselves.” My Lord
Paget forbid them his Chapel, where they used to meet on Sundays
 and Holidays before my Arrival, for having fought there for Places;
 and he nam'd to me two Women, who box'd, and pull'd off one ano-
 another's Head-dresses, which was accompany'd with opprobrious
 Language. The *Dutch Ambassador* receiv'd them afterwards in his
 own Palace, where they had the free Exercise of their Religion, as
 they had before at the *English's*; but they happening the first Holy-
 days (of *Christmas* I think) to quarrel about the Difference between
 New Stile, which they kept, and the Old, which they had hitherto
 follow'd with the *English* and the *Grecians*, among whom most of
 their Wives are born, they would continue the same, (tho' both Arti-
 cles of *Calendary*, not of *Faith*) so far Custom prevail'd on Reason and
 good Manners. His *Excellency* (to avoid being troubled with their
 Noise) gave them a Spot of Ground in his Garden to build a Chapel
 for themselves, saying, “ That they might celebrate their Holydays
 “ after whatsoever Style they wou'd, and even (said he) fight if
 “ they pleas'd for Places, and would take no farther Notice of their
 “ Differences in any Respect.

However general and hard the Judgment seem'd that those Persons
 pass'd upon the *French Refugees*, they said, that they did not pretend
 that it cou'd affect the honest Part of them. When I represented there-
 upon, that I knew a great many of them at my first Arrival in *En-*
gland, who deserv'd all the *Encomiums* that can be bestow'd on Ho-
 nesty, Virtue, Piety, and all sorts of personal Merit; I instanc'd, a-
 mong others, the *Marquesses de Ruigni, d'Heucourt*, *Messieurs De*
Lamothe, Satur, St. Denis, Dubordieu, the four latter Clergymen, a-
 mong the Elders *Mr. de L'Isle*, among the Profelyte Priests *Mr. Le*
Vassor, the learned Author of the History of the *French King Lewis*
XIII. of *Mr. Duval*, &c. and many others both Lay and Clergymen,
 of both Sexes; for it is not consistent, I think, to entertain an ill Opi-
 nion of a whole Body, because of many Individuals; and 'tis wrong,
 for Example, to think that all the Directors of the *South Sea*, and
 of the *Royal Bounty*, aim at nothing else but plundering the Nation
 and the Poor, because some may have done so; and we hear that *Mr.*
K--t, one of the former, after having escap'd the Punishment he is
 “ here reckon'd to deserve, and travell'd through a good Part of
 “ *Europe*, is now in *France* loaded with the Spoils of the unfortunate
 “ Adventurers in the *South Sea*, *fruens diis iratis*, giving Balls and o-
 “ ther publick Entertainments;—that all those who are trusted with
 the Management and Distribution of the King's Bounty, and the Poor's
 Box, are all alike, because some have wrong'd the true necessitous *Re-*
fugees, in applying that Money rather to any other Uses, than to their
 Relief;

Relief; that all the *Tories* are disaffected to the present Government, and *Jacobites* ready to engage in Plots, because there are some ranged among the *Tories* who are so, when we see that even many profess'd *Jacobites* and *Roman Catholics* in *England* do live quiet, and never were concern'd in any Conspiracy; and if they refuse to take the present Oath, they say 'tis purely out of a Scruple of Conscience, which does no Injury to the Government. I heard even several among the latter say, that were they us'd like those of their own Religion in the King's *German Dominions*, (even without having Churches and Convents, or their own Priests and Monks wearing the Cloaths of their Order, as they do there, a Thing, added they, too offensive now to the Protestant Eyes of *England*;) they would take the Oaths of Allegiance to his Majesty. Should all the Schools be look'd upon as poison'd Fountains of Sedition and Disaffection to the present Government, because some Schoolmasters may have instill'd Principles contrary to it into the Youth committed to their Care? Can some Priests, sacrificing to their Ambition and Interests even Religion itself, preaching Sedition and Persecution out of the Pulpit, be a sufficient Ground to reflect on the whole Body? If one was so ignorant in Geography, and so negligent of his Duty, as to prostitute, as I said before, a *Sacrament* on a *Cossack*, should I suppose any other else would do the same; when I know, on the contrary, that there are no *Clergy* in the World so deeply learn'd, and hardly so generally religious as the *English* are? Because a *French Vintner* procured a Pettyfogger to countenance both his Wife and Niece in depriving me of my Servant; to defend Theft, must I think all those of his Profession or Nation, and the Attorneys to be vile Accessories to Vice? Nay, I judge more charitably of that *Frenchman*, by what I observ'd; for whilst the Pettyfogger was bullying me, and he happen'd to tell him with a smiling Air (as expecting Thanks for his vile Usage towards me) *I am thirsty, we must drink of the best after this*; he remain'd silent, and put on a more serious and grave Countenance, which seem'd to disapprove what he heard, and shew'd that he was thus put to it by his Wife and Niece, of whom he might say, if ever call'd to a conscious Account for it, as *Adam* did of *Eve*. As to the Niece, she seems to like *Stolen Waters*, for her Neighbours assur'd me that no *English* Maids had yet staid with her two Months since she lodg'd there; and if her Inclinations are such in any other Respects, she'll do well not to marry. I won't neither say that all the *Justices* are alike; I hear, on the contrary, that there are Abundance of very honest and impartially equitable ones, and even that they have almost extirpated the *Gaming-Houses* before-mention'd. Refusing to receive Profelytes or Converts in any Religion, because many prove Impostors, and are as ready to profess *Mahometism* as *Christianity*; would be another uncharitable Piece of unjust Scruple; and so of all the rest.

In *August* Dr. *Fleetwood* Bishop of *Ely* being dead, the *Preface* to his Sermons burnt by the Hangman about 12 Years ago for wishing too freely for a better Peace than that which was then made, was reprinted in one of the *Whig* Papers, with Verses, and great Encomiums both on his Character and that *Preface*. Among other Things, in Commendation of the Queen's *Whig* Reign, therein that Prelate goes on thus: "The wonderful Success with which the *British* Arms
 " were attended for seven Years, and more, which (said he) never
 " pass'd so many together, and so gloriously over the Head of an
 " *English* Monarch; and the Crown and Sceptre seem'd to be the
 " Queen's least Ornaments; no Prince was ever so prosperous, so

" lov'd, esteem'd, and honour'd by their Subjects and their Friends,
 " nor near so formidable to their Enemies; we were, as all the World
 " then imagin'd, just entring on the Ways that promis'd to lead to
 " Peace, as would have answer'd all the Prayers of our Religious
 " Queen, the Care and Vigilance of a most able Ministry, the Pay-
 " ments of a willing and obedient People, as well as the glorious
 " Toils and Hazards of the *Soldiery*, when God for our Sins permitted
 " the *Spirit of Discord* to go forth, and by troubling sore the *Camp*,
 " the *City*, and the *Country*, (Oh that it had altogether spared the
 " Places sacred to his *Worship*!) to spoil for a Time this beautiful and
 " pleasing Prospect, and give us in its stead, I know not what——
 " Our Enemies will tell the rest with Pleasure; it will become me bet-
 " ter to pray to God for the Power of obtaining such a Peace, as it
 " will be to his Glory, the Safety, Honour, and Welfare of the Queen
 " and her Dominions, &c."

The *Whig* Writer adds, " Posterity will hardly believe that it was
 " the Fate of this noble Preface to be burnt by the Common Hang-
 " man, and much less by Order of a *Protestant* House of *Commons*, that
 " pretended to be the greatest Friends to the *Church* and *Bishops*—
 " But their Zeal for Religion was so flaming that it burnt it up. The
 " *Whigs* thereupon extoll'd their Moderation in respect of the *Tory*
 " Writers, and instanc'd again the D. of *Buckingham's* Works, and
 " many others, against the happy *Revolution*, and the present Govern-
 " ment, which were only suppress'd.

Whilst I am Writing this, comes out a very ingenious and learned
 Book, entitled, *A Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian*
Religion, &c. ascribed to the Author of another Discourse up-
 on *Free-Thinking*, written some Twelve Years ago, which I hap-
 pen'd to get at the same time. He asserts in this former Discourse,
 that *Free-Thinkers* were the most virtuous Men in all Ages: He names
 several of them; as for Example, among the *Pagans*, *Socrates*, *Plato*
 and *Epicurus*; among the *Jews*, their Prophets, *Josephus* their Histo-
 rian, &c. among the modern *Christians* of his Country, my Lord
Bacon, Dr. *Tillotson*, &c. He says, that it is the only sure Way to arrive
 to the greatest Perfection in all Sciences, and to avoid being imposed
 upon.—That the Reformation, in regard to Religion, with the Abo-
 lishment of Superstition, is owing to it. He gives for one Instance, a-
 mong many others, " that thereby the *Devil* has been banished from the
 " *United Provinces*, where there is not now a Provisional Law against
 " *Witchcraft*; whereas he is said to appear round about that *Republick*
 " in various and frightful Forms, to possess one, and enter into Confe-
 " deracy with another." After having given several plausible Reasons of
 the Usefulness of that Liberty, and why it ought to be allow'd to eve-
 ry Body, as well in respect of Religion, as of Law, of Physick, and
 other Sciences; having shewed the Dangers which Mankind may run in
 by the contrary, as *e. g.* of our Lives, by relying passively on *Physi-*
cians; of losing our Right, by depending blindly on *Lawyers*; of be-
 ing damn'd eternally, by trusting too confidently to the Direction of
Priests, with all that may befall us thro' their Ignorance, Temerity or
 Interest, he seems to think, that in such Case 'twou'd be better that
 there should be none at all; and thereupon he repeats what Mr. *le Clerc*
 says of a Gentleman, who ask'd a Proprietor of *New Jersey*, (where
 there are few Inhabitants besides the *Quakers*,) Whether they had *Law-*
yers? whether *Physicians*? at last, whether *Priests*? To which all being
 answer'd in order, *No*: He reply'd, O happy Country! That must be a
 Paradise.

Paradise ; but to this I beg his leave to answer, that every body is not able to think sufficiently well for himself, nor fit to study the aforesaid Sciences, &c. He complains much of the Divisions of the *Priests*, in respect of the Sense or Interpretation of the Scriptures; of some especially maintaining Opinions, which they know to be false, purely out of Self-Interest. He proceeds on the same Foundation in his new Discourse, which gives me now Occasion to mention the former ; to which he does prefix an Apology for Free Debate, Free Writing and Free Printing : He says, that the Excuses which some *Priests* give for their feeble or unsatisfactory Interpretations of the Scriptures, (as *e.g.* that many Passages are interpolated, suppress'd or corrupted therein by the *Jews*;) serve to render the fulfilling of the Old Testament Law uncertain ; and, in a word, give up *Christianity* to the *Infidels* : He pretends that they are not corrupted by the *Jews* ; that the *Septuagint* Version was not agreeable to the *Hebrew* Text in the Days of *Jesus Christ* and his *Apostles*, by whom *Christianity* is founded on the *Old Testament* : He quotes St. Paul as one of its Apologists against Novelty in these Words of the *Acts* 24. 14. "After the Way which ye call Heresy *Worship I the God of my Fathers, believing all things which are written in the Law and the Prophets.*" He adds, "That the *Christian* Divines, Taylor, Wiston and *Stillingfleet* date its Antiquity from the Fall of *Adam*, asserting that *Christ* was then promised in these Words, *The Seed of the Woman shall break the Serpent's Head*, which they say contain the Gospel in *Miniature* ; and that from that Time Men have been saved by Faith in that *Promise of Christ to come.*" Dr. *Lightfoot* thinks he can with great Probability settle the precise Time when the *Christian Covenant* began, saying, "That *Adam* was created on the Sixth Day at Nine in the Morning ; fell about Noon, that being the time of Eating ; and that *Christ* was promised about Three a-Clock in the Afternoon." After having instanced, that it is a common Method for new Revelations to be grounded on old ones, and considered the various Changes in Religion, as grafted on some old Stock, he quotes the *Jesuit Tachard*, &c. who says, "That the *Siamese* and *Brachmans* pretend to have had a Succession of *Incarnate Deities* among them, who, at a due difference of Time, have brought from *Heaven* new Revelations : " Wherefrom he seems to conclude, that they had an implicit or confused Idea of the *Incarnation* of *Christ*. If so, one may as probably conclude the same of the Northern *Trium-Deat*, mention'd in my Chapter of *Upsala*, &c. in respect of the *Trinity*. These Books are sold privately, and without the Names of the Author and Printer, as being too freely written to meet with that Toleration, and Reception from the Publick, which he wishes for, and dares not to depend upon.

Before I close this Work, I'll say a few Words more of the *Whigs* and *Tories*, on Occasion of the Duke of *Orleans's* Death. They are distinguished or subdivided at present into New and Old *Whigs*, and into *Hanoverian* and *High Church Tories*. These Denominations do extend themselves from the Crown and Mitre, or the Throne and Pulpit, to the Theatre, and to the Work-house of the meanest Artisan, and even to the Wallet ; so that as a New *Whig* would not go and hear a Sermon of the late Bishop of *Rochester*, nor will still hear one of Dr. *Sacheverel*, or a Piece of Theatre in *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields* ; so the new Bishop of that See, or *Drury-lane Comedians*, can hardly expect any *Tories* for Hearers or Spectators ; no more than Tradesmen and Servants be made use of, and Poor to be assisted, by those for whose Party they will declare themselves. These Denominations are not confin'd within *Great Britain* ; all the Princes beyond Seas, and other Foreigners, are

reckon'd *Whigs* or *Tories*, according to the Kindness or Unkindness they shew to one Party or to another. The late King of *France* was reputed by the *Whigs* a great *Tory*, or rather the greatest and most dangerous *Jacobite*; and even after his Misfortunes, to have a chief hand in making a Convert of the late Queen of *England*, upon his treating with her of a Peace, in order to pave a Way for the *Pretender* towards the *British* Throne, after her Death. The late King of *Sweden* was looked upon as such, especially when he happen'd to be in War with the King of *England* as *Elect*or, and upon the Correspondence of his Ministers with the *Pretender's* Agents being discover'd; and as soon as the *Czar* (an old *Williamite* or *Whig*,) had forsook his Allies for a separate Peace by Baron *Goertz's* means, and was observ'd to seek an Alliance with *France* and *Spain*, and these Powers seem'd to hearken to his Proposals, in order to make the same Use of him as *Lewis XIV.* had already done of the late King of *Sweden*, the *Whigs* call'd him a *Tory-Jacobite*, and repented of having contributed so much to his Greatness of Power, and he is still look'd upon as such by them; and as much now extoll'd by the High *Tories*, as he was before by the old *Whigs*. The Regent of *France* having contributed as much, as 'tis well known, with King *George*, towards obliging King *Philip* of *Spain* to stand by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, in respect of the Neutrality in *Italy*, began to pass for a *Whig*. The King of *Sweden* being kill'd at *Fredericks-Hall*, and the Queen, his Sister and Successor, happening to make an Alliance with the King of *England*, a Peace with his Majesty as *Elect*or, and her Royal Consort confirming both at his Accession to the Throne of *Sweden*, they were also denominated good *Whigs*, pitied for the Miseries befallen to their Kingdoms, and judg'd worthy of the *British* Assistance towards redressing their Affairs. The *Regent* being reported to be the first Discoverer of the late Conspiracy, and even to have refused the Assistance he was ask'd for the *Pretender*, had the Title of a true new *Whig* confirm'd to himself; and his Highness happening to die lately, the *Whigs* bestowed on him in their private and publick Discourses and Papers, all the Praises which the *Paris Gazette* gave him, if not more: Whereupon they were rallied or bantered by a *Tory* Paper, as knowing nothing at all of the Matter, wherein he compared them to the Coxcomb of the Comedy, who prostitutes his Incenses or Praises to certain Persons whom he judges worthy of it; "For that very and only Reason, that they are Civil to him." And boasting of better Intelligences from *Paris*, added to his Character the blackest Designs and Inclinations, and ascrib'd to the Nation the utmost Hatred for him, viz. "That M. de *Torcy* had not only found out a private Plot or Agreement between that Prince and the *Whig* Generals, for dividing between him (the *Duke*) and and the present *Emperor* the *Spanish* Monarchy, but produced his own Hand-writing for it; that notwithstanding such unquestionable Proof of his Guilt, the King his Uncle was so clement and generously merciful, that he contented himself with making him a private Reprimand upon it, without taking any farther Notice of it.—That since that Monarch's Death he was so openly suspected of a Design on the young King's Life, that happening in one Visit he made to him, to present his Majesty his Box to take a Pinch of Snuff, a certain Duke, who was present, took the Snuff from between his Fingers, before he could get it to his Nose, saying, *I told your Majesty Snuff was not good for you*; that the People were so enrag'd at his Administration in respect of Money Notes, or making Paper current, raising and lowering the Value of Silver and Gold; and that several

" Papers

“ Papers had been scatter'd about the *Palais Royal*, with these Words,
 “ *Ravaillac dort, il ne'st pas mort*, *Ravaillac does only sleep, he is not dead*,
 “ &c.” The *Whigs* retorted the Comparison on the *Tory* Writer thus,
 “ You resemble more the *Coxcomb* than we, &c. for your pretended
 “ Intelligences and malicious Aspersions on that great Prince's Me-
 “ mory, will appear to any impartial Judge to have no other Foundation
 “ or Reason, but because you thought him uncivil to you in disco-
 “ vering your Friends, and not countenancing their ill Designs against
 “ our Happy Constitution; or for being, as you say, civil to us who are
 “ better affected to King *George*; for the *Paris Gazette* is a better
 “ Foundation for us than your pretended Secret Memoirs from the
 “ same Place; and we cannot with Justice be tax'd with Partiality and
 “ Flattery, or scanning Characters by guess without knowing any
 “ thing of the matter, &c. in repeating the very same Praises that a
 “ Paper, printed there by Authority, as is here our *London Gazette*,
 “ bestows on him; and contradicts that publick Hatred which you
 “ mention, since such Praises show how much he was beloved; and
 “ besides we have Instances, even in *France*, of Ministers of State
 “ hated; how their Memory has been abused, as soon as their Power
 “ ceased by their Death; among others, *Cardinal Mazarin*.”

Happening to be at a Coffee-house in *London*, which is much fre-
 quented by *Frenchmen*, I heard one of that Nation, an old Servant
 of the *Dauphin*, the present King's Grandfather, say to some of his
 Company pretty loud, and with some Heat, upon the black *Designs*,
 &c. laid to the *Regent's* Charge, “ I was for the second time in *En-*
 “ *gland* with the Duke d' *Aumont*; and I observed then, that the *English*
 “ pretend to know better what passes of most Secrets in the *Cabinet*
 “ of our Princes, of our Affairs, Happiness or Misery, than ourselves.
 “ They are indeed a strange Nation, *ils voudroient Changer de Dieu &*
 “ *de Roy comme de Chemise*, said he, *They would change as often their*
 “ *God and King as Shirts*; to repeat his very Terms. Not contented
 “ with plaguing and abusing their Governors, they would have us to
 “ do the same with our own; they extend to, and cast their abusive
 “ Language on them, call us a Pack of Asses or Slaves to fix our
 “ Love, Respect and Submission to them, talk and write things which
 “ we never thought, dream'd, spoke or knew of. We are as sorry for
 “ the Murther of *Henry IV.* as any of them can appear for that of
 “ *Charles I.* and hope that no such a Monster, as *Ravaillac*, shall be
 “ born, or raised in our Nation, as long as its Name will last. I know
 “ so much of the late Great King, that if he had such Proofs in his
 “ Hands, as 'tis written here, his Justice had taken place of his
 “ Clemency, *sans balancer*; that the lesser Punishment for his High-
 “ ness had been a perpetual Imprisonment between four Walls. I
 “ remember how jealous he was of his Authority and Glory, and how
 “ severely just in much less Criminal Cases, among others that of
 “ Duelling; whereupon he said he would not forgive it to his own
 “ Brother; and e. g. *Madam de Maintenon* could not prevail on his
 “ Majesty to have a Duel, fought between C. *Quelus* one of her near
 “ Relations and another Gentleman, to let it pass for an Encounter in
 “ the heat of Blood, tho' there were many Appearances for it. The
 “ Difference between the present King of *Spain* and the late Duke of
 “ *Orleans*, added he, is too well known, to repeat what Hand that
 “ Great Monarch had in their Reconciliation. As to his pretended
 “ Design on the present King's Life, there has been nothing more in it,
 “ than there was in the Death of the two last *Dauphins*, the Duke of
 “ *Berry*

“ *Berry*, ascrib'd to his Highness by such Coffee-house *Politicians* A-
 “ broad, who would have them to be poison'd by him, of which no-
 “ thing was ever said or suspected in *France* that I knew of; and if
 “ his Highness had there any Enemy malicious and unjust enough to
 “ hint it, the very Distempers which they died of had been sufficient
 “ to destroy all Suspicions about it; unless they would have him to
 “ have found in his Skill in Chemistry a new and wonderful Art, of
 “ communicating them as they do here Small-Pox by Inoculation, the
 “ better to cover or hid such black Actions, so kill without Suspicion,
 “ and consequently with Impunity. As to his Administration, added
 “ he, moreover, which they call Tyrannical here; there are few igno-
 “ rant, how much *France* was exhausted and indebted, for supporting
 “ King *Philip* on the *Spanish* Throne so far, that several Memorials
 “ have been presented to his Majesty upon our losing considerable Bar-
 “ tles, to consent to a Division of that Monarchy, according to the first
 “ Plan; and they must consider therefore, that his Highness has been
 “ obliged to have recourse to some extraordinary Expedients towards
 “ paying the Debts of the Government; the Money Notes, and rai-
 “ sing or lowering the real Species, were not new ones. Those that
 “ complain, perhaps the most, are *Partisans*, and other Bloodsuckers,
 “ whom, as a good *Casuis*t in *Politicks*, he obliged to a Restitution of
 “ what they have robbed the Kingdom of.” He quoted for an Instance,
 among others, one who demanded Eleven Millions of Livres from the
 Crown, to which he is to pay above Three; and to shew his Impar-
 tiality, said, that he had no Employ under this Reign, did not wish
 any, had no Wife or Children, and was contented with what he had:
 He expatiating himself pretty much on the Deceased's Character, added,
 “ That there was no fitter Person for redressing of the *French* Affairs; to
 “ preserve the present King's *Minority* from such Troubles as that of his
 “ *Grandfire* was attended with; none of a better Nature, clearer Head,
 “ of readier Wit, greater Application, finer Memory, and richer Parts
 “ both natural and acquisitious; that he knew more of all polite Learn-
 “ ing than ever a Prince of his Nation had done before him; that he
 “ was a great Protector, and as generous an Encourager of it; Brave be-
 “ yond Expression, and an incomparable good Friend, &c. for the rest,
 “ that he loved a Girl, a Glass of Wine, and was glad to see his Friends
 “ enjoy, as well as himself, the Pleasures of Life, and took a particu-
 “ lar one to contribute as much to it as they might wish; but that he
 “ was as fit for Business in the Day-time, after having pass'd whole
 “ Nights with them, as if he had refreshed his Blood and Spirit with long
 “ Sleeps, &c.” Tho' I am not naturally much fond of new Acquain-
 tance, I heard, with a curious Attention, his handsome manner of talk-
 ing of that Prince, and engaged in their Company and Conversation;
 and told him thereupon, “ Sir, Give me leave to tell you that you must
 “ not ascribe to a whole Nation a few Malecontents; if you have
 “ been here before, as you say, you cannot but have known some *En-*
 “ *glish* of as fine and rich Parts as any elsewhere, who do justice to
 “ Merit.” He said 'twas true, and named me even several but he would
 not permit these few to be rallying on, and reflecting thus on every
 body, even Princes who were Friends to the Nation, without Founda-
 tion, and with Impunity. I reply'd, that the punishing of them
 wou'd pass for an Encroachment on their dear Liberty. I have seen
 him four or five times since, and I believe he is still here.

Both the *Whig* and *Tory* Papers have given a less partial Character to
 the late Grand Duke of *Tuscany*, who died a Month before the Regent,

as being perhaps more Neutral, or a Stranger to their Party Divisions. Though the *Whig* Papers enlarged the most upon it, but both generally gave him a good one. The *Tory* Paper above mention'd was very short, but extoll'd particularly his Highness's Admiration of the *English* Flocks of Sheep, in the Visit to King *Charles II's* Court; and that Prince did certainly deserve what has been said of him. He was beyond Contradiction the greatest *Vertuoso* for a Prince, and had the richest in Quality and Quantity of both Modern and Antique Rarities that ever were. As to his Civility to Strangers, it was beyond Expression; his Complaisance to *Vertuosos*, and Admirers of noble Relicks of *Antiquity* was such, that he took often a delight to shew them himself what he had most singular and observable, to hear their Sentiments upon them; and his *Antiquaries*, worthy of his Choice and Civility, were always ready to attend them, and inform those that were Curious, tho' not always Learned, of every thing they shew'd them. 'Tis pity that this Family, which owes not to Birth its first Rise, but to personal Merit, and to whom the Subjects of *Tuscany* do owe the Happiness they enjoy, should be so near to its Extinction; and 'tis to be wish'd, for the Continuation of this Happiness, and the Tranquility of poor *Christian Europe*, who has lost so much of her Blood by the Difference of her Princes, that *Heaven* would be pleas'd to grant a *Deodat* to the Re-union of the present *Grand Duke* with the Princess his Spouse, whom 'tis said his Highness has written for.

The said Imputation of Speaking or Writing by Guess, Hearsay, or upon Memoirs extracted from *Gazettes*, remind me of some Authors who write Travels without ever stirring out of the Country, or Histories without better Foundations; as, among others, *Schefferus's* Account of *Lapland*, the King of *Sweden's* History, printed in *London*, under the Name of a *Scotch* Officer, pretending to have been in his Service at *Pultowa*, *Bender*, &c. where Mr. *Jefferies*, who follow'd that Prince all the while, and all the *Swedish* Officers that I know, do witness that there was no such one of that Nation, if that History itself did not contradict it; for at *Bender*, I am certain, there was none. *Gazettes* indeed are poor and uncertain Sources to draw out Memoirs from, tho' we may well depend on them for what they say of the publick Transactions of the Country where they are written: But to frame out of our Publick Papers an History of the *Tartar Meriwais*, e. g. and his Expedition in *Persia*, where there are no such Thing as even Posts for Letters, any more than in *Turky* and other Eastern Parts, it would be a strong Chaos of Contradictions, as we may judge by the different Accounts of it, which we have already read in these Papers. Besides, a Gentleman of known Honour and Sincerity, who is but lately come from *Persia*, tells us, "That *Meriwais* is dead a good while ago; that he was a kind of *Cham* from among the great *Tartars*, under the unfortunate *Sophi*, who being disobligh'd by the *Persian* Ministry became a *Malecontent*, and surpriz'd one of the most important Places or Castles in a Passage between *Persia* and the *Grand Mogul's* Dominions; that having strengthened and secured himself there, he began to obstruct the *Persian* Commerce, by plundering *Cavans*, &c. Whereupon the *Sophi's* Prime Minister, who govern'd both him and the Kingdom, (that Prince being the weakest that ever sat on that Throne,) sent at divers Times against that *Malecontent*, Grandees of whom he was jealous, with a few Troops at once, and without Money or necessary Provisions, as to their own Destruction, that they might not partake with him, and the other *Omras*, or State-Ministers, his Creatures, the Power and Revenues of the Kingdom; that they were accordingly all defeated one after another; that the

" best

“ best *Persian* Troops being thus destroy'd in Retail with their Lea-
 “ ders, when he less thought that *Meriweis* would attempt any thing
 “ further, with a *Poignee de monde*, as say the *French*, viz. 5 or 6000
 “ Men, which was the greatest Number he had: But this *Tartar*
 “ being encourag'd by his Success, and the Condition wherein he knew
 “ the *Sophi's* other Forces to be, as well as the Conduct of that Mi-
 “ nister, (a Man generally hated for a publick Blood-sucker, gathering
 “ Riches for himself, and engrossing all the Places of Profit into his
 “ own Family besides,) the *Sophi* himself being despised by his Sub-
 “ jects for his Imbecility, he came out of his Hole with these 6000
 “ Men, before *Ispahan*, and reduced at last the Inhabitants to deliver
 “ him the Royal Family; that they were even willing to acknowledge
 “ him for their Sovereign, but that he declined it, and contented him-
 “ self with exacting great Contributions, plundering the Royal Trea-
 “ sure where he found almost nothing; that leaving them to a kind of
 “ *Democracy*, for which he promis'd them his Protection, he retired
 “ again into his Hole, where he carried the depos'd *Sophi* with his
 “ Family, except one of his Sons, who made his Escape with a few
 “ *Omras*; that he put to Death the Prime Minister, and several others
 “ who were deliver'd to him by the Inhabitants, as the Authors of their
 “ Misfortunes; that as to the old *Sophi*, 'twas not known, when he
 “ the said Gentleman left *Persia*, whether he was dead, but that for
 “ certain *Meriweis* was so; and that a Son of his, call'd *Miry-Mahoot*,
 “ continued to raise Contributions in the Country, and to plunder
 “ with rather less than more Troops than the aforesaid Number, and
 “ had not as yet expressed any Design on the vacant Throne.” So
 that *Persia*, without a King, being reduced now to one or two Plun-
 derers, is like to be laid waste in a new manner, more authentickly
 and magnificently terrible, by the Jealousy of the *Czar* and *Grand Seig-
 nior*, who do espouse, one the Cause of the young Pretender, (a wor-
 thy Son and Heir of his Father for his Imbecility) says the Gentle-
 man, this young Prince profering him, as we hear, by a solemn Trea-
 ty, some fine Provinces, besides his yielding of those which he has
 already seized upon, for helping him to ascend the Throne of his Fa-
 ther as his Hereditary Right; the other that of her *Mussulman Pro-
 tector*, who has already freed her from that sort of *Aristocratical Ty-
 ranny* which she groan'd under, and endeavours to recover what she
 has already lost on the *Caspian* Sea, and preserve her the *Mussulman*
 Provinces which are profer'd to a *Guiaour*, by a worse than a natural
 one, say the *Turks*, meaning the young *Sophi*, who, against the Holy
Alchoran, which does not allow *Mussulmen* to be Allies or Subjects to
Guiaours, has made an Alliance with the *Czar*, (for Religion and Justice
 are too often made use of in such Cases,) they will go with a numerous
 and invincible Army, in the Name of God, to support him (*Miry-
 Mahoot*) against them both in this Undertaking, &c. So that *Persia* (I
 say again) is like to have more and more numerous or dangerous Plun-
 derers than hitherto, who may at last fight who shall eat up the whole
 Oyster. The discovering of which leaving to Time, I come now to a
 Conclusion, with King *George's* Return from his *German* Dominions with
 a new Year, into his *British* Realms; where his good Subjects, after
 having been plunged for above Six Months in a kind of Night of Sor-
 row, not much unlike that of the remotest *Laplanders*, when the Sun
 abandons their *Horizon* for almost as long, are now as much recreated
 at it, as we imagine those People to be at that *Planet's* appearing a-
 gain to them; they are wishing that they may enjoy for a great many
 Years without Intermission, without Plots, or any other such Troubles,
 his Majesty's Presence, which will revive their Trade, Welfare, &c.



A P P E N D I X

To the Second VOLUME.

N U M B. I.

*Declaration of War of the Grand Seignior against the Czar:
With his Highness's Circular Command to the Bashaws to bring
their Troops together.*



HIS Circular Command of our Imperial Power, is directed to you all, and each in particular, to let you know, That having concluded a Peace in 1112, with the Czar of *Muscovy*, we have always punctually observ'd it; but the Czar, following his perfidious Inclinations, has broke it in the following Points and others, *viz.*

1711.
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I. In building a Fort too near one of our Castles, call'd *Hor*, or *Precop*, contrary to the Treaty solemnly sworn to.

II. By erecting others in the Neighbourhood of *Gamesky*, upon our Sea of *Zabatch*, and building there a Fleet, which he daily encreases, for some pernicious and unjust Design against our Empire.

III. By taking Possession of *Ukrania*, which we gave up to the *Poles*, and putting a *Muscovite* Garrison in *Raseva*, a *Polish* Fortrefs, and in *Caminieck*.

IV. By sending (after his Advantage over the King of *Sweden*) his Troops on our Territories, who seiz'd 700 of his Men thereon.

V. By having order'd or permitted them to enter into the Districts of *Crim*, call'd *Gamesky* and *Zezenky*, burnt and pillag'd two Villages, and carry'd away their Inhabitants and their Cattle that could not make their Escape, and killed twenty *Mussulmen* who resisted them.

VI. This perfidious Czar, not satisfy'd with so many unjust and barbarous Actions committed with Impunity, has also now an Army in
A Poland,

Poland, and *Russian* Garrisons in several of its Towns, under Pretence of keeping them for the Republick, or for King *Augustus*: He has taken Possession of *Sltrattin* and *Hottin*, belonging to our Province of *Moldavia*; and all his Proceedings shew clearly his wicked Designs against our glorious and august Empire, after he has executed those he has form'd upon *Poland*, and the Provinces of the King of *Sweden*, a Friend to our sublime *Porte*, whom God bless and prosper.

These wicked Acts, and others which have been from time to time represented to our august *Porte*, and our gracious and indulgent Clemency has hitherto conniv'd at, on account of Excuses made and Pardons beg'd by the Violator's Minister, now in our Castle of the *Seven Towers*; not ceasing, have reduced the most illustrious and honourable *Tartar-Han*, *Delvet Gherai*, (whose Glory may God encrease and perpetuate, and recompence his Fidelity and Vigilance,) to come to our sublime *Porte*, and make to us such Remonstrances as his Zeal for the Preservation of our august Empire suggested to him, upon the Dangers which threaten it, and the Necessity of preventing them, by making War upon the perfidious and forsworn *Czar*: Upon which I assembled my great and wise *Divan*, composed of the wisest and most versed in the Law, the great *Visier*, *Muffti*, *Reis Effendi*, *Visiers of the Bench*, Secretaries, and other Ministers of our august *Porte*, to whom the abovesaid most illustrious *Han* shew'd the just Cause and Reasons we had to prevent the evil Designs of the *Czar*, by chastising and punishing his Perfidies; I demanded their Advice thereupon, and they unanimously declared it was necessary to make War upon him; and the most wise and expert in the Divine and Humane Laws, the *Musti Ali Effendi*, (may whose Thoughts be always inspired, and his Wisdom crown'd by the Almighty) has given his *Fetfa* for it; and I have order'd my most magnificent *Visier Mehemet Bashaw* to cause the necessary Preparations to be made, to march my invincible Army against the perfidious *Czar* next Spring. For this Purpose I now send you my Imperial Command to join him in the Plains of *Adrianople* the beginning of the Moon *Rebulevel*, (that is, the Middle of *April*) with ——— brave and strong Horsemen, well arm'd, and to shew their Veneration for my august and inviolable Commands, by a punctual Compliance therewith; taking care, and strictly enjoyning the Officers under their Command not to molest the Inhabitants of the Places you march through, nor suffer the Soldiers to take any Thing without paying for it; and be sure that the Number mentioned in this *Hatticheriff* be compleat to a Man. Given in *Stamboll*, the City of our usual Residence, in the beginning of the Moon *Zilkadde*, 1122.

N U M B. II.

Declaration for a Neutrality in Germany.

Pag. 5.

Q Uum sacrae Caesaræ Majestati, sacrae Regiæ Majestati Reginae Magnæ Britanniae, & Celsis & Præpotentibus, Dominis ordinibus Generalibus uniti Belgij Maxime semper cordi fuerit, & etiamnum sit, ut Quies & Tranquilitas in Imperio conservetur, & ideo communicatis cum quibusdam Fæderatorum suorum consilijs ab aliquo jam

jam tempore ad conservandum eandem quietem, & tranquillitatem, 1711.
 Principes in *Septentrione* inter se belligerantes sedulò & seriò exhortati sint atq; officia sua interposuerint, ne occasione belli quod in oris Septentrionalibus geritur, turbaretur vel quicquam agatur, sive revocando Copias, sive alio quocunq; modo quod rationibus & commodis *Fæderatorum* contra *Galliam* belligerantium noxium sit vel præjudicium afferre queat. Quumq; S. *Cæsarea Majestas*, ejusq; Fæderati *Poloniæ* & *Daniæ* Reges mox nequaquam hæsitantes declaraverint firmam sibi stare sententiam nihil quidquam facere, quod ad turbandam tranquillitatem in *Imperio* aniam præbere possit, ex quo Res *Fæderatorum* bello *Gallico* implicitorum, sive revocando Copias aut alio quocunq; modo detrimentum vel præjudicium patiatur. Et cum simul etiam postulaverint ut securi reddantur, Copias Regis *Sueciæ*, quæ jam in *Pomeraniâ* sunt, in *Poloniam* non redituras, nec actus ullos hostiles in terris *Imperij* commissuras, idcirco etiam illorum Ministri sæpius instanter flagitarint, ut alte memorati Fæderati illos hac de re certos & securos reddere velint, quorum Petitiones S. Regia Majestas *Borussiæ* officijs suis suffulsi. Quum etiam post communicata hæc desideria cum Regimine pro administratione Regni *Sueciæ* in absentia Regis constituto, Regiæ suæ Majestatis *Sueciæ* Ablegatus Extraordinarius *De Palmquist*, acceptis hac de re Illius mandatis, declaraverit per *Sueciam* minime statutum quo minus constans Neutralitas in *Imperio* fervetur, eumq; in finem se paratum fore nomine *Sueciæ* spondere, Copias *Suecicas* quæ in *Imperio* sunt ibidem uti etiam nec in *Poloniâ*, nec in Ducatû *Schlesvicensi*, nec in *Futlandiâ* nihil hostile tentaturas, hac tamen sub conditione *Sueciam* vicissim securam redditum iri Copias Regis *Daniæ* quæ sunt ex hac parte Maris *Baltici*, vel quæ sunt in *Futlandiâ*, in Ducatû *Schlesvicensi*, in terris *Imperij* ad hanc Coronam spectantibus, vel quæ Fæderatis militant, nec intra nec extra limites *Imperij* nihil quoque hostile tentaturas. Quumq; communicatâ post modum Regi *Daniæ* Conditione sub quâ Regnum *Sueciæ* Neutralitati in *Imperio* adstipulatur, supra nominati Fæderati quoque ad conservandam in *Imperio* tranquillitatem & neutralitatem proposuerint, ut ab unâ parte Rex *Daniæ* spondeat & consensum præbeat Copias suas in *Futlandiâ*, in Ducatû *Schlesvicensi*, & in *Imperio* degentes nihil hostile contra ullum, quisquis ille fuerit, nec intra nec extra limites *Imperij*, toto Ducatû *Schlesvicensi*, & *Futlandiâ* una comprehensis, tentaturas vel facturas esse; utq; pari modo ab alterâ parte Regimen in *Sueciâ* constitutum vicissim spondeat & consensum præbeat Copias Regis *Sueciæ* in *Pomeraniâ* & alijs *Imperij* terris & Provincijs existentes in *Poloniam* non redituras, nec quicquam hostile contra ullum, quisquis ille fuerit, nec intra nec extra limites *Imperij* toto Ducatû *Schlesvicensi* & *Futlandiâ* una comprehensis, tentaturas vel facturas esse. Additâ quoq; ulteriori declaratione a suprâ memoratis Fæderatis se propensos & paratos fore aliquas Copias utriusq; partis ad usum suum conducere & de ijs quantocius transigere. Super quibus cum hic degens de *Stoken* Regis *Daniæ* Secretarius renovatis modo dictæ suæ Regiæ Majestatis obtestationibus, nullum se vel revocatione Copiarum, vel alio modo Fæderatis incommodum vel præjudicium allaturam præterea nomine ejusdem Regiæ suæ Majestatis declaraverit Illam, ut novo documento ostendat, quam prono erga Fæderatos feratur effectû, utq; ad Illorum Petita respondeat consensum præbere, si ex parte *Sueciæ* positive affirmetur Copias ejusdem nunc in *Pomeraniâ* degentes sub ductu *Crassavij* aliasque omnes in Provincijs

1711. *vincijs Sueciæ in Imperio sitis existentes nihil hostile contra ditiones Regi Daniæ vel ejus Fæderatis tam intra quam extra limites Imperij subditas tentaturas esse, tunc quoque Regiam suam Majestatem Daniæ nullas ex Ducatibus Holsatiæ, Schlesvici, vel ex Jutlandiâ Copias advocaturam, nec trans mare Balticum transportaturam, quin & Copias a Cæsarea Sua Majestate auxilio mittendas per Germaniam ullasve Imperij ditiones vel terras minime transituras; In his omnibus confidens absq; ulteriori morâ Fæderatos sponsonem sive Guarantiam suam pro stabiliendâ in Imperio, Ducatû Schlesvicensi & Jutlandiâ Neutralitate interposituros esse.*

Itaq; infra scripti Plenipotentiarij & Deputati S. Cæsareæ Majestatis, S. Regiæ Majestatis Magnæ Britanniae, & Dominorum Ordinum Generalium Uniti Belgij, rite perpensis Cæsareæ suæ Majestatis Regumq; Poloniæ, Daniæ & Borussiae iteratò expositis desiderijs pro tuendâ & sponsonem sive Guarantia, & confirmandâ Neutralitate intra limites Imperij, acceptisque super his ab Imperatore, Regina, Ordinibusque Generalibus Mandatis, illorum vi, tenore præsentium notum testatumque faciunt nomine S. Cæsareæ Majestatis, S. Regiæ Majestatis Magnæ Britanniae & Dominorum Ordinum Generalium Uniti Belgij se grato atq; libenti animo accipere supra memoratorum Principum in Septentrione belligerantium mentis & voluntatis Declarationem pro conservandâ in Imperio tranquillitate, & quiete, & illæsâ Neutralitate tam in omnibus Imperij Provinciis & ditionibus, quam toto Ducatu Schlesvicensi & Jutlandiâ, promittentes S. Cæsaream suam Majestatem, Regiam suam Majestatem Magnæ Britanniae, & Dominos Ordines Generales conjunctim allaboraturos, ne ullo modo Neutralitas in terris Imperij infringatur, sed ut ab utrâq; partium rite servetur, eumq; in finem operam daturus, ne Copiæ Regis Sueciæ in Pomeraniâ alijsque ditionibus Imperij degentes in Poloniam redeant, nec actus ullos hostiles contra ullum, quisquis ille fuerit, nec intra nec extra limites Imperij, toto Ducatû Schlesvicensi & Jutlandiâ in illo comprehensis committant, & ne pariquoque modo Copiæ Regis Daniæ in Jutlandiâ, Ducatû Schlesvicensi & ditionibus Imperij degentes actus ullos hostiles contra ullum, quisquis ille fuerit, intra vel extra limites Imperij Ducatû Schlesvicensi in illo comprehenso committant. Quemadmodum etiam ne Copiæ Cæsareæ suæ Majestatis Regi Daniæ in auxilium forsan mittendæ per terras Imperij transeant, verum ut omnes & singulæ Imperij ditiones respectu Partium in Septentrione belligerantium ab omni transitû Copiarum immunes maneant & perfectâ Neutralitate gaudeant. Præterea infra scripti nomine ut supra declarant S. Cæsareæ Majestati, S. Regiæ Majestati Magnæ Britanniae, & Dominis Ordinibus Generalibus statutum esse, eo quo dictum est modo, quietem & tranquillitatem in Imperio tueri. Et quamvis post Declarationes supra memoratas minime expectandum sit neutram belligerantium Partem illam infringere vel quicquam quod illi contrarium sit facere velle, si tamen præter omnem spem & expectationem quisquam Neutralitatem hanc violaverit, in hoc inopinato casu modo nominati Fæderati simul omnes se cum illo qui Neutralitatem observaverit & factæ Violationis refectionem petierit, conjungent, quo casu si opus fuerit communibus viribus ad conservandam Neutralitatem eo quo dictum est modo utentur.

Ut autem hæc Declaratio promptiorem effectum sortiri possit, S. Cæsarea Majestas operam dabit ut Imperium huic Declarationi quanto-
cujus

citius accedat, sicut & Regina *Magnæ Britanniae* & Domini Ordines *Generales Imperium* ad hoc invitabunt.

Principes pariter quibus conservatio Neutralitatis & quietis in *Imperio* cordi est ad corroborandam accessione suâ hanc Declarationem, quæ partibus quarum interest hinc inde loco Guarantiæ erit, invitabuntur.

Præsentis Declarationis Exemplaria dabuntur Ministris *S. Cæsaree* Majestatis & Regiarum Majestatum *Poloniæ* & *Daniæ* ab unâ & *S. Regiæ* Majestatis *Sueciæ* ab alterâ parte, requirenturque ut officia sua adhibeant, quò *Cæsarea* & *Regiæ* Majestates supradictæ Declarationem hanc gratam habere, nec quicquam quod illi contrarium sit facere velint.

Actum & signatum *Hagæ Comitum* Die Trigesimo primo Martij, Anno Millesimo Septingentesimo Decimo.

(L. S.) *Phillipus Lud.*
C. de Sinzendorff.

(L. S.) *Pr. & D.*
Marlborough.
(L. S.) *V. Townshend.*

(L. S.) *W. Randwyck.*
(L. S.) *Allard M ren.*
(L. S.) *A. Heinsius.*
(L. S.) *N. Gheel Van*
Spanbroeck.
(L. S.) *N. Baron de*
Reede de Renswoude.
(L. S.) *S. V. Goslinga.*
(L. S.) *E. V. Ittersum.*
(L. S.) *W. Pot.*

NUMB. III.

King of Sweden's Protest against the Treaty of Neutrality in Germany.

QUAM primum Sacra Majestas Regis *Sueciæ*, &c. inaudivit. Serenissimum *Romanorum Imperatorem*, Serenissimam *Magnæ Britanniae* Reginam atque Celsos & præpotentes ordines *Belgij*, nec non complures principes *Imperij* pro tuendâ tranquillitate *Germaniæ* in mutuum consensisse fœdus, nullatenus dubitavit quin Scopus istius fœderis intentus foret, ut regna & Provinciæ *Sueciæ* adversus vim hostium tectæ ac tutæ manerent, id enim antememoratarum potestatum amicitia pactorum lege ad mutuam defensionem Stabilitâ expectare atque jure etiam Suo postulare debuit, verum post quam innotuit iniquissimam adversariorum Suorum causam in eodem pariter protegi & faveri, regnaque & Provincias Suas injurijs hostium abutentium. Opportunitate temporum relinqui absque ullo amicorum Suorum auxilio, protestatur, ac palam declarari jubet per Ministros Suos se nulla ratione teneri posse Legibus istius Fœderis, fretaque auxilio divino atque æquitate Causæ notum ac testatum facit omnibus ac singulis. Salvam sibi reservatum velle omnimodam ac nullis Legibus Circumscriptam Facultatem utendi medijs ac viribus quas Deus concessit adversus hostes Suos ubicunque locorum & quocunque tempore usus & ratio Belli poposcerint. Quod si autem præter omnem spem & expectationem quisquam amicum animum exuens remoram aut obstaculum ipsi objecerit & in eo fecerit ut

juſtis armis ſit proſequendus conjuratus hoſtis, declarat Sacra Regia Majeſtas ſe non poſſe eundem alio quam aggreſſoris loco haberi, in quorum majorem fidem hiſce propriâ manû Subſcribit eaque ita rara haberi vult.

Dat. Benderæ, Novembris 2. 1710.

(L. S.) Carolus.

(L. S.) G. Mullern.

NUMB. IV.

General Poniatowski's Letter to King Stanislaus, about the Battle of Pruth.

SIRE,

1711. I do myſelf by this the Honour to acquaint your Majeſty with the
Pag. 12. ſtrange Conduct of the *Viſier* on the *Pruth*, and neglect of the faireſt Opportunity in the World, to carry the Czar Priſoner to the *Sultan*, which was as eaſy for him as for me to write this.

His *Swediſh* Majeſty having ordered me to make the Campaign with that *Viſier*, I ſpared neither Pains nor Advice to make him ſenſible of the Advantages his formidable Army gave him over the Enemy, and ſuggeſt the Meaſures to be taken not to miſs of Succeſs. Heaven gave us that moſt deſireable and favourable Opportunity on the eighteenth of *July*, N. S. when, our Army conſiſting of above 100,000 Men, beſides the *Tartars*, we ſaw General *Janus*, (who with 8000 Horſe, was detach'd by the Enemy, encamp'd about three Leagues off, to reconnoitre us) come to the other ſide of the *Pruth*, oppoſite to us. At firſt he made as if he would take poſt there, and wait for the whole Army, to diſpute our paſſing the River; but our *Tartars* ſwimming over it with their Horſes, according to their Cuſtom, to meet the new Commees; the General fearing he ſhould be cut off from the Army, cauſed great Fires to be made in his new Camp, and diſlodged at Midnight to rejoin the Czar. As ſoon as we perceiv'd it, we cauſed Bridges to be laid over the River, which being finiſh'd about eight in the Morning, a Party of our Horſe, commanded by two Baſhaws, paſſed over to the other Side, and being joined by the *Tartars*, endeavour'd to overtake the General in his Retreat, which they could not do till he was in Sight of the Czar's main Army: However they fell upon him with ſuch Fury, that in this firſt Attack they cut off half his Men; the reſt fled with the General, and had much ado to get to their main Body. This fortunate Beginning much encouraging the *Turks*, the *Viſier* paſſed the River the next Day with his Army, deſigning only to encamp and remain all that Day a quarter of a League from the Bridges; but as great Part of the Horſe was march'd forwards, and fought to fight the Enemy wherever they could find them, the Czar ſeeing the Intrepidity and Force of our Troops, and frighted with the Danger he was in, thought of nothing but a Retreat, which could not now be made, but in the Sight of our Men, and with an unavoidable and conſiderable Loſs of his: For as ſoon as his Cavalry came never ſo little out of their Lines, they were

were presently cut to Pieces, so that they were forced to dismount, and, with the Baggage in the Middle, carry *Chevaux de Frise* upon their Shoulders, and on the least Attack of ours, make a stand, that they might not be broken. But the *Muscovite* Generals observing ours gained continual, and great Advantage over them; and that notwithstanding all their Precautions, they had lost great Part of their Baggage, which the *Tartars* were carrying away, with some of the Officers who guarded it, being encouraged by this their Success, to return frequently to the Attack: Thus I say, in short, the Enemy foreseeing entire and inevitable Ruin, in continuing such a March, formed a Square of the whole Army, making a Barrier all round it with *Chevaux de Frise*: And as soon as they perceived ours took Breath a little, to return the more vigorously to the Attack, they advanced with great Precipitation to gain a Wood half a League off, which would favour their Retreat; but ours allow'd them but little time for it, falling frequently upon them, and incommoding their March. As I was then with the Cavalry, and found that without Infantry it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to hinder their gaining the Wood, I made haste to persuade the *Visier* to change the Design, (which he seem'd still to persist in) of staying where he was, and decamp and march immediately to the Enemy with the rest of the Army, if he would not loose the finest Opportunity in the World, and which he could never recover again. My strong Remonstrances having moved his Flegm, he began to march in the same time our *Turkish* Horse, *Tartars*, and a few *Poles*, who had already signalized themselves, perform'd Miracles of Valour, for they not only hindered the Enemy's gaining the Wood, which was the only Thing to be fear'd, but scarce let them gain the Banks of the River, which was but a Cannon-shot from them. In the Evening our main Army drawing near, it was resolv'd not to attack the Enemy till next Day, and content our selves with surrounding and blocking them up; but the *Fanizaries* no sooner saw them reduced to these Streights, than they fell on Sword in Hand, without waiting for Orders of their Officers, and with extraordinary Vigour, forced the *Chevaux de Frise*, and began to make great Slaughter; but as they attack'd without Orders, and were not sustained by a sufficient Number of *Spahis*, they were repulsed after having spent their first Fury. Nevertheless they made a second Attack, notwithstanding the Obscurity of the Night, which was a great Hindrance to their Success: The *Fanizar-Aga* could hardly make them desist and wait till Day; for inspite of the Enemy's vigorous Resistance, they obstinately resolv'd to finish the Matter without waiting till Morning; and they would have done it if they had had Light. The Night was spent in bringing up our Artillery, and the *Fanissaries* cast up a small *Parapet* before them. As soon as the Day appear'd, our Artillery play'd: Upon which the *Czar*, seeing no Hopes of Safety by Resistance, prevented the Attack of the *Fanissaries*, by permitting General *Czeremetof* to send, in his Name, an Officer with a Letter to the *Visier*, to ask Peace of him. The *Visier* received him with some Haughtiness and Pride: But upon some others coming soon after, and begging a Suspension of Arms or Hostilities, saying a Plenipotentiary was coming from the *Czar* with *Carte Blanche* to treat, this *Visier*, who, to our Misfortune, is unexperienc'd, and of a poor Genius, laid aside all his Haughtiness, and granted their Request; and the Chancellor *Shaffiroph* arriv'd, and with his submissive Harrangue and Proposals, made him break the Promises

he

had made me, to follow at least my Advice in the Treaty: For, instead of imposing on the *Czar* such Conditions as he might have done, and the *Czar* offer'd to accept, whatever they were, he only demanded of his Minister what follows.

I. That the *Czar* should deliver up the City of *Asoph*, raze the Fortifications of *Taganrock*, *Samarra*, and *Kamienka*; restore to the *Zaporavian Cossaks* their ancient Privileges, with their Liberty, and renounce *Ukrania*.

II. That he should not meddle any more with the Affairs of *Poland*, but withdraw all the Troops he has there.

III. That he should deliver to the sublime *Porte*, *Cantemir*, the rebellious *Hospodar* of *Moldavia*, and another Greek, called *Sava Raguze*.

IV. That he should pay one Years Revenue of *Moldavia*, of which his Troops had hindred the Collection, by the Damages they have done there.

V. That he should deliver up to him all the great Artillery in his Camp.

Most of the *Bashaws* and Officers of my Acquaintance were extremely surprized at the Conduct of the *Visier*, and thought he should have first demanded that the *Czar* should surrender himself, with all his Officers, Prisoners of War, as I had advis'd him: And as they knew this *Visier* had always shewn a great Regard for my Counsels, which he successfully follow'd on several Occasions, they desired me to make such Remonstrances to him as the present Juncture requir'd; and especially to advise him not to suffer the *Czar*, who was in a Manner in his Hands, to depart till he had executed all the Conditions that should be required of him, for none of them durst speak his Mind publickly to him, all the *Turks* looking upon the Name and Office of *Visier* as an Oracle. *Skaffiroph* desired to have the *Visier's* Demands in Writing, promising an immediate Answer thereto; they were given him accordingly, and he was conducted to a private Tent. I took this Opportunity to represent to the *Visier*, that he was in the wrong to enter so easily upon a Treaty, and require so little of People who were in his Power; that according to the Rules of War, the *Muscovites* ought first to lay down their Arms, and surrender at Discretion to the Conqueror, afterwards such Terms might be made as should be thought proper; that before he talked of that Treaty, an Account of the Situation of Affairs should be sent to the *Grand Seignior*: But finding he was in haste to treat, though he had no Reason for it, since the Enemy actually perish'd with Hunger and the Infection caused by the Stench of the dead Bodies of Men and Horses, so that not one of them could escape; which I seeing, represented to him that he ought at least to remember his Promises, then repeated to me, not to conclude any Thing unless we were satisfy'd as well as the *Porte*; and that if he had so much Compassion on the Enemy, as not to make them Prisoners, he should at least tell the *Czar's* Plenipotentiaries, that the King of *Sweden* was in the Territories of the sublime *Porte*, without whom it was agreed not to conclude any thing, so that one of his Ministers being in the Camp, they should hear what Demands he had to make on the Behalf of his Master. It is impossible to write all I said to him on this Occasion, so I shall only add that he then promis'd me to do all that I desir'd. Soon after *Skaffiroph* return'd to the *Visier's* Tent to answer his Demands. He began with *Asoph*, and said, though this Place was given up by the Treaty

of

of *Carlowitz*, to remain for ever in the Hands of the *Muscovites*, the Czar preferring Friendship with the *Porte* to the best of Towns, would give it up in the same Condition he took it. This pleased the *Visier* very much, tho' he might have had it, as well as all the other Places, in the Condition they now are, which is much better than when they were taken. That as for *Taganrock*, *Kamienka*, and *Samarra*, that the Czar had a great many strong Towns in his Dominions; and, tho' these cost him a great Deal, he would cause them to be razed, to shew he intended to maintain a sincere and lasting Friendship with the *Porte*, and leave no Ground to suspect his good Intention. That the *Cossacks* should be restor'd to their former Liberty, since the *Porte* desir'd it. As for the Affairs of *Poland*, that the Czar would not concern himself any more with them, but would immediately order his Troops to retire from thence, and that they should never return thither; and all this should be perform'd in Twenty four Days. That they could not give up the *Hospodar* of *Moldavia*, because he was no longer in the Czar's Power, being fled Three Days ago; and as for the *Greek Sava*, they knew not where to find him, and scarce knew him. That their Troops had done no Damage in *Moldavia*, having paid for what they had; and therefore it was not reasonable his Czarish Majesty should pay the Revenue of a Country, which he had rather Enrich'd than Impoverish'd. Lastly, That they could not easily deliver the Cannon that were in their Camp, but in lieu of them, they would give the like Number out of *Kamienka*.

The *Visier* and his Favourites being bribed at the Conferences in the private Tent, all was agreed to; and *Shaffiroph* ask'd him, *If he had any further Demands to make before he sent those already concluded on to the Czar, to be Ratify'd?* Then the *Visier* said, *He had still one more, which was a free Passage for the King of Sweden into his own Dominions.* To which *Shaffiroph*, as might easily be imagin'd, made no Difficulty to consent.

Having seen the Stupidity, Perfidy and Treachery of this *Visier*; I told him, in the Presence of above a Hundred Persons, all that Reason, Rage, Grief and my just Resentments inspir'd me with; and as he knew himself to be in the Wrong, and that he might have had the best Terms imaginable for his Master, and have procured us entire Satisfaction, he was at a loss what to reply; but sent me to his *Kibaia*, to consult with him, and propose some Remedy for our Affairs. He, after he had been several Times with the *Visier*, told me from him, That I ought not to be angry, for as soon as their own Affairs were finish'd, they would proceed on those of his Majesty, and procure him all reasonable Satisfaction; but as I saw Carts begin to move from the *Muscovite* Camp, I lost all Hopes of their coming to their Senses; yet I endeavour'd to create in both the *Visier* and *Kiaia* some Mistrust, by asking, Who was to be *Guarantee* of the Treaty, and what Security they had for Performance of the Conditions of it, since they let the Czar depart? And perceiving they would have recourse to *England* and *Holland*, I represented to them, that no Powers at such a distance from the Czar could force him to do any Thing, tho' they should engage for him; and as for the Hostages, *Shaffiroph* and the Son of *Czeremetoff*, they were no Security; for we had Examples of this Prince's having sacrific'd his Ministers, by not complying with his Treaties. That a little while before the War, he sent an Ambassador to *Stockholm*, to the King of Sweden, with Assurances and Protestations of Friendship, and immediately af-

ter went with 80,000 *Muscovites* to surprize *Narva*. Then I told them, I could propose a Way for the certain Performance of the Treaty, which was, to make the King of *Sweden* and your Majesty the Guarantees of it; and since they were determined to let the *Czar* go, they ought to require this of him. The *Czar* will undoubtedly refuse to have his Enemies Guarantees, said the *Kiaia*; to whom I reply'd, That they might insist upon it, or very easily oblige him to do it, for they could not depend on any other than such as would be always ready to join with them, and compel him by Force of Arms to the performance of the Terms agreed on, if he did not duly comply with them; that by this Means they would oblige him to make Peace with the Two Kings, give them a reasonable Satisfaction, and rectify what had been ill done before. They seem'd to approve of my Advice, and promised to follow it; yet at Night they did just contrary, and the next Morning the Ratification of the Treaty was brought to the *Visier*, who would not afterwards make any mention of our Interests; on the contrary, knowing the King (to whom I had sent an Express to let him know of our fair Opportunity) was coming, he made haste to let the *Czar's* Troops go away. His Majesty being arriv'd, went directly to alight at his Tent, and reproached him with his ungenerous Behaviour, having lost an irrecoverable Occasion of giving what Laws he would to the Enemy; but proposed to him a Remedy, which was, to let his Majesty have 20,000 Men of the best Troops in the Camp, with which he would bring back the *Czar* Prisoner, for Security of his Compliance with the Treaty: But seeing his invincible Cowardice, or repugnancy to the Offer, his Majesty left him very abruptly, and return'd to *Bender*; where I shall go in few Days myself, seeing no Prospect of mending these unaccountable Proceedings of the *Visier*.

I am, &c.

NUMB. V.

The Treaty of Peace concluded between the Czar and Baltagi Mahomet, at the Pruth, the 11th of July, 1711.

1711.
Pag. 13. **T**H E great God, Creator and Dispenser of every Thing that exists, having by his wise Providence permitted the victorious Army of the *True Believers*, to enclose and streighten the *Czar* of *Muscovy* with his Forces, on the Banks of the *Pruth*, where he was so reduced, that he sought his Safety in the *Musulman* Mercy and Clemency, by desiring Peace: Which was graciously granted him on the following Conditions.

I. That *Asoph* shall be delivered up to the sublime *Porte*, in the same Condition it was when it was taken, with the Artillery, and all the Country depending thereon.

II. That the Castles or Fortresses, of *Taganrock*, *Kamienka*, and that lately built near *Samarra*, shall be demolish'd; and the Artillery of this last, with the Ammunition, shall be deliver'd to the *Porte*; and no Fort be ever re-built thereabouts.

III. That the *Czar* shall not hereafter intermeddle with the *Cossacks*, Subjects of *Poland*, or of the most serene *Tartar Han*; but leave them peaceably

peaceably in their Habitations, as they were before, without molesting them directly or indirectly.

IV. That the *Czar* shall not any more send to *Constantinople* (or any Place where the sublime *Porte* commands) any Person to reside there, in Quality of Ambassador or *Muscovite* Minister; but the Merchants of that Nation may Trade there, and go and come.

V. That all the *Musulmen* and Subjects of the sublime *Porte*, which have been taken, (how great soever the Number may be) shall be sent Home free.

VI. That whereas the King of *Sweden* enjoys the favourable Protection of his *Imperial Highness*, the *Czar* shall not stir up any Obstacle or Delay in his Return to his own Dominions.

VII. That the most mighty and sublime *Porte* promises on the one Side, as the *Czar* doth on his, That the natural Subjects, and those protected by either, shall not be disturb'd nor ill-used, in case the most Potent and most Exalted above all other Emperors, our most merciful and gracious Master, be supplicated to forget the irregular past Conduct of the *Czar*, and he be pleased to ratify this Treaty of Peace, a Copy whereof shall be given to the *Czar*. And forasmuch as the Engagement, which he has caused to be given us by his Plenipotentiaries, after having signed it with his own Hand, and sworn to it, and which we have accepted by virtue of our full Power, is founded thereon; and having left us for Hostages and Security, Baron *Shaffiroph*, his Chancellor and private Secretary, and the *Sieur Michel*, Son of *Czeremetoff*, one of his *Velt-Marsbals*, he has been permitted to return to his own Dominions. And as soon as the abovesaid Conditions shall be accepted by the greatest of Emperors, *Sultan Achmet*, and performed by the *Czar*, and the said Hostages have complied with all their Engagements, they shall be permitted to return also to their own Country. And 'tis for this Cause this last Article is here added. Done in the Plain of *Hoest Gesty*, the 6th of the Moon *Gemeriel Akier*, in the Year 1123.

NUMB. VI.

BY this Imperial Command be it known unto you, That after the Peace was concluded in the Year 1112. between my *sublime* *Porte*, whose Greatness might be perpetual, and the *Czar* of *Muscovy*, and renewed in the Year 1112. this *Czar*, by his Perfidiousness, having since violated the Treaties by Enterprizes, which shewed his pernicious Designs against the *Mussulman* Provinces; my ever victorious Army, assisted by the Grace of God, from whom nothing is hid, march'd last Year against him, reduced him and his Army to great Streights at *Houthegetzidi*, and forced him to implore our Imperial Clemency; a Peace was concluded with the Hostages he gave, by which he engaged not only to withdraw his Troops out of *Poland*, but never to let them return thither, on any Pretence whatever. Three Months were allowed him for performance of this Article, which was the first of the Treaty; and the Time being expired without its being complied with, (which is a Violation of the Treaty which our Imperial Clemency ratify'd) we have in a great *Divan* or Council, consulted all the *Vishers* and Men of the Law fearing God, and others who have place in the Council,

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Council, and they having unanimously answered, That it was necessary to make War on this Violator of Treaties, to prevent the Effects of his evil Designs on the *Mussulman* Provinces; we have resolved to march in Person next Spring, with all the Forces of *Rumelia* and *Natoly*, and of the other Parts of our vast Empire, and form a more numerous Army than the last: You ——— Governor of ——— are commanded to join early next Year, in the Plain of *Iffaktze*, my Imperial Army, with your Household, composed of chosen Officers and Soldiers, strong and furnished with Arms fit for War. And as soon as you have respectively kissed my noble Command, be careful to raise the Troops therein specify'd, with the necessary Arms, and march to arrive at the Time order'd you, in my Imperial Camp; otherwise, your Excuses or Pretences will not be heard, but you will incur our Imperial Indignation; and if you value your own Safety, you will, by your Punctuality, shew your Obedience to my Imperial Order: Which further forbids you to disturb, in your March, the Inhabitants of the Towns or Villages of my Empire, by requiring of them, contrary to Justice, Provisions, or any Thing else, without paying for it. Given in our City of *Constantinople*, the Middle of the Moon *Zilkade*, 1124. i. e. the 9th of *December*, 1711.

NUMB. VII.

The Grand Seignior's Letter to the King of Sweden.

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THE most Powerful among the Kings, Worshippers of *Jesus*, and Protector of Justice among the Kingdoms of the *South* and *North*, Glorious in Majesty, Friend to Honour, Glory, and to our sublime *Porte*, *Charles*, King of *Sweden*; whose Undertakings may God prosper: As soon as the most illustrious *Achmet*, heretofore *Chiaux-Bashaw*, has had the Honour to deliver you this Letter, sealed with our Imperial Signet, be perswaded and convinced of the Truth of our Imperial Intentions therein contained, viz. That tho' they were at first to send again our numerous, and always victorious Legions, against the *Czar* of *Muscovy*; nevertheless that Prince, to avoid our just Resentment of his Delay, in performing the Treaty concluded on the Banks of the *Pruth*, having surrendered to our Empire the City and Castle of *Asoph*, entirely demolished *Taganrock*, has obtain'd, thro' the Mediation of the Embassadors of *England* and *Holland*, those Composers of Differences, and Redressers of Wrongs and Injuries, and ancient and constant Friends to our sublime *Porte*, our Imperial Pardon, and the Continuation of that Peace. As to your honourable Return into your Provinces, our Imperial Orders shall be timely sent to our most valiant and glorious *Han* of the *Tartars*, and to the most generous and illustrious *Seraskier* of *Bender*, to supply you with all Necessaries for your Journey, and reconduct you next Winter thro' *Poland*, according to your Desire; and it must be done in a friendly Manner, this Country being in Peace and Amity with our sublime *Porte*: We therefore recommend to you, to give to all your People, who are about your Royal Person, most express and clear Orders, to commit no Disturbances, nor attempt any Thing in your Passage thro' *Poland*, which

which may directly or indirectly tend to violate that Peace and Amity. You will preserve hereby our good Will to you, whereof we will give you great, and as frequent Marks, as occasion offers. Our Troops appointed to accompany you, shall have our Orders conformable to our Imperial Intentions, for the same Purpose. Given at our *sublime Porte* of *Constantinople*, 14th of the Moon *Rabiulevel*, 1124.

NUMB. VIII.

The King of Sweden's Answer to the Grand Seignior's Letter.

We Charles, to the most serene, most mighty Emperor of the Ottomans, Health, with all Success, Glory, and Prosperity.

WE have received your Imperial Highness's Letter, full of friendly Expressions, written the 14th of the Moon *Rabiulevel*, which was deliver'd into our Royal Hands by the most illustrious *Achmet*, heretofore *Chiaous Bashaw*. We perceive this Letter of your Imperial Highness, is a fresh Mark of your Good-will towards us, of which we have received so many, so great, and so real Ones, since our Abode in your Empire: We are extreamly sensible of your most obliging Care of our Safety, in promising to give timely Orders to the *Han* and *Bashaw* to re-conduct us next Winter into our Provinces, and to provide us with all Necessaries. We wish for nothing more earnestly now, that our Presence to defend those Provinces is become so much more necessary, since the *Czar* has his Hands free by the Peace which your Highness has been pleas'd to confirm him; which enables him to carry all his Forces against those Parts of our Dominions which have escaped his unjust Attacks, and to secure his Usurpations. And we, in the mean while, recommend our Person and our People to the Continuation of your Good-will, and shall preserve always, and every where, a grateful Remembrance of all your Favours. 1712

NUMB. IX.

Dr. Timone's Historical Dissertation upon the Inoculating of the Small Pox, such as he gave it to me at Constantinople in 1712.

JAM dudum hinc *Constantinopoli*, ubi frequens est variarum nationum concursus, variolas in *Georgiâ*, *Armeniâ*, *Circassiâ*, *Chinâ*, &c. per insitionem excitari audiebamus; idem & in non nullis *Græciæ* partibus, vel etiam in his ipsis *Bosphoranis* oris fieri rumor quidam circumferebatur. Haud magna tamen, a nobis presertim *Francis*, primum adhibebatur attentio Operationi aut fides successui; donec ille morbus a naturâ emissus periculosissime grassans initio hujus sæculi, (concurrente interim pessimâ Aeris temperie, maximam partem ægrotantium necaret; arte autem insitus neminem. Quod ego quidem Seriâ attentione D tione

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tione observans, Collegarum meorum Considerationi exposui. Multi laudarunt hunc Præservationis modum, ac omnes *Græci & Armenii*; qui eum antea neglexerant amplexi sunt, eoque Conservationi filiorum, & filiarum consuluerunt. Illo etiam tempore idem in usum inter *Francos* venit; prudentissimi tamen inter nos forte Præoccupati Caractere & ignorantia *Operatorum*, vel potius *Operatricum*, (maxima Pars enim erat illarum *Vetularum* quæ nullatenus initiatæ in misteriis *Æsculapii* in nostram Provinciam audent excurrere) diu denegarunt Assensum & Approbationem praxi; donec continua & fausta plurium annorum in Centum & Centum millenis Subjectis facta experientia Securitatem & utilitatem demonstraret, nullumque *Pyrronismo* relinqueret locum. Sed quamplures Theologi tum *Græci*, tum *Latini* in hancce praxim tanquàm ordini a Providentiâ instituto adversantem, toto gutture declamarunt; quasi quidem Providentiâ, quæ ipsis brutis animalibus certum quoddam dedit instinctum, quo sese ab iis quæ sunt nocitura tueri possint, minus favisset hominibus.

Unam ego e celeberrimis Insitionis Operatricibus quæ se *Philippopolitanam* dicebat adivi, post quàm ad me sæpe vocata venire neglexit; easque illi circa Originem, Rationem & Modum Operationis proposui Quæstiones, quas supra Captum non esse putabam. Quoad Originem, dixit sibi ita relictum a Majoribus; pro Ratione, dabat longam & felicem Experientiam; Methodum hanc sequuta est, & etiamnum, sequitur quæ (paucis nullius momenti exceptis formulis, & Circumstantiis) eadem & communis ipsi est cum omnibus aliis harum Partium Operatoribus, 1. Levem præscribit illi Evacuationem seu Purgationem, cui meditatur Insitionem; præcipue si teneræ aut debilis fuerit naturæ, ampliorem vero si robustæ. 2. à Carnibus, Ovis, Vino, Aquâ, mulsâ, Aliisque Liquoribus calidis, per quinque ante Operationem dies, Abstinentionem imperat. 3. Eum vel eam manere vult in cubiculo moderate calido & bene clauso. 4. Puerum aut Puellam sani Temperamenti, solummodo variolis à naturâ emissis laborantem, iisque distinctis & non confluentibus, 10^a. Die ab illarum eruptione adit. Acu triangulari transverse pertundit, & aperit aliquot Pustulas in Tibiis & popletibus; eas leviter comprimit digitis, pus que inde manans in subjectum vasculum, è vitro, aut quâlibet aliâ purâ materiâ factum excipit; deinde istud vasculum bene operit & fovet sinu, ad ædemque futuri Patientis properans, ipsi in iisdem corporis partibus ac unde pus extractum est, cutem suo acû Pungit, ad guttularum Sanguinis emanationem; erumpenti verò sanguini, ope argenti acûs Primo obtusioris, supra extractum Pus probè instillat. Quo facto, statim Juglandium cortices, per medium Sectas, aut quodlibet aliud concavum superimponit vulnusculis; & fasciis colligat, ne Pus infusum indusio aut aliter abstergatur, antequam sanguini recte fuerit immixtum. Post quinque aut sex horas hæc omnia removet & non solum eandem *Diætam* ac antea; Sed etiam usum ciborum farrinaceorum & Ligaminosorum, Hordeacearum potionum ad 30 & amplius dies præscribit. Post vero 3^{um}, 4^{um}, 5^{um}, generatim & eo melius si 7^{um}, emittuntur Pustulæ decem, Quindecim, aut Minores aut Plures numero, Rarò supra viginti, id que sine ullo ferme doloris sensû (itâ ut Patiens se ægrotare vix sentiat) aut ullo oculis, formæve Periculo; quod sæpius è variolis a naturâ emissis evenit. Alia vetula in viciniâ *Thessalonicæ* natam se dicens, quæ a viginti & amplius annis variolas inserit, non quidem id se ab hominibus traditum, sed ab ipsâ *beatâ Virgine* revelatum esse Jactitat, omnibus que Insitionis actibus adjungit *signa Crucis*, & preces

non

non nullas, easque (quo majorem misterii faciē præbeat suæ Operationi: demissâ voce) & ita obmurmurando ut nemo intelligat quæ profert, atque præter mercedem solitam, cereas a Patientibus erogat Candelas *Divæ* imaginibus & aris offerendas. Non in iisdem quidem partibus corporis inoculandi punctiōem infligit, é quibus Pus extrahit; Sed 1. in supremâ frontis parte, 2. prope dextram aurem, 3 prope sinistram, 4. in mento, id scilicet in modum *Crucis græcæ*, sic que Sanctificando Inſitionem, credulam & Mirabundi avidam plebem sibi devovit, quin & (forte tributo Cereorum) *Clerum* sibi conciliavit; in-
numeros enim quos inoculet, eosque commendatos ab ipsis Sacerdotibus *Græcis*, quotidie habet; ita ut vix possit multitudini sufficere. Cæterum eandem diætā Præscribit ac altera, sed indifferenter pus mutuatur ab insitiis variolis, quod neminem Præter ipsam facientem huc usque vidi & audiui. Parum autem refert quibus in Partibus punctiō infligatur, siquidem nunquam deest felix successus, modo pus recte infundatur & immisceatur emananti indé sanguini, eam tamen suaferim infligendam in carnosiss & musculosiss Partibus, v. g. in brachiis, & Lacertis, & ita inflicta est iis omnibus quos inoculandos curavi, in quorum numero sunt quamplures mihi proxime affines, Provectæ ætatis, quibus continuum movebant timorem nomen, idea & rumor istius Contagii. Nostri Chirurghi scapello Phlebotomico utuntur ad Punctiōem, Auriscalpio vero ad Infusionem puris; & parum vel haud quaquam recedunt ab Evacuatione & diætâ aliorum Inoculatorum.

Verum quocunque dictorum modorum fuerit peracta Operatio, a 7 & amplius annis ex quò meam Peculiarem aut extraordinariam attentionem ei dedi innumeris Cujuslibet sexûs, aut ætatis, qui illam subijere, vel pessimo Aeris tempore, & grassante iniquissimâ specie communium variolarum (ut jam observavi) nihil quidquam Calamitosi accidisse audiui sed omnia fausta & exoptato successisse perspexi. Per paucæ eæque leves in illis, in his nullæ, sequebantur operationem Pustulæ, nisi in ipsis locis insitionis, quæ in purulenta tubercula extumescebant, in quo ultimo casu non nulli dubitantes an Patientes immunes a contagio in posterum evaderent, illud de novo bis terque & sæpius ipsis inferendum curarunt neque; ullum unquam extumuit vel in ipsis vulnuscule tuberculum, sed semper tuti a variolis, sive naturalibus sive Artificialibus, quamvis continuò cum illis Cohabitarerent quos occupabat Contagium, mansere. Audiens tamen ego contraquæ reruli de securitate, & utilitate istius Operationis, quosdam mortuos esse ex insitijs variolis; Dato Studio ædes illorum, de quibus tale aliquid disseminabatur, adivi & illud falsissimum esse pro certò comperi: & non nisi duas, ex quo hic viget Inoculatio, Historias, easque parum ad rem facientes, pro meâ Inquisitionis sedulitate Possum narrare. Fuit in Familiâ quâdam puer 3 circiter annorum, morbo comitiali, *Strumis*, *Lue Hæreditariâ*, & *Marasmo* confectus, cui sui parentes Inſitionem instituerunt. *Variolas* facile exclusit, & pene 40^{am} Diem ab insitione, *Marasmo* suo periit. Alia fuit puella, etiam *Comitiali morbo*, *Lue Hæreditariâ* & præterea Colliquativo alvi fluxu laborans, huicce insitio facta est, & 32^{am} Die veteri alvi fluxu, qui nunquàm intermiserat, periit. At Aedepol! Inſitionem ego variolarum universalem ad omnes morbos Panacæam haud Contenderim, neque moribundis instituendam Censuerim nasutiores etiam suspicantur duo illa Subjecta, tanquam incommodas umbras, ad Cymbam Charontæam, omnibus modis fuisse detrusa. Si inter tot, millia hominum, quæ insitio in hisce oris, aut alibi facta est, quid

quid quàm in meam notitiam pervenisset, candide referrem. Cur autem variolæ a naturâ emissæ semper periculosæ & per sæpe Lethales sint, arte vero insitæ omni careant Periculo, quantum in me fuerit alibi sum expositurus; interim spero me in hac historicâ Salutiferæ infectionis narratione aliquatenus bene meruisse, addendis que datâ occasione melius meritum vale.

NUMB. X.

An Abstract of a Letter from Count Welling, to Mr. Mullern.

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Page 88. **I** Have maturely consider'd the last Letter you wrote me, and I observe almost a general Disposition to maintain King *Augustus* on the Throne of *Poland*: The Queen of *England* seems to be better pleas'd to see her Nephew on that Throne than a *Polish* Gentleman, if the King of *Prussia*, whose Interest and Inclination are to prefer a King, who is a Native of *Poland*, to a neighbouring powerful Elector, would declare for King *Stanislaus*, he could not but expect an entire Desolation of all his Countries, especially his Kingdom of *Prussia*, which the Czar has threaten'd to reduce to Ashes for lesser Reason. King *Stanislaus* himself is very sensible of all this, and of the almost insuperable Obstacles to his Re-establishment, therefore is dispos'd to renounce it, rather than see both his own Country and *Sweden* ruin'd on his Account. This has chiefly given occasion to his *Prussian* Majesty's Plan, which deserves the more to be regarded, as we should thereby (and by the Concurrence of King *Augustus*) preserve *Ingria* and *Narva*.

I discover plainly to you, Sir, all my Thoughts, and wish you could, with your Prudence, insinuate them to our Royal Master, and make him sensible of the Impossibility we are under to Force, (as his Majesty seems to Desire) the Publick and our Enemies, to observe the Laws and Treaties which we gave them, during the Course of our Prosperity; I am indeed too faithful a Subject not to wish for a Peace, as much consistent with the Honour of my King, and the Safety of my Country, as the present Crisis of our Affairs allows it; therefore I am of Opinion, That a voluntary Renunciation of King *Stanislaus* on reasonable Conditions, would save the King's Honour; and I should think the Safety of my Country tolerably secured, if we could by this Means get out of our Troubles, and regain several Provinces, which it would be difficult to conquer in many Campaigns. If you want a Precedent to insinuate this to his Majesty, King *Philip* of *Spain* will furnish you with one, by his Renunciation to the Crown of *France*: How many Countries doth not the great King of *France* sacrifice? And how many more would he not have sacrificed to save the rest, and procure Peace to his People, if the *English* Ministry had not so luckily been chang'd, and so well inclin'd to spare them, and help him to make that Peace such, both for himself and his Grandson, that they could not expect to get by half so good, considering the Offers his most Christian Majesty had made before to his Enemies. I Wish, tho' I dare not expect from any of ours, so generous a Reconciliation with us, as is that of the Queen of *England* with the King of *France*. I must do

do Justice to the King of *Prussia*, that he cordially takes the King's Part; as much as this Juncture of Affairs allows it; and the more, because he foresees the Risque he should run, if the Northern League be not dissolved, to reduce the *Muscovites* to Reason: Which is the Intent of the Plan. For God's Sake, Sir, endeavour to persuade him to consent to it; and second, with all your Credit, what Mr. *Casander* will have the Honour to represent to his Majesty thereupon.

His Majesty's Absence and Distance from us is a great Disappointment in our Affairs, the *Senate* daring not to act and take Measures *pro re natâ*, and some Months are required to get his Royal Assent to any Transaction of Moment; all his faithful Subjects sigh for his Return: Can you not make him sensible, how it is necessary for the Preservation of the Remainder of our Provinces, and the Recovery, at least, of some; and to facilitate it, to apply confidently to the King of *Prussia*, for a Convoy on the Frontiers of *Pomerania*? *Stettin*, and the Baliwick of *Goldnaw*, with their Dependencies, put for Security into his Hands, will be sufficient Inducements for this Prince to serve us. The maritime Powers are unwilling to give Umbrage to the *Czar*, (not to expose their Commerce at *Archangel*;) and I am asked, If we can flatter our selves with being able to reduce the exorbitant Power of this Prince? If I say, Yes, with the Assistance of the *Turks*; 'tis objected, How little we may depend on the *Porte's* Constancy, who perhaps has already renewed again a Peace with him; and 'tis concluded, that the King our Master's Consenting to the maintaining King *Augustus* on the Throne, is the only and sure Way to get Friends to serve us efficaciously. This being granted by his Majesty, would gain this Prince and the Republick, who are as much tired, as you may imagine, with the *Czar's* dear and heavy Help, and engage them to join with us to get rid of it.

NUMB. XI.

Another Extract of C. Welling's Letter to Bar. Mullern.

GIVE me leave, Sir, to desire you, with my usual Freedom, to let me know, Whether it is the King our Master's positive Intention, that supporting King *Stanislaus* should be a Preliminary Condition and Basis of the Treaty, to be set on foot in *England*; and to tell you before-hand, That if it is so, I foresee but very indifferent Success in that Country, where King *Augustus* has had too much Time to get Friends; he spares Money no more there, then you write me that the *Czar* does at *Constantinople*: 'Tis out of Season and Purpose, to cry out, *Auri sacra Fames! O Bribery! O Corruption upon Ministers!* when the Interest of their Country is not concerned in the Case. Policy allows them Liberty of Conscience in indifferent Matters: As for Example, Whether *Augustus* or *Stanislaus* shall be King of *Poland*? Whether *S. R. S.* had Orders from the late Ministry, to do all possible Services to the *Czar* at the *Porte*; and was encourag'd by this Prince's Presents, to continue even the same, without Orders of the new One? The Casuists can well accommodate all these Matters, and others more difficult, and reconcile them with their particular Interest. As to the Satisfaction of that Minister's Revocati-

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on, it seems to me a very steril one, if we get it; I rather fear, with all the fair Promises, that our honest Count sends to *Bender* from the *British* Court, that my Lord *Lexington*, who is much in Favour there, won't thank us for our Endeavours to supplant his Nephew, and may have Credit enough to disappoint us in it: Besides, can we flatter our selves, that if another Minister goes to the *Ottoman Porte* from *Queen Anne*, he'll have Orders to serve us as *S. R. S.* did the *Czar*, and give to this Prince, to whom she bears no less Friendship than to the King our Master, the like Ground of Complaints we have now: Nay, she has done more for that Prince than we can expect from her; and I may add more, than what is consistent with the Interest of the trading Part of her Subjects. Does he not owe Her Majesty, in great Measure, his Sea Forces from the *Baltick* to the *Tanais*, even to the *Volga*? Are not his best Builders, Commanders of Ships, Officers, Sailors, &c. *Englishmen*? How many Men of War, actually in the Harbours of *Petersburgh* or *Revel*, have been built in the very Docks of the *Thames*? Even Advices from *Constantinople* tell us, that there are actually Two or Three of those he had in the *Meotis*, commanded by *Englishmen*, actually in the Harbour of *Galata*, which the *Porte's* Complaisance allows him to expose there to Sale, contenting herself with his surrendring of *Asoph*: All this, with the authentick Satisfaction that Princess gave him, on account of his Ambassador's being arrested for *Debts* in *London*, and many more Instances, shew too plainly how far she is from disobliging him. Pray, Sir, don't we loose our Time in playing at Chess, instead of extinguishing the Fire which has broke in our Houses? I foresee (I'll repeat it again) none but dismal Consequences from the King's insisting upon the supporting of King *Stanislaus*; or (let me add) from King *Augustus's* Resignation to the Queen's Arbitration: God inspire his Majesty how to prevent it! I sometimes give a Loose to my Thoughts, to divine what Method his Majesty might take for it, and for the most Part they fix upon the Maxim, strongly recommended by a modern Politician, in these Words: *If you mistrust a Person of Consideration, refer your self boldly to his Judgment and Decision; this Step of Confidence and Civility will induce him to have equitable Sentiments for you, even tho' it be with some Violence to himself.*

I draw from hence a sort of Application to our Case; and represent to myself many Advantages we might obtain, if the King would resolve to be before-hand with King *Augustus*, in referring the Differences with that Prince, to the Arbitration and Decision of her *Britannick* Majesty: I will mention only Two or Three of them. 1. The King would thereby avoid the Displeasure of the Queen, to which King *Augustus's* Resignation would expose him, if his Majesty refused to do as much. 2. The Queen herself having an Affection for the Person of the King, would think herself engaged to make suitable Returns to his Majesty's Confidence in her; and her Council thereby find itself more engaged, not to depart from the Sentiments of their Sovereign. 3. Compromises, 'tis true, are uncertain, but the Risque is to both Parties; That is, for the Differences of private Persons; but between Kings, the Arbitrators have regard to good Policy; and whatever happens, the King's Honour will always be safe. For, if according to all Appearances, King *Augustus* should remain on the Throne of *Poland*, King *Stanislaus's* voluntary Renunciation, already prefer'd, would get him honourable Terms; the Glory of ha-

ving

ving set him on the Throne, would always remain to his Majesty; and to King *Stanislaus*, the Generosity of quitting it for the Safety of Two Kingdoms.

N U M B. XII.

An Account of the Origin of the Words Whig and Tory, given to the King of Sweden at Bender, on his desiring it.

AS to the Origin of the Words *Whig* and *Tory*, the first is a Name given formerly to the *Scots Covenanters*, and the latter to the *Wild Irish Robbers or Highwaymen*; and they are reproachful Titles wherewith one Party stigmatizes the other; it being a known Maxim among Statesmen to have Two Parties among the Subjects; accordingly this Maxim, *Divide and Impera*, Divide and Govern. These Parties are each of them to be of a different Opinion; and as Religion is the easiest Thing in the World to dispute about; (hardly any Two Men being in every Point of the same) and People are generally most obstinate in defending their own, that was the Topick pitch'd upon to keep them at Variance. Now 'twas not convenient that there should be any essential or fundamental Difference, as between a *Protestant* and *Papist*: No, that would be carrying the Jest too far; but such as is between one of the Church of *England* and a *Dissenter*, which is no great Matter, but however is enough to dispute about.

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Wherefore in King *Charles* the Second's Time, the moderate Party, who were against the persecuting the *Dissenters*, and were for suffering every Man to believe and act, in Religious Matters, according to his own Conscience, stigmatiz'd the others who were violent, and wou'd force all the *Dissenters* to conform to the Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, with the opprobrious Name of *Tories*, as hinting that they were of the same Principles with those cruel *Roman Catholics*, who were supposed to have had a great Hand in the Massacre of *Ireland*; which being then fresh in every Bodies Memory, nothing could be added to render them more odious. On the other Hand, the rigid Church of *England* Party, who sometimes persecuted the *Dissenters* as far as the Laws would permit, branded them and their Favourers with the Name of *Whigs*; meaning thereby, a cunning, false, hypocritical, canting, anti-monarchical, presbyterian *Scots*: This pleas'd the Government to see the Two Parties so inveterate. Now out of one of these the Ministry was to be form'd; and King *Charles*, who was a very politick Prince, found it necessary to play them one against the other; sometimes taking in one Party, and then for Reasons of State turning them out; and advancing the other. This made both Parties endeavour to serve him; and as he set either Party uppermost, so that grew Fashionable, and prevail'd both in Court and Country.

Things remain'd in this Posture 'till King *Charles's* Dying. King *James* came to the Crown, who shewing too much Countenance to the *Papists*, so that they grew formidable to both Parties, *Whig* and *Tory* amicably united their Forces, sent him packing, and made Way for King *William*.

This

This Prince reign'd in very difficult Times, as having both a heavy *French* War upon his Hands, and a disaffected Faction to struggle with at Home. Wherefore being a Favourer of the *Dissenters*, (as being bred up amongst the *Hollanders*, who are most of them such) he brought the *Whigs* into Play, putting them into the Ministry, as Men that were not only the most firm against King *James*, but generally speaking the greatest Statesmen, the best Oeconomists, and possess'd of more Money than the others. These, to render the *Tory* Party odious, stigmatiz'd them with the Name of *Jacobites*, or Well-wishers to King *James*, assuming to themselves that of *Williamites*, as if they had been the only Friends to the *Revolution*. The Court to be sure was in the Interest of this Party, for which Reason it prevail'd almost all that King's Reign, and the *Tories* lost Ground, the *Whigs* being put into all Places; wherefore they made their Court to the Princess of *Denmark*, (who was the presumptive Heir to the Crown) and oppos'd the Court in all its Measures.

King *William* dying, the Queen form'd the Ministry of her own Party; and King *James* being dead, the Names of *Jacobite* and *Williamite* grew out of Date, and gave place to *High* and *Low Church*; a Distinction invented by my Lord *S——rs*, a great Statesman. But tho' the Queen herself and her Ministry were of the *High Party*, yet the being engaged in a War with *France*, for which great Sums were requisite, was forc'd to have recourse to the *Whigs*, as being the greatest money'd Men. They finding their Assistance necessary towards carrying on the War, would not grant any Supplies but on their own Terms; and being, generally speaking, the longest Heads, quickly supplanted the others; from which Time the *Whigs* or *Low Church* then engross'd all the Places of Profit in the State, which they kept 'till lately, when the People being weary of the War, some Persons, reputed *Whigs*, but turn'd *Tories* for their Interest, who had great Influence over that Princess, represented the Ministry as involving the Nation in eternal Debts, and advised her Majesty to make a Peace; which suiting with her natural Inclination, they perswaded her to displace her victorious General, and enter upon a Treaty; and in a Word, alter'd the Scene of Affairs to what they are at present. Thus the *Tories* tript up the Heels of the *Whigs*.

NUMB. XIII.

Extract of Two Letters from Constantinople, concerning the Porte's Conduct in respect of the King of Sweden and the Czar of Muscovy.

1712. Page 92. I Receiv'd your last with the Pleasure which all those give me that come from you, and thank you for the Contents. The *Porte's* Absence renders this Place as barren of News, as are your Defarts about *Bender*, except from *Christendom* and *Adrianople*, which you receive fresher than I can send you from hence; ours here from *Great Britain* say, That there is a Suspension of Arms, both by Land and by Sea, between that Crown and *France*, and that the Viscount *Bolingbroke* is actually at the *French* Court, to bring Matters to a Conclusion.

sion. As for the *Turks*, I am afraid they do not go fairly and roundly to work with the *Swedish* Court, so that your Politicians will have occasion for all their Art and Management to bring them to their Purpose: 'Tis indeed talk'd very loud, that Messengers are already dispatch'd into *Asia* to the *Bashaws*, to get betimies in the Spring, their Troops ready to march against the Infidel *Muscovites*; that they have here Orders to fit out the *Fregattines*, *Cungiabashes*, &c. that remain in our Arsenal, and the Horses for the Field Artillery will be sent from *Adrianople*: But surer Advices tell us, that the sublime *Porte*, which is not cruel, does in the mean while hearken to some Proposals from the *Czar's* Ministers; nay, that she has made herself the first Advances: But methinks, whatever her Intention is, her Behaviour towards the King of *Sweden*, and these Measures, are not easily to be reconcil'd together: Time will discover all her artificeous Practices and Intrigues; but too late, I fear, for his Majesty's Interest; and it seems to be wish'd, that this Prince had not depended so long upon her, after having seen already, more than once, how little Reason she gave him for it.

P. S. The valiant Captain *Baltagi Mehemet* dy'd very quietly, some Days ago, in his Bed at *Lemnos*.

The *Dutch* Consul of *Smyrna's* eldest Daughter has been marry'd, sometime ago, to Monsieur *Fontenu*, the *French* Consul, who carry'd her Home in great Pomp and Ceremony; and the *Sunday* following she made her Abjuration in the *Capuchin's* Church, to the great Joy and Edification of all the *Roman* Catholicks, and to the Scandal and Mortification of the Protestants. This Match is said to be the Contrivance and Work of her Mother; so at least the *Dutch* Ambassador believes it. The Father and Brother have by their Behaviour and Discourses, shew'd their Dislike of it; and they, with a great Part of the *Dutch* Nation, retir'd into the Country, that their Eyes might be not offended as well as their Understandings.

NUMB. XIV.

The Grand Seignior's Letter to the Bashaw of Bender, concerning the King of Sweden's Departure and Passage thro' Poland in a friendly Manner.

THE Intent of this Letter is to inform you, that according to the King of *Sweden's* Request, and at your Intercession, as well as that of the *Han* at our *sublime Porte*, our Imperial Munificence has granted him a Sum of 1000 *Purses*, which the most faithful and honourable *Alkmet*, heretofore *Chious-Bashaw*, shall be intrusted with; he will bring it to *Bender*, there to remain under your Care 'till the said King's setting out, and then to be deliver'd to him, with 200 *Purses* remaining in your Possession, so far is our Imperial Liberality exceeding his Demands. As to the way of *Poland*, which he resolves on, you with the *Han* must be carefully prudent in your Passage, to manage Matters so, that not you, with the Troops under your Command, nor the King of *Sweden*, nor his People, don't give any Offence, cause any Damage, or do any Thing that can be reputed contrary to the Peace which subsists still between our *sublime Porte* and that

Kingdom and Republick ; but recommend earnestly to the said King, to pass as a Friend under our Protection ; on which Conditions he shall be honourably attended and treated by the *Poles*, as their Ambassadors assure our *sublime Porte*, and offer themselves and some other noble *Poles*, as Hostages for the Security of it, if we will have them : And the Time for Marching, agreed on between the most glorious *Han Delvet Gherai* and you, being come, you shall put your self at the Head of a proper Number of our brave Soldiers, taking the King of *Sweden* between them and the *Tartars*, at the Head of whom the *Han* shall march : So may God Almighty be pleas'd to direct all your Paths ; and during your Absence the *Bashaw* of *Aulos* shall guard *Bender*, with a Body of *Spahis* and another of *Janizaries* ; and following our Imperial Orders in all the aforesaid Points, you'll merit the Continuation of our Imperial Favour, and gain the Praises due to the Observation of them.

NUMB. XV.

The Grand Seignior's Letter to the Han, on the same Subject.

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THE most valiant and honourable King of *Sweden*, having already enjoy'd, for above 34 Moons, the Happiness of our Imperial Hospitality, got our inviolable Promise for a Convoy to reconduct him towards his Provinces thro' *Poland*, and begg'd our Liberality for 1000 Purfes; we have generously granted him, besides Waggon, Horses, Provisions, and other Necessaries for his Journey, 1200 Purfes to be deliver'd him on his Departure. You have had already our Imperial Orders to yourself and the *Seraskier* of *Bender*, to get the Convoy ready to march this approaching Winter ; but as the always watchful Eyes of your Vigilancy, for the Honour and Welfare of our *August Empire*, have directed and induced you to send beforehand the most illustrious *Cepherza Myrsa* to *Poland* ; and he having faithfully and sincerely inform'd our *sublime Porte*, that against the Treaty lately renew'd by our Imperial Clemency with the *Czar* of *Muscovy*, there are some of his Forces in the Country ; we therefore, to set Bounds to the Perfidiousness and Wickedness of his unjust and pernicious Designs, will send again next Spring our numerous and always victorious Legions, against this Violator of Right, and Breaker of Faith, to compel him once more to beg Pardon and Mercy of us ; which having, by his new Perfidies, render'd himself unworthy of, he shall be punish'd most severely, and made incapable of putting in Execution his pernicious Designs. And it having been reported farther at our *sublime Porte*, that King *Augustus* and the *Republick* of *Poland*, encourage or favour the Stay of the perfidious *Czar's* Troops in that Kingdom, and that they might intend to obstruct or oppose the King of *Sweden's* Passage ; we have indeed caused their Ambassadors to be arrested, to be kept as Hostages for his Security, and they thereupon did not only proffer themselves for such ones, but also some more of the *Grandeess* if we will have them. They swear and protest in the Name of their Masters, That provided the King of *Sweden* will pass as a Friend, without raising directly or indirectly any Commotion whatsoever in *Poland*, or committing, or suffering to be committed, any

Act

Act whatsoever, contrary to the Peace subsisting still between our sublime *Porte* and their Country, he shall be treated by the *Poles* as a Friend, and with all Honours and Respects due to his Royal Dignity: That they will join a Number of their Troops to ours, to secure even him and his People from all Attempts to hinder or disturb his Passage, and shew how much they honour, respect and prize our Protection and Friendship; and they begging therefore of our sublime *Porte*, that we may be pleas'd to give our Imperial Orders to the Commanders of our Troops, tending to the Preservation of that Peace, which King *Augustus* and the *Republick* are willing to cultivate with us; and we being Enemies to the Violation of Laws, Rights and Treaties, and inclin'd also to maintain that Peace between our sublime *Porte* and *Poland*, do recommend you to keep open the Eyes of your usual Vigilancy, to prevent all Commotions, Hostilities, Differences whatsoever, giving necessary Orders to your Light-Horse, as shall do our *Seraskier* of *Bender* to those under his Command; and renew in our Name to the King of *Sweden*, our equitable Intentions, already signify'd to him with our Imperial Pen, for that honest and just Purpose.

In acknowledgment of your watchful and sincere Zeal for the Glory and Honour of our sublime *Porte*, and to encourage you to continue the same, and to re-conduct his *Swedish* Majesty honourably, according to these our Imperial Intentions and Orders, we send you by the most illustrious *Alkmet*, heretofore *Chiaous-Bashaw* (whose Steps God be pleas'd to enlighten and direct) a sable Fur and a Plume of Heron's Feather's, adorn'd with a Rose of precious Stones, a Sabre and a Quiver also enrich'd with Jewels, besides 100 Purfes in Gold Ducats for defraying your Troops in their Passage, that they may not pillage or molest the Inhabitants of that Country; for it we send moreover to *Sultan Galga*, 120 Purfes in Silver, to raise the *Segban*, * and begin Hostilities against the *Muscovites* towards *Kiow*: During your Absence to keep some Myrsas in the Neighbourhood of *Bender*, with their Troops; and the Season and Time proper to re-conduct the King of *Sweden* being come, put on the Vest, Cap, Quiver and Sabre, with the Joy which they inspire, and get on Horse-back and march; and observing Justice and Equity in your Ways, you'll merit more and more Honour, Glory, and new Marks of our Imperial Munificence.

* Tartarian Cavalry so call'd.

NUMB. XVI.

The Tartar Han's Letter to the King of Sweden.

MOST august, powerful, and our sincerely honoured Friend, 1714.
Charles, King of *Sweden*, (whose all just Designs and right Undertakings may Heaven bless, and his End be happy.) Page 94.

This is to let your Majesty know, that we have this Day receiv'd a Letter from your well-beloved Servant *Grothusen*, asking what Way we design'd to conduct you, and complaining of our pressing your Departure; such a Question surprizes us so much the more, that all your Letters and your Ministers at the sublime *Porte* declared all the while, ever since your Arrival into the *Ottoman* Empire, that your Intention was to go through *Poland*; and tho' the Way of *Germany* might be more convenient

convenient to the sublime *Porte*, it has been always entirely left to your Choice; and now that all the Preparations for your Journey, as Troops, Horses, Waggon, Provisions, &c. are ready, according to the *Grand Seignior's* Orders, and (which is too much for us) that Money has been deliver'd to your Majesty against these Orders, and upon your Royal Word given to us by your said Servant, and your chief Minister *Gustavus Mullern*, to depart immediately after the Delivery of it; but instead thereof, when the Season properest to march is come, it is now daily put off, and no Term nam'd or fix'd for it: This obliges me to tell your Majesty, with the utmost Grief and Concern, that we have positive Orders from the sublime *Porte*, to hasten your Departure, and make use of the Season, under Pain of his Imperial Highness's Resentment.

NUMB. XVII.

The Han's Letter to Chancellor Mullern.

1712. MOST illustrious and well-beloved *Gustavus Mullern*, may God
Pag. 94. enlighten your Ways.

We send the *Myrsa Acktasybey* to the most serene King your Master, with a Letter for his Majesty, and this for you, concerning his Departure, which we have Orders to hasten, the Season being advanced and all Things ready on our Side: We desire you to procure the Bearer an Audience of his Majesty, who, I hope, will send us an Answer agreeable to our Wishes, and to the Orders we have from the *Porte*; for to deal plainly with you, the *Great Sultan* impatiently expects to hear of his setting out; and if he should be advis'd of the contrary, 'tis to be fear'd his Imperial Highness would immediately command us to force him; and if in case of his Majesty's Refusal, we should be reduced to use Violence for that End, it would be very displeasing to us: Therefore to prevent such an unhappy Extremity, or a Way so unbecoming the Royal Dignity, we desire his Majesty to begin his March, or fix a short Term for it, and by that Means to preserve the Favour of his Imperial Highness, who will have others as punctual Observers of their Word, as his Highness is of his own.

NUMB. XVIII.

The King of Sweden's Answer to the Han.

We Charles, to the most serene Prince Devlet Gherai, Han of the Tartars.

1712. YOUR Letter has been deliver'd and read to us, by which it ap-
Page 94. pears that you misunderstood what we wrote you by our well-beloved *Grothusen*, for we never indeed asked, before this Time, which Way we should take, but have constantly declared, for above Three Years together, that we design'd to go thro' *Poland*; the sublime *Porte* has not, as you say, excepted against our Choice of that Way, and our Intentions stand still the same; but the Convoy to accompany us, which

which was promised to be a numerous One, is fallen so short from our Expectation, that it does not appear that you indeed intend to conduct us that Way, and has given occasion to the Question what it is; and it seems besides very strange to us, that after so many Marks of Friendship and Regard from the *Porte* hitherto towards our Royal Person, and so many solemn Promises to send us into our Provinces with a numerous Convoy, and all the Honours we could wish for, that you would on a sudden press us to be gone in such a Manner, as to make us think we are rather to be turn'd away, than sent back with Honour and Safety, without considering that we are not yet ready, and allowing us the necessary Time for that Purpose; to which we shall only add what follows: *First*, That no Body ought to require of us an Impossibility, or any Thing that is not suitable to our Honour and Glory. *Secondly*, That if we cannot be furnish'd here with every Thing necessary for our Return, Time be allow'd us to have it brought from our own Country; upon which we expect Answer to Letters we have wrote to the *Sultan* your Master, and our Imperial Landlord, if the Artifice of our Enemies prevent not their getting to his Highness. *Thirdly*, As to the threatening Advice you give our Chancellor *Mullern*, we are resolv'd to expect the last Extremity; and if it be attempted to force us away by Violence, we will oppose Force to Force.

N U M B. XIX.

Extract of Count Welling's Letters to Mr. Mullern, concerning the Mediation of England and Holland for King Stanislaus's Renunciation.

I Have read with Pleasure the solid Instructions you sent Mr. *Friessendorf*, and I think it will not be amiss to give you my Thoughts about the Mediation, which would suit us best. I agree with you, that we should avoid disobliging the Emperor and the *Dutch* as much as may be; and that their Mediation join'd with that of *England*, would be naturally more considerable, if a preceeding one were not necessary, both to re-unite these Three Powers, now very much divided, and to inspire them with Sentiments of Equity in our Favour. The Queen is undoubtedly favourably inclin'd towards us, having also the least Interest to wish us Ill. What Good the Emperor and the *Dutch* wish us is evident enough, it being but too well known how much they are in the Interest of our Enemies. I leave you to consider, whether we risque most in having secret Enemies for Mediators, or in seeing them openly oppose our Interest; for my Part I can hardly find a just Medium for it: It is true, the Bishop *Robinson* advises to admit the foresaid Powers; I have nothing to oppose to his good Intentions, and the Affection he expresses for *Sweden*; but when I consider his too great natural Timidity, I am apt to suspect his Opinion relating to the Concurrence of the Emperor and *Holland*, may proceed rather from his Apprehension for *England* than for us. This too great Timidity of that Prelate, won't let him give vigorous Counsels in our Favour; and if it be not strengthen'd, 'tis at least maintain'd by our King's Delay or Difficulty to resolve upon the Article of

1714.
Page 96.

King *Stanislaus's* voluntary Renunciation, and by the little Liberty his Majesty leaves his Senate and his Ministers to act and agree on any sound Resolution in Time, and take Advantage of the Opportunity: 'Tis true, he is consulted in *England* upon the Affairs of the *North*, and he is capable of giving just Ideas of them, but he never backs his Opinion with firm Persuasions. You will have observed, Sir, from Mr. *Palmquist's* Relations, that they would draw the Pacification of the *North* to *Utrecht*, and there make a general Peace at once; as in that Case we shall not want Mediators, and perhaps the greatest Part disposed indeed to give us a Peace, but resolv'd to make us consent to vrey hard Conditions, I thought I ought to prevent this Blow, and cause it to be insinuated by Mr. *Palmquist* and others, that the Allies Peace with *France* should preceed that of the *North*, but first that of *Germany* could not be concluded before our Provinces in the Empire are deliver'd from our Enemies, and secured from their Usurpation. Messieurs *Palmquist* and *Engelbreckt* work upon this Plan; and I have caused my Son to insinuate to the Abbot *Polignac* to insist on it, That the Peace cannot be concluded with the Allies, nor that of *Westphalia* re-establish'd, 'till our Enemies were retir'd out of our *German* Territories. We expect, Sir, the King's Resolution upon the essential Points which I propos'd to you in my former, that we may act securely and according to his Intentions. The Time we must wait for it, occasion'd by the Distance, makes me redouble my Wishes for his Majesty's speedy Return.

NUMB. XX.

Three Letters of Mr. Fabrice to a Friend, concerning the King of Sweden's Difference with the Turks at Bender.

1712.

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I Mention'd to you in my Last, the fair Promises which the *Turks* made of sending a numerous Convoy with the King of *Sweden*; his Majesty insists firmly on the literal Performance of them, and pretends to a much greater Number of Troops than they are willing to let him have. They elude or explain their Words, by saying, That a numerous Convoy does not imply a great Army; which to pass thro' a Country in Amity with them, as *Poland* is, would bring on almost an infallible War. There's a great deal of Truth in this, and I dare say his Majesty would not be sorry for the Consequences they fear. About Three Months ago that Prince gave the *Porte* to understand that he was resolv'd to go Home with the first Frost, and demanded a Sum of 500,000 Rix Dollars, viz. 750,000 *German* Florins to defray the Expences of his Journey; he obtain'd that Sum and 100,000 more. The Money was brought here and put into the *Bashaw's* Hands, to be deliver'd to his Majesty on his Departure; in the mean while this got together Eight Thousand *Spahis* and *Lipkas*, (these latter are *Lithuanian* *Turks*, so call'd) providing Waggon, Horses, and other Necessaries for the Journey, and the *Han* came into the Neighbourhood of *Bender* with 20,000 *Tartars* for the same Purpose. Every Thing being near ready, they desir'd the King by Mr. *Grothusen*, to be so too: But he answer'd, that it could not be done

done without the Money sent for his Majesty, by his Highness. The *Bashaw* reply'd, that it was come, accompany'd with an Order to deliver it only on his Majesty's Departure. " Well, said Mr. *Grothusen*, " If you will have us depart soon, 'tis the only Way to let us have " it; it is all one to his Highness, whether you give it us now or then, " provided we depart, and the sooner the better." In short, his Rhetorick prevail'd so far that the *Bashaw* made no farther Objection, but that he could not deliver it without the *Han's* Consent, which he accordingly, taking along with him the Chancellor *Mullern*, went to ask, and obtain'd it on assuring him, that they wanted absolutely that Money for several Things which were to precede the King's Departure, and that they should infallibly depart the sooner for it. This Money is almost all gone, thro' his Majesty's liberal and generous Humour, and thro' Mr. *Grothusen's* (whom we call here High-Treasurer) Administration, and there appears no more the same Disposition in the King to set out. Excuses are daily sought for to delay the Time; and among others, 'tis that his Majesty wants more Money, (and in effect, this Prince sent Orders some Weeks ago to Mr. *Funk*, his Minister at the *Porte*, now at *Adrianople*, to demand 500,000 Rix Dollars more) that 4000 *Lipkas* and as many *Spahis*, with 20000 *Tartars*, are not a sufficient Convoy to secure his Majesty's Passage thro' *Poland*, where there are still *Muscovite* Troops, besides many *Poles* who are his Enemies. They in vain answer, that King *Augustus* and the Republick protest, (and offer even Hostages for the Performance) that if the King of *Sweden* pass like a Friend, under the *Porte's* Protection, his Majesty shall meet with all the Respect due to his high royal Dignity, as such. The *Han* and *Bashaw* being not a little perplex'd at the King's Objections and Pretences, and finding that they have been too credulous and hasty in delivering the Money, and assuring the *Grand Seignior* that his Majesty was ready to set out, sent Two Couriers to the *Porte*, to justify their Conduct as much as they could, in acting against his Highness's Orders. These Couriers came back Nine or Ten Days ago, and brought the following dismal Account, which I heard from their own Mouths, and from the *Buyuk Imraous*, or the *Sultan's* Master of Horse, and the *Chiaous-Bashaw*, who are here, viz That upon the Demand of the 500,000 Rix-Dollars more, which Mr. *Funk* made, he with Mr. *Poniatowsky*, and all the *Swedes* that were at *Adrianople*, have been arrested; that upon the *Han* and *Bashaw's* Representations about his Majesty's Objections and Excuses, or rather Refusal to depart, according to his Word, his Highness order'd a *Divan* or Great Counsel to be held, whereat (which is uncommon and very extraordinary) he appear'd himself in Person and made a Speech; the Substance of which is thus or thereabouts. " I never had any Acquaintance, nor was ever united " by Interest with the King of *Sweden* before this Prince's Misfortunes, which reduc'd him to seek a Refuge in my Empire, where " I have bestow'd on him Favours upon Favours, maintain'd him " with all his People, granted him lately (besides an honourable " Convoy to re-conduct him safe Home, and all necessary Provisions, " Horses, Waggons, &c. for his Journey) 1200 Purfes; which having got " out of the *Seraskier* of *Bender's* Hands, he makes all sorts of Excuses " to defer his Departure, (demanding 1000 Purfes more, and pretending " that the Convoy is not sufficient enough; tho' on the contrary, " it is too numerous to pass thro' a friendly Country as *Poland*,) " and

“ and when the Season is proper, and all Things ready for the Journey, he refuses to go.” His Highness ended his Speech by asking Two Questions of the *Divan*. “ 1. Whether it was a Breach of Hospitality to turn that Prince out of the *Ottoman Dominions*? 2. Whether the foreign Princes could take it Ill, or think it unjust or barbarous Usage, to force him away, in case he refuses absolutely to depart, according to his Promise, and to make use of the Opportunity proffer’d to him?” That the whole *Divan* answer’d, No: Unless those Potentates were themselves unjust, and Enemies to Gratitude and Equity. The *Muphty* added, That the *Musulman* Hospitality being not commanded by the Law for Infidels, especially for ungrateful and unworthy Ones, That Prince according to it ought not to enjoy longer his Imperial Majesty’s Bounty and Generosity, but be expell’d as a Violator of his Word, gave his *Fetfa*, or Sentence in Writing for it, to accompany the *Sultan’s* Orders, which the *Buyuk Imraour* and the *Chiaous-Bashaw* brought, and had another to see those put in Execution as soon as they arriv’d. The *Bashaw* went to the King, ask’d him, Whether his Majesty would be pleas’d to depart as a Friend, and according to his Royal Word and Promise, deliver’d to him and the *Bashaw*, by Mr. *Grothusen* and the Chancellor *Muller*, or reduce them to execute the *Grand Seignior’s* Orders? But, tho’ he express’d himself in very moderate and respectful Terms, yet the King’s natural Penetration found out immediately the Menace in the Question, and answer’d with a Tone of Defiance, If thou art a faithful Servant to thy Master, obey his Orders; and at the same Time bid him be gone from his Presence, which he did very hastily. Those who have any Idea of a *Bashaw*, who governs several Provinces and commands Armies, may easily imagine what Effect such a Treatment had on the Mind of this, in his own Government. Being apprehensive of what might happen by the Notice I had of the Matter, I was got on Horseback to meet him, and I saw him with surprise coming full Gallop, contrary to his ordinary Gravity, out of a *Moldavian* Village, call’d *Varnitza*, where the *Swedes* are encamp’d, about a quarter of a *German* Mile from *Bender*. He left me hardly Time in passing by me, to ask him the reason of this quick Return; to which he answer’d without Stopping, “ The King wont hearken to any Reason; you’ll see strange Things.” I did not think proper to follow and question him further, but went to the *Camp*, where I found every Body in a great Perplexity on what had pass’d between the King and him. His Majesty alone was unconcern’d, or at least affected to appear so, and was playing at Chess in his Room with Mr. *Grothusen*, and look’d at me with a smiling Air, without saying a Word: I saw him finish his Game, and begin another, and not judging fit to interrupt him with Questions or any Discourse, withdrew. In the mean while the *Divan* being held at the *Bashaw’s*, when the *Han*, the *Buyuk Imraour*, and the *Chiaous-Bashaw* assisted; it was resolv’d as follows, *viz.* That the *Sellam-Agassy*, or Master of the Ceremonies, a Company of *Janizaries*, given to the King for his Guard *ad Honores* on his Arrival in *Tartary*, should be order’d to leave his Majesty, and retire to the Town: Which they did accordingly the same Day. Then the *Gunly Thaim*, or daily Allowance for Money and Provisions, as Bread, Meat, Poultry, Butter, Oyl, Honey, Rice, Salt, Coffee and Barley, Hay for Horses, &c. was cut off; the *Han* and *Bashaw* sending Word to the *Peles*, that they should not expect a better

better Treatment; if they did not leave the King's Party, and put themselves under their Protection; which they chose to do rather than to loose their *Thaim*. Then several Thousands of the *Tartars*, in order to reduce the King by Famine to depart, began to invest a *Moldavian* Village, call'd *Warnitza*, adjoining to the *Swedish* Camp, where most of the King's Officers had taken Houses. All the *Swedes* who were then found in the Town, or on the Way between it and their Quarters, were cast into Prison. I make here a short Digression, to give you an Idea of what we call the *Swedish* Camp.

I told you in some of my former Letters, that at the King's first Arrival at *Bender*, he pitched his Tent near the Town, upon a Creek formed there by the River, on a sort of Meadow: Winter coming on, he caused that Tent to be cover'd with a Roof of Boards, and insensibly it became a House: His Majesty's Ministers, Officers, Secretaries, and other Persons of any Consideration did the same; the others, as Soldiers and Servants, made *Barracks* or Huts under Ground: I myself, soon after my Arrival, built a tolerably good House. So that an arable Field or Meadow was chang'd, in a short Time, into a kind of small Town or *Swedish* Colony: But in the latter End of *July*, 1711. the River overflowing, oblig'd all the Inhabitants of this new Town, and even the King himself, to fly from Drowning; tho' his Majesty would not stir 'till the Water had reach'd his House, and was almost up to his Boot's Top; on which Mr. *Gröthusen* and I rode on each side of his Majesty, accompany'd by several other Officers, almost up to the Horses Bellies in Water, and went about a quarter of a *German* League, to a rising Ground near the aforesaid *Moldavian* Village, where the King had his Tent pitched at a little Distance from the River, and all his Officers took Lodgings in the Country People's Houses. His Majesty in the Winter following began to build a Stone House, as if he had foreseen what has now come to pass, with Walls to sustain a Siege, and large enough to hold 1000 Men in Garrison: 'Tis but one Story high; tho' besides four Rooms for Mr. *Duben*, Marshal of the Court, there is a very large Hall, where the King dines, a Room of Audience, a Bed-chamber, and other Conveniencies; and what is more extraordinary for his *Swedish* Majesty, they are almost all richly furnish'd, some *alla Franca*, some after the *Turkish* Manner, with rich *Sophas* of *Gold Brocades* and *Turky Carpets*, &c. Besides this House, his Majesty has caused *Barracks* to be made at a little Distance from it, for a Battalion of 500 Men, part of the Remains of *Pultowa*, which have been exercis'd almost every Day. The King's Ministers and Favourite-Officers, as the Chancellor *Mullern* and Mr. *Feif*, General *Hordh* and Mr. *Grothusen*, have also built small Tenements here, besides the new Chancery, which is another large Stone Building: All which is called the Camp, and situated between the River *Niester* to the South, and some Vineyards towards the North. Ever since the Overflowing of the Rivers I have had two Rooms at *Warnitza*, where I sometimes lay when I stay'd late with the King; besides my House in a little Hamlet between the said Village and the Town, where I now constantly lye since the Investing of *Warnitza* and the Camp: To which I return.

The King no sooner perceiv'd the Motion of the *Tartars*, but he order'd his People in the Village to retire to the Camp, and began to put himself in a Posture of Defence, and make Intrenchments: He himself work'd with

his People Day and Night ; but the Ground being frozen, and consequently not to be dug, all they have been able to do, was to draw Lines from one House to another, and enclose them and the *Barracks* : These Lines are made of old Carts, Boards taken from Stables, of Fascines, of old Casks fill'd with Dung ; a particular Care has been taken in fortifying the King's Palace with *Barricados*, &c. His Majesty has Garrison'd it, posted and dispos'd all his People for the Defence of the said Entrenchment : For Example, the old Chancellor *Mullern* is to be at the Head of the Secretary's Clerks and their Servants, to defend the *Chancery* ; Marshal *Dubens*, with the Gentlemen of the Court and the King's Domesticks, his Apartments in the Palace ; Baron *Fief*, with those that belong to his Office, his own House ; and so on. These Dispositions were made Eight or Ten Days ago ; but there being hardly Provisions in this Camp for Five Days, when others seem'd only to think of Fighting, I bethought myself to act the Mediator between the King and the *Turks* ; I propos'd to Mr. *Jeffreys*, the *British* Minister, who has his House in the same Hamlet where mine is, to join with me in this good Office, to which he readily agreed : We desir'd a *French* Gentleman, call'd Mr. *De la Motraye*, who liv'd with me for above Two Years, and is well acquainted with the *Han* and *Bashaw*, to go and ask them a Safeguard for us, as Foreign Ministers, neutral in the present Difference, according to the Right of Nations. He had no sooner waited on the former, but he sent us a couple of *Tartars*, with whom we went ourselves to him, and were very well receiv'd, and assur'd with his own Mouth, that no Hurt should befall us ; only desiring, that we should not send Provisions to the *Swedes*, nor favour directly or indirectly the King's Resistance to the *Sultan's* Orders, &c. We thank'd him, promis'd to comply with his Desire, and profer'd our Mediation, which he accepted very heartily. Then we went to the *Bashaw*, who receiv'd us as well, and gave us also a Couple of *Janizaries* for Safeguard ; we made him the same Offer, which he accepted as heartily ; and next Day we visited *Buyuk Imraour* and *Chiaous-Bashaw*, from whom we met with a very civil Reception ; they having heard already of our Offers, they entreated us to perswade the King how much it was for his Interest and Honour to depart as a Friend. I answer'd, That his Majesty seem'd to look upon this pressing of his Departure, as a Design to deliver him up to his Enemies. Whereupon they protest-ed and swore by their Beards, that they would secure his Passage against any Attempts whatsoever, and receive the Hostages offer'd : Besides, that they had already the Ministers of *Poland* and *Muscovy* in their Hands as such, &c. I reply'd, we were satisfisd with their Protestation of Sincerity and Friendship, and would endeavour to make the King so too. After some other Discourses upon the Matter, and having drunk Coffee, we left them and went to the King, whom we found rather angry than pleas'd with our Mediation, which he call'd a Voluntary Mediation ; saying, That we acted like the *English* and *Dutch* Ambassadors, who had some Time before, taken upon themselves, without any Order or full Power from their Courts, to mediate the Peace between the *Porte* and the *Czar*. I answer'd, that there was now a much more urgent Occasion for it, since the *Han* and the *Bashaw* seem'd to have very positive Orders concerning his Majesty's Departure, which the *Buyuk Imraour* and *Chiaous-Bashaw* were to see executed. " What, reply'd he, to force me away ? Tell
" them,

“ them, I don’t fear their Menaces ; that I am ready to repel Force
 “ by Force, and won’t depart before I have the Sum of Money I
 “ want, and a Convoy to my Mind.” Thereupon I took the Liberty
 to represent to his Majesty, that his Minister was arrested for having
 demanded the Money, so that there was no Prospect of getting any
 of the *Porte*. Then, said he, “ We must borrow it of the Merchants
 “ in *Turky*, or write for it to *Sweden*.” We waited the next Morning
 on the *Han*, and found with him the *Bashaw* ; we told them, that
 we had not as yet been able to move the King from his first Resolu-
 tion ; that however, we would not loose Courage, but double our En-
 deavours for it. The *Han* said, “ I am afraid there is nothing to be
 “ done with that obstinate Prince, but to force him away according
 “ to our Orders.” Then he complain’d much of his Majesty’s having
 deluded them in respect of the Money, and his Promise of depart-
 ing as soon as he should have it. And the *Bashaw* added, that the
 Complaisance they had for him on that Occasion, ought not to be re-
 paid thus with Ingratitude ; notwithstanding which, he wished so well
 to his Majesty, that he would sacrifice some Part of his Estate to see
 him depart as a Friend : We promis’d that nothing should be wanting
 from our side for that End. We waited then on the *Buyiuk Imraour*
 and *Chiaous-Bashaw*, who gave us a very kind Reception ; and hear-
 ing nothing better from us than what we had said to the *Han* and
Bashaw, they reply’d, without any Complaints of his Majesty, you
 must try Age, and endeavour to prevail on him : Which we gave our
 Words for ; and after Coffee, Sweet-meats and Perfumes, with-
 drew.

Mr. *Jeffreys* told me, That after such a Contempt of the King for
 our Mediation, he did not think necessary for him to appear again
 before him as Mediator ; but that if there was any Thing to be ob-
 tain’d, I might do it alone with my usual Familiarity with that Prince ;
 so I went to the Camp, when I found his Majesty very busy in visiting
 the Intrenchments, and giving his Orders to his People in their Posts.
 As soon as he saw me, he left them to meet me at a little Distance from
 thence, and ask’d me graciously, What News I had ? And if I had
 told the *Turks* what he bid me ? I said, that their Spirits were en-
 flamed enough without blowing the Fire ; but that I came to entreat
 again his Majesty, out of regard to his Royal Dignity, not to let
 Things be brought to an Extremity, but to hearken to the amicable
 Agreement that they desir’d. He answer’d, that their Orders were
 forg’d, and that he would send Informations to the *Grand Seigneur* of
 their uncivil Usage. Then, reply’d I, if your Majesty thinks so, the
 best Way would be to amuse them with fair Hopes : But changing
 the Subject, he carry’d me insensibly to his Intrenchments, ask’d
 me, How I lik’d them ? Too well, said I ! Then he smiling, bid me
 to give my Opinion of them to the *Han* and *Bashaw*. After such
 other Discourses out of my Purpose, I retir’d very ill-satisfy’d, and
 went to expose my Concern to Mr. *Mullern*, who express’d his, and
 said, He foresaw nothing but dismal Consequences from his Maje-
 sty’s invincible Resolution : He added, that I should go and endea-
 vour to bring the *Buyiuk Imraour* and the *Chiaous-Bashaw* to a Confe-
 rence at Mr. *Grothusen’s* ; that he would in the mean while tell the
 King that they desir’d it, to shew their Inclination to Perswade ra-
 ther than to Force ; that his Majesty might perhaps be moved by
 so respectful Steps of theirs, towards an amicable Agreement. So I
 went ;

went; and to give more Weight to the Proposal, I call'd on my Way at Mr. *Jeffrey's*, desiring him to come along with me, which he did. My Interpreter had no sooner expos'd to them the Occasion of our Visit, but they declar'd they would do any Thing that tended to the good End which we were about, and they met accordingly the 9th Mr. *Mullern* at Mr. *Grothusen's*. Their chief Arguments were the *Grand Seignior's* Orders, the King's Word to depart, the Season fit and every Thing ready for it; adding, that nothing should be wanting to defray his Majesty to his Frontiers: They desir'd Mr. *Mullern* to go and make the King sensible of all that, and induce him to an amicable Departure, and to fix a Day for it, and they stay'd for an Answer. So he went accordingly to that Prince, who was playing at Chess with one of his chief Officers: He look'd Mr. *Mullern* in the Face, without saying a Word, and finish'd his Game; then he ask'd, What say the *Turks*? Which having heard and more, he answer'd, "I am not ready, when I have all I want for my Departure, they shall know it." Mr. *Mullern* coming back, gave to this Answer the best Turn he could, but could not prevent their perceiving that it was contrary to their Desire, and retir'd much displeas'd. The next Day hearing that a great *Divan* was held on that Account in the Town, where they, with the *Han* and *Bashaw*, assisted, I gallop'd there, and was admitted: The *Han* said, That since they had try'd in vain all the friendly Means to make the King depart, there remain'd only Force. Thereupon I took the Liberty to tell him, that I had the Honour to know perfectly well that Prince, and that if any Violence was once us'd, he out of Bravery, and all his People in Obedience to him, would sooner be cut in Pieces than surrender: So I entreated them to consider, whether their Orders were to sacrifice thus a Crown'd Head? The *Han* said, "Yes, if that Head will oppose the *Grand Seignior* in his own Empire, not only by Words, but by Force of Arms, as does the King, by his Entrenching and Fortifying himself with his People." "Well, said the *Bashaw* to me, persuade him then to depart in a friendly Manner." I reply'd, I was doing my utmost. However they consider'd the Matter so far, that they resolv'd to send to *Adrianople* for new Instructions or Orders; and the *Han* dispatch'd a Courier, and the *Bashaw* another, who departed before Night. I went the next Morning to acquaint the King with it: He answer'd me, That the sending to *Adrianople* for new Instructions, was a sign that the *Grand Seignior* knew nothing of their Intrigues; but that he had sent him Word himself, and that I should see them punish'd, and all Things would go well. I said I heartily wish'd it, but I had too good Reasons to believe that his Highness was not ignorant of what pass'd; witness the Arrest of his Majesty's Minister, Mr. *Poniatowsky*, &c. But 'twas in vain for me to argue with him; he almost commanded, and begged I would be of his Sentiments. Nevertheless I humbly desir'd his Majesty to consider, that there were not Provisions for Four Days in his Camp to subsist his People. He answer'd, 'Twas too true, but that he depended much on Mr. *Grothusen* and myself, to get some by our Friends among the *Janizaries*. I reply'd, that I was very much inclin'd to serve his Majesty on all Occasions; but the undertaking of getting him Provisions was a nice One, since this was expressly forbid to me by the *Han* and *Bashaw*, under Pain of losing my Safeguard. Then, added he, we must sally out on the Enemy, and go Forrage; and thereupon I ob-

I observing a kind of Emotion uncommon in his Countenance, assur'd him, that I would run all that Risk and more to serve his Majesty : After which we parted good Friends, (if I am allow'd this familiar Expression.) Then I made a Visit to Mr. *Grothusen*, with whom I had a long Conference upon this urgent Point ; we agreed together, that I should discourse his *Jews* in the Town upon the Matter, and send by them some advantageous Proposals to Three or Four Friends of ours among the *Fanizaries*, for conveying underhand Provisions into the *Swedish* Camp ; which they no sooner heard, but came in much greater Numbers to proffer their Service, provided I would secure them their Payment ; so far I engag'd my Word, but protested at the same Time, that if the Matter came to the *Han* or *Bashaw's* Knowledge, I would not appear to have any Hand in it : They swore by their Beards I should not by no Means ; so I wish'd them good Success, and there was no Night since but they have introduced in the Camp, good Quantity of Bread, Flesh, and other Necessaries ; so that nothing has been yet wanting therein. The King all this while rides as usual, and even oftener, going about the *Tartar's* Posts, as to view or examine them.

This Day the *Fanizaries* us'd this Stratagem to convey publickly into the Camp, Six Carts loaden with Provisions : This Convoy was drawn by Oxen, lead by *Moldavian* Peasants, who had their Directions to be early in the Morning within the Sight of the *Swedish* Camp, and drive directly into it, as if they were ignorant of the Prohibition, and answer to those who should tell them of it, and hinder them from going farther, that they lived several Miles far off, and had brought these Provisions to sell to the *Swedes*, upon News spread about by Passengers, who did not mention any Prohibition, but that they should be well paid for. They did as they were directed, the *Tartars* seiz'd the Convoy ; whereupon the King sent Fifty Men, according to the Agreement between myself and the *Fanizaries*, ordering them to retake it from the *Tartars*, which they did ; these daring not to come to any Hostilities with the *Swedes* without the *Han's* Orders ; they seem on the contrary, to have some to avoid any sort of Engagement. As the King rid out, now with Thirty, then with Forty Men, more or less, they withdraw to let him have a large free Passage thro' their Flying-Camp ; and as sometimes he takes a Fancy to point Spur directly at them, instead of passing by the Way open'd, they fly before him, or open him another. This Method of conveying Provisions in the Camp, and of the King's riding out, has already continued a pretty good while ; but I fear bad News from *Adrianople* by two Couriers who are expected ; of which I'll inform you.

Second Letter, Page 114.

THE two Couriers mention'd in my last came back some Days ago ; as soon as I heard of it I went to the *Bashaw*, who told me that he had bad News to tell me, *viz.* That it had been resolv'd in a second *Divan*, held on the King's Account, to force him away, even to the Peril of his Life, as an Enemy, if he refus'd longer to depart as a Friend : That a *Capigi-Bashaw* was dispatch'd with the *Grand Seignior's* Orders for it, and was getting ready to set out when the two Couriers left *Adrianople*. “ I have already sent Word of this “ to his Majesty, (added he) and you'll do him a great Piece of “ Service, if you can dispose him to prevent any Violence.” I told
I him,

him, I would do my utmost ; and making therefore this Visit short, I made another to the King, and saw to my great Concern, that he receiv'd with none the *Bashaw's* Message ; and all that I could say to that Prince, to bring him to our Intent, signify'd nothing : He laugh'd at my fear for his Person and his People ; and said, all that was an Intrigue of the *Han* and *Bashaw* ; so that I retir'd very ill satisfy'd with his Firmness, (not to say Obstinacy) and pass'd the rest of the Day and the whole Night in a great Anxiety. The *Capigi-Bashaw* being arriv'd early in the Morning, I waited again on the *Bashaw*, who not only confirm'd me the bad News I heard of him the Day before, but the *Han*, who was with him, told me, that it was yet Time enough for the King to prevent the Violence they were ordered to use towards him, by setting out willingly, according to the *Grand Seignior's* Intent, and the Word he had sent in the beginning to his Imperial Highness ; which if his Majesty refus'd to do, they would put immediately in Execution their Orders, which he shew'd me ; and were, added he, to put to the Sword all those who durst offer the least Resistance. I desir'd them to let me go once more to the Camp, and make my best Remonstrances to that Prince : Which they granted, on condition it should be the last Time ; adding, that they were going to send thither *Tartar Myrsa* and a *Turkish Aga*, to summons the King to comply with the *Sultan's* Orders. I presently made use of this Permission, because I had but little Time left to talk with his Majesty. Before my arrival at his Camp I met that Prince on Horseback, pretty far from it ; as soon as he saw me a far off, he came up full Gallop, and taking me by the Hand, and making a Sign to his Officers who follow'd him, to keep at a Distance, he asked me hastily, what the *Capigi-Bashaw* had brought ? I gave him an exact Account of what I had heard. He ask'd, if I had seen the *Grand Seignior's* own Order ? And on my answering, I had seen a great Parchment with *Turkish* Writing, which they had shew'd me for such ; he assur'd me it was Fictitious. We had a great Dispute thereupon, in which I alledg'd all that Reason and Zeal for his Preservation inspir'd me with ; and after having ask'd him, if he would depart, in case I could prove to him that all I had said was true, and that 'twas the authentick Order of the *Grand Seignior* ? He said with some Warmth, that he would not go if there should come Ten more. I was so bold as to tell him, " Well, Sir, if you " will no longer follow what Reason and your own Glory dictate to " you, I have no more to do here : I must retire." When I reflected calmly on what I had said to him, and how I had laid aside the Respect due to his Dignity, I was ashamed ; but his Majesty instead of being angry, said with a great deal of good Humour, "*Fabrice*, this is not the Time for us to fall out." I humbly begg'd his Pardon for my Hastiness, occasioned only by my over great Zeal for his Service, and the Concern I had for his Preservation. He answer'd, that he was convinc'd of it, and had been always very well satisfy'd with my Behaviour towards him. This Kindness recompos'd me, and I replied smiling, That I heartily wish'd that his Majesty would give me cause to be so with his too : And thus our Conversation, which began with some Warmth, ended with great Calmness. I must here do the Justice to this Prince to say, That tho' he has the Character of being Proud and Imperious, and really is so with his Enemies and Equals, especially when he thinks they do threaten him, or would force him to what he doth not like, he

is the most civil in the World to his Inferiors, and most obliging in Conversation ; and they may say the boldest Things to him, when he is once perswaded that they are truly affected to his Person. I may even add, that he is naturally Merry and Pleasant, and could alledge several of his witty Sayings, but that it would carry me too far from my Subject ; to which I return. We alighted at the Camp, and he retired to his House, where I promised to come and see his Majesty once more before my going Home ; and I went to Mr. *Grothusen's*, where I found Baron *Mullern*, and saw a Moment after the *Aga* and the *Myrfa* arrive, and they having declar'd the Subject of their Visit, were serv'd with Coffee and Sweet-Meats, while Baron *Mullern* went to acquaint the King with their desire of waiting on his Majesty. He no doubt endeavour'd, by the strongest Arguments he could think of, to dispose that Prince to alter the Firmness of his Mind on that Occasion, but all in vain ; however, they were conducted into his Presence, and ask'd his Majesty's last Resolution ; and being answered, That it was the same as the First, *viz.* Not to depart before his being ready, they retir'd very ill satisfied with it. The *Swedish* Chaplains, and several Officers of the first Rank hearing of it, went to that Prince, and made use of their best Arguments to dissuade him from making Resistance ; but whether they did not take the right Method, or his Majesty was charm'd with the Idea of the approaching Occasion of a Battle, so extraordinary that Posterity will scarce believe the Circumstances of it, they got nothing but to displease and be silenc'd, with a kind of Warmth and Passion very unusual to him. I waited on him myself, and finding no Way to perswade him, told him, that seeing he was absolutely determin'd to seek Death, I was resolv'd to stay and dye in the Camp with him. Having given me three or four little Nods, which with him was a very great Compliment ; he said, I should be finely caught, if he took me at my Word. I assured him so positively of the contrary, that believing me in earnest, he would not consent to it ; probably because he thought I might do good Service to him, or such of his People as should escape. I won't play so far the *Gascoign* with you, as to say that I was sorry for his Refusal ; wherefore I went and took leave of my Friends in the Camp : They seem'd the more sensible of our Separation, thinking we should never meet again ; and many of them gave me their Money and Things of greatest Value, to keep and return to them if they had the good Fortune to come off with Life. I comforted them as well as I could, promising I would take all imaginable Care of their Release if they were taken Prisoners. As the Time was short and pressing, I rode directly to the Town, to use my last Endeavours with the *Turks* ; but I found they were resolv'd, and preparing for the Attack, and all the Streets were full of *Fanizaries*, *Spahis*, &c. so that I had much difficulty to get to the *Bashaw's*, who was very busy with the *Han* in giving the necessary Orders ; but I had scarce opened my Mouth to make them some new Offers of my Services, when the *Han* interrupted me, saying, " Can't you see that " there is no more to be done with that *Demirbash* or *Iron-head* ? " Meaning the King of *Sweden* ; and therefore he advis'd me to go Home, and keep quiet there 'till the Attack was over. The *Bashaw* said the same ; and recommended to me, by no Means, to stir out of my House, for fear of some Insult from the Soldiers, who were already arm'd. I retir'd immediately, passing thro' a very great Number

ber of them, who did not offer me any Rudeness or Incivility. I there waited with a great deal of Uneasiness for the Event of this Day, which in all Appearance would decide the Fate of our great Hero. I had People in the Town and Camp, to give me Advice continually of what passed in either, but my Intelligence ceased soon; I sent one of my Servants to know the reason of it, and understood that the Town Gates were shut, while on the other side the King had ordered that no body should stir out of the Camp, nor hear any further Proposal. Immediately after I heard a great Shouting of *Allah, Allah*, which is the commonly Signal of the *Fanizaries* going to an Onset; which convinc'd me they were in earnest. Accordingly some Thousands of the *Tartars* having more closely block'd up the Camp, the *Turks* went out of the Town in the Order following: About 3000 *Fanizaries* march'd first, 12 Pieces of Cannon, 2 small Mortars, with some Ammunition Carts, and many *Topigis* or Gunners follow'd: Next came the *Bashaw*, the *Buyiuk Imarour*, and *Chiaus-Bashaw*, with all their Officers and Servants, in good Order and well mounted, being about 2 or 300 Persons. The *Han* with several *Myrsas* brought up the Rear. They passed thus with a true *Turkish* Gravity thro' our Hamlet, and I had the Favour of a great *Selamelikim* or Salutation from the *Bashaw* and those to whom I was known. Being come within a small distance of the Camp, the *Fanizaries* ranged themselves in Order of Battle, the *Topigis* or Gunners planted their Artillery before them; and the *Han* and *Bashaws*, being dismounted, got under Tents set up for them; and every Thing being ready for the Onset, they sent an *Aga* to the *Swedish* Camp, to desire the King once more to leave the Place as a Friend. This *Aga* advanc'd as far as the Intrenchment, and address'd himself to Mr. *Grothusen*, who was his Friend, and would have introduced him to the King; but his Majesty being intirely bent on Fighting, would neither see him nor hear of any Accommodation; and said to Mr. *Grothusen*, "Send them Word, that if they dare to attack me, I'll defend myself." However, he permitted him to go with the *Aga* to the *Han* and *Bashaw*, who were then both in the latter's Tent, with the Order-bearers. The former ask'd him hastily, if the King would depart? He answering, that he desired nothing more. He ask'd him, When? To which he reply'd, As soon as he was ready, and he hoped to be able to tell when that would be in Three Day's Time. The *Han* said, That was the old Story; and that in Obedience to the *Grand Seignior's* Orders, he must immediately come to them, and depart without further delay. Mr. *Grothusen*, out of Patience at this Answer, ask'd him boldly, Whom he took the King of *Sweden* for, as if he thought he was to be frighten'd, and to come and kiss his Slipper? Upon this the *Han* bid him to be gone, with an angry Look. The *Bashaw* being more cool, told him in civil Terms, that the *Grand Seignior's* Orders allow'd of no delay, and that he was sorry the King would not be perswaded to comply to depart accordingly; and thereupon Mr. *Grothusen* withdrew. In the mean while, the *Turkish* Instruments made a great Noise; and the King, not to be behind-hand with them, caused Five or Six Trumpeters to get upon the Top of his House; from whence they answered the *Turks* as in Defiance, and then the Artillery beginning immediately to play, did no other Hurt but kill one of the King's People. Mr. *Grothusen*, who was very well known by the *Fanizaries*, pass'd thro' their Ranks and told them, that he was very much a-

mazed

mazed to see them Sword in Hand against their best Friends, “ That
 “ they could not deny but the *Swedes* had enrich’d them with Presents,
 “ and ask’d them, Whether they would thus in cool Blood, and con-
 “ trary to the Hospitality, so sacred among the *Musselmans*, attack
 “ their Benefactors, and refuse them a Delay of Three Days, which
 “ they begg’d, after they had granted to the *Muscovites*, their mor-
 “ tal Enemies, Peace, and every Thing they desir’d, and let them go
 “ away safely. He added, That the *Han* and the *Bashaw*, of whom
 “ he had requested that in the King’s Behalf, denied it ; and that he
 “ could not believe their Orders to be so severe as they pretended.”
 This Speech of a Man whom the *Janizaries* loved, and some Money
 he threw among them at the same Time, had the following Effect ;
 that being order’d to attack an Intrenchment, they, instead of attacking
 it, cry’d out, *Olmas, It shan’t be so* ; and all their Officers could not
 prevail on them to obey. They ran in a tumultuous Manner to
 the *Han* and *Bashaw*’s Tents, threatening to fall on them if they did
 not presently raise the Siege, and grant the King the Delay he desir’d ;
 saying, the Orders were not genuine, and they would not fight a-
 gainst the *Swedes* their Friends. Thereupon the *Han* said to the *Ba-*
shaw, “ Since you cannot make yourself to be obey’d by the *Jani-*
zaries, send them back to the Town, and I am able with my *Tar-*
tars alone to reduce that Prince to our Point.” The *Bashaw* de-
 sir’d him to have Patience ’till next Morning, that he would by that
 Time find some Means to make them alter their Minds and Behavi-
 our. Then coming out of his Tent, he told them, “ To be Quiet,
 “ and that the King should have Time, and their *Aga* and other
 “ chief Officers, to re-conduct them in the best Order they could
 “ into the Town,” which they executed immediately, and very
 well.

I hearing that they began to pass through our *Hamlet* in their Way
 back to Town, I appear’d at my Door ; several who knew me fir’d their
 Muskets in the Air ; some left their Ranks to ask me, Whether I
 was not well pleas’d with their Behaviour in respect of the King ;
 and added, That they would take his Majesty into their Care and
 Protection against the *Bashaw* and the *Han*, if they would not allow
 him the Time which Mr. *Grothusen* requir’d of them ; and they would
 conduct him where he pleas’d, &c. I answer’d, This was very kind
 of them ; soon after came the *Bashaw* himself, with a very grave and
 angry Look. This little Army was no sooner lead into the Town, but
 the Gates were shut. About Nine in the Night arrived *Savary*, a
Dutchman, and one of the King’s Interpreters, whom Mr. *Funks* the
 Envoy, and General *Poniatowsky*, under Arrest at *Adrianople*, had
 found Means to send privately. He had several Letters for the King,
 Messieurs *Mullern* and *Grothusen*, which he put all into my Hands ; I
 trusted with them a *Tartar* Officer, to whom I gave 10 Ducats, with
 Promise of 10 more, if he could render them to Mr. *Grothusen*,
 which he promis’d to do. Some Letters I receiv’d from my Corre-
 spondents at the same Time, mention’d, that Affairs were in the
 worst Condition that could be ; and that the *Grand Seignior* had rei-
 terated his Order to send the King away by Force, whatever might
 be the Consequence, if he refused to depart ; and in case he were
 taken alive, to put him into a Coach, to be carry’d to *Salonica*.

About an Hour after Midnight, I was disguising myself in a *Janizary*’s
 Habit, to go and speak with *Savary*, who was hid at a *Turk*’s of my
 Acquain-

Acquaintance in the Suburbs, on the other side of *Bender*, when I was surpriz'd to hear a great Noise at my Door, and more to see, as it was open'd, a *Myrfa* enter with an Officer, and an Interpreter of the *Han's*, who told me, "his Master was very angry with me for
 "corresponding clandestinely with the *Swedes*, against his Prohibition,
 "and my Word; and that the Officer whom I had brib'd to carry
 "Letters into their Camp, should be punish'd for his Undertaking;
 "and this *Myrfa* with the *Tartars*, were to carry me Prisoner to the
 "*Bashaw* as soon as the Gates of *Bender* should be opened. I reply'd
 "calmly, that I was not conscious of any Fault, and never sent to the
 "Camp any Letters, but what were tending to bring the King to the
 "amicable Ends, which the *Han* his Master and the *Bashaw* desir'd me
 "often to use my best Endeavours for." The Interpreter said, That he had nothing to add, nor to do more in the Matter, and retired, leaving with me the *Myrfa*; I ordered him some *Coffee* and strong Liquors, which accompanying with a sorry old Watch, I brib'd him so well to his Fancy, that he granted me the Permission which I ask'd him, to go and speak with the Palatine of *Kiow*, and other *Polish* Noblemen, who had left the King, not to be involved in his Difference with the *Turks*, and had put themselves under the *Han* and *Bashaw's* Protection; instead of going to any of them (for this was only a Pretence with which I cover'd my Design) I went directly to *Savary*, to ask him all the Circumstances of what had pass'd at *Adrianople* concerning the King, that in Case I could get once more the Permission of waiting on this Prince, I might alledge the most proper of them to convince him. Returning Home between Three and Four o' Clock in the Morning, I found the *Myrfa* somewhat uneasy that I had stay'd longer than I had promised; and at the Time of opening the Gates I got on Horseback, and being attended by some of my Servants and my *Tartar*-Guard, went to the *Bashaw*, who seem'd much concern'd to see me come so early, and in such a Company. He ask'd me the Meaning of all this; the *Myrfa* told him his Master's Orders; and the *Bashaw* said, Well, well, present my Service to the *Han*, and so dismissed him. Then I related my Case to him: He said the *Han* was a passionate Man, and that I ought not to expose myself to his Displeasure: I asked afterwards leave to go once more to the King; he said he was very willing I should go, but it could not be done without the *Han's* Consent, which he was perswaded he would not grant, and therefore was to no purpose to ask for it: Then he permitted me to return Home, advising me to stay there quiet. He had not slept a whole Night; but as soon as he was got into the City, after the *Janizaries* Refusal to attack the King, he had caused all the publick Baths, *Coffee* and other Houses of Resort, to be shut up; and placed a good Guard in all Quarters of the Town, ordering that no body should be out of his House after the *Evening Prayer*. Then he held a *Divan* with the *Chiaous-Bashaw*, *Buyiuk Imraour*, *Capigi-Bashaw* and *Janizar-Aga*; wherein it was resolv'd to try once more what could be done with the King by fair Means, since the *Janizaries* had shewn their Affection for him so far as to disobey the *Grand Seignior's* Orders; "And
 "that therefore those Orders should be read to them again, before
 "the opening of the Gates; to convince, that no Time was therein
 "allowed for that Prince. That it should be then proposed to 50
 "or 60 of their most prudent Officers, to go and represent to his
 "Majesty, that they could not avoid executing them, without becoming
 "Re-

“ Rebels ; and beg of him to put himself into their Hands, as his
 “ Friends, who would conduct him whither and which Way he
 “ pleased to go, even to the *sublime Porte* if he would ; and in case he
 “ rejected all their Proposals, Force should be used in earnest.”

The *Sultan's* Orders being read accordingly, and shewed to every one, that they might have no doubt of their being genuine ; and the *Bashaw* having made them sensible how unjustifiable was already their mutinous Disobedience to them, what Punishment they should deserve, if (the King refusing to accept of the Offers propos'd) they defer'd to force him according to the said Orders. They unanimously answer'd, That whosoever would not obey, should be treated as a Rebel. Thereupon, and to encourage them the better to comply with their Duty, he represented to them, “ The *Swedish* Camp enriched with the *Sultan's* Money and Presents, which in such case
 “ should belong to them, and all the *Swedes* be their Prisoners and
 “ Slaves by the Right of War ; as for the King's Person, he exhorted
 “ them to endeavour to take him alive, promising to every one who
 “ could only touch his Cloaths in bringing him Prisoner to him, a
 “ Reward of Eight Gold Ducats.” (as he had promised a Day before)
 They thank'd him heartily for his good Advice, which they shewed themselves ready to follow.

I had laid myself down on my Bed, with my Cloaths and Boots on, to get a little Rest, but in vain ; my Mind was too much disturb'd with what had pass'd, with the Idea of what was still to come ; when, about Nine o'Clock, some of my People came into my Chamber and told me, a Company of *Fanizaries* desired to speak with me : I went out immediately, and was agreeably surpriz'd to see about 60 Officers, greatest Part my Acquaintance, most with long white Beards, and each a white Stick in his Hand : They told me all that had pass'd between the *Bashaw* and them, and said they were resolv'd to go now to the Camp, as Messengers of Peace, to offer their Service to the King ; and assure him, in the Name of their whole Body, they were ready to carry and accompany him whither he pleas'd to go, even to *Adrianople*, to speak to the *Grand Seignior* himself ; and that they would be cut in Pieces a Thousand Times before they would suffer the least Hurt to be done to him. I extolled very much their Generosity, heartily wish'd them good Success, and soon after got on Horseback to follow them at a Distance, and met them at their Return from the Camp, as by accident ; but I was extremely surpris'd to see them come back so soon, and in as great haste as if they had been expell'd from thence ; and at least their melancholly and angry Countenance attested too plainly that they were not well receiv'd. I ask'd some who were my Acquaintance, what was the Matter ? One reply'd, *Swett Krall Demir Bash var*, “ The King of *Sweden* has an Iron Head.” But I heard soon the Cause, with the Circumstances of all this, *viz*, That they having desir'd an Audience of his Majesty, they were not only deny'd that Favour ; but being ask'd their Message, it was no sooner deliver'd and carry'd to that Prince, than General *Hordb* came to tell them in his Majesty's Name, “ That
 “ if they did not quickly retire, they should have their Beards cut
 “ off or burnt,” (the greatest Affront that can be offered to the People in the *East* ; and a Menace, I confess, very imprudent at that Juncture.) Perhaps the King distrusted the *Fanizaries*, thinking them brib'd by the *Bashaw* ; or perhaps he was afraid of losing the Opportunity

portunity of an extraordinary Action, which he flattered his Courage with. About an Hour after I heard from my House the repeated *Allahs* of the *Janizaries*, coming out of the Town, and going to attack him in earnest. The little Army march'd in the same Order and Number of Men as the Day before, except the *Han* with his Retinue, who was not there, having passed the Night under his Tent. As soon as they arrived they took their Posts, and the Artillery being planted at the same Place, it began soon to play. The *Janizaries* went almost without Orders to the Onset, with their usual Shouts of *Allah*; and whether the *Swedes* were surpriz'd or deceiv'd by the Hope that the Thing would pass as the Day before; or rather, as some say, they had agreed among themselves not to make any vain Defence with their Inequality of Number, against so great a Superiority, the Retrenchments were as soon carry'd off as attack'd. During this I was at Mr. *Jeffreys*, and you may imagine with what Uneasiness. Mr. *De la Motraye*, who was gone on Horseback among the *Tartars*, dress'd like one of them, to see the Action, came back to tell us, in less than Three quarters of an Hour, that most of the *Swedes* were already taken Prisoners, and carry'd away from the Camp. Thereupon we went out of Mr. *Jeffrey's* Back-Door, and saw some of them ty'd, and coupled together like a Pack of Dogs, and so led by *Tartars*, and several *Janizaries* driving theirs before themselves, like Parcels of Cattle. There were among these Prisoners some of the best Families in *Sweden*, who pass'd near enough for us to speak with them: We expressed our Concern to see them in that Condition; they begg'd, with Tears in their Eyes, our Assistance for their Redemption, which we assured them should not be wanting, and comforted them the best we could; and as I knew several *Janizaries* among their Masters, I recommended them to use well their Prisoners, which they said they would do. Soon after we saw others loaded with Plunder or Booty, as the King's Plate, saved from the *Muscovites* at *Pultowa*, rich Damask Cushions of his House, Mr. *Grothusen's* fine Furniture, and other valuable Things. But in the middle of this doleful Scene, we could hardly bear Laughing, to see several *Tartars* with laced Coats ty'd to their Necks, over their greasy Skin Furs, two or three Hats over their Caps, like triple Crowns, with Whigs hanging by their Girdles, &c. In the mean while a *Lipka* came to tell us that the King was kill'd, but as we heard still Shooting, we did not believe him; on the contrary, that Prince was on Horseback, attended by 20 of his Officers and Domesticks, had been in every Place where the Danger threatned most, to animate his People by his Exhortation and Example, to defend themselves the better. Seeing all was in vain, and his Camp overrun by some Thousands of *Janizaries* and *Tartars*, fixed his only Hope in the Defence of his House; so setting Spurs to his Horse, he used his utmost to get into it: He found himself thereupon in an instant so surrounded with *Janizaries*, who came from all Sides endeavouring to take him, that he could scarce advance a Foot-pace; nevertheless he made his Way through the Croud, attacking them Sword in hand, with those that could follow him, with pushing, cutting and hacking on all Sides, such as were in his Way and oppos'd him; he at length got to one Door of his House, when throwing himself too precipitately off his Horse, fell down, and at the same Time a *Janizary*, whom General *Hordb* had wounded, fired at his Majesty, purposely, or by mistake, and would certainly have kill'd him, if all the Croud

Crowd of *Janizaries* and *Swedes*, mix'd together, had not thrown themselves at the same Time one upon another, which made the *Janizary* miss ; so that the Ball took only the Skin off his Majesty's Nose, and the End of his Ear : But that Hero getting up again, and being help'd into one Room of the House, (with some Servants and Dragoons) by Colonel *Chambers*, the *Drabant Rose*, and a few others, who defended the Door, they shut it again. His Majesty there review'd his Garrison, which consisted, with the Remnant he had brought along with him, of about 30 or 40 Men, most Part common Servants, there being but half a Dozen Officers, and two or three Gentlemen, who hardly had ever drawn a Sword before, if they did then, as the Chamberlain *Cliffendorf*, the Secretary *Ereenpreus*, &c. for the most Part of the Garrison, which was pretty numerous at first, had been oblig'd to surrender Prisoners to the Multitude of *Turks*, who got into the House to plunder ; and the rest got into that Room, where they shut themselves in, abandoning the other Apartments to the Pillagers, and very likely had been also reduced to surrender soon, if the King had not come to their Relief. However, his Majesty having animated them with great Promises of Preferment, caus'd the Door of the next Room to be open'd, which he found full of *Janizaries* ; but notwithstanding the Inequality of Number, he attack'd them ; and having put most of them to the Sword, or oblig'd them to leap out at the Windows, he then caused the Door of the great Hall to be broke open, wherein they assured me were above 200 *Janizaries* pillaging ; their Number did not hinder the King from attacking them immediately with his little Troop : The *Janizaries* did all they could to break this sort of a Battalion, and separate them from the King, and succeeded so well, that they would have seiz'd him, if he had not kill'd Two of them that were next to him, and wounded a Third, who provoked, by the sight of his Blood, cut thro' the Sable Cap which the King had on, and would doubtless have seconded the Blow, if his Majesty had not seiz'd his Sabre with his Left-hand, not without wounding it. He had scarce escaped this Danger, but another Company attacked him, and he was near being taken, but some of his own People rescued him timely ; then being again at the Head of his Battalion, he charg'd the *Janizaries* with so much Bravery, that in less than an Hour he became Master of the whole House, having put to the Sword all that oppos'd him, or were not got out at the Windows. This Royal Hero seeing himself thus repossest of his whole House, caused the Doors and Windows to be again well shut up and barricaded ; then they fir'd thro' the Barricadoes at the *Turks*, and kill'd many of them. The *Han* and the *Bashaw* seeing that they should loose too many Men at this Rate, and that their Cannon made no other Effect but to pierce thro' the Walls of the House, without breaking down any Part of them, (the Stones of which they were made being too tender) held a Council of War, wherein they resolv'd to set it on Fire, by gathering together, near the greatest Doors and the lowest Windows, some old Pieces of Wood, as Planks and dry Branches of Trees, &c. and to drive by this Means the Besieg'd out of their Fortrefs ; which being order'd, the *Janizaries* who undertook it, and others who durst shew themselves within Musket-shot, found it very hot and dangerous, so that Numbers of them fell down Dead or Wounded ; but the *Tartars* fixing lighted Matches, and other combustible Matters to their Arrows, shot

a vast Number of them, in an Instant, upon the Top of the House; which being of small thin Boards joined together, easily took Fire, and in a little while was all in a Flame: Whereupon, to prevent the Fire gaining the Ceiling, which was also of Wood, the King went himself on the Top, with part of his People, to extinguish it if possible; but there being no Water, and no possibility of throwing down the Roof, he return'd to the Windows, and continued to fire upon the *Turks* as if nothing had happen'd. The whole Roof being already reduced to burning Coals and Ashes, and under it many rich Presents of the *Grand Seignior*, the *Vizier*, the *Han*, &c. which escaped the Eyes of the Plunderers, as fine Tents, Furs, and precious Horse-Furniture, (one Set of which, with the Stirrups of massy Gold, and the Bridle adorn'd with Jewels, was valued at above 100 Rix Dollars.) His People thought he intended to bury himself alive under the Ruins of the House, most especially when they perceived that the Ceiling took Fire, and great Pieces of burning Wood fell in upon them; every one then begg'd he would think of saving his and their Lives; but he bid them to have yet Patience, saying, there was no Danger, and encouraging them to defend themselves to the last Man, and rather perish like brave Men, than surrender to the Enemy; promising at the same Time great Rewards to those who should follow his Example: But probably the Heat of the Battle, and his warlike Courage, hinder'd him from considering, that there was a kind of Contradiction between what he promised and what he requir'd. The Danger still encreased; and it was to be fear'd the whole Ceiling would fall at once, and bury them alive under a Heap of burning Coals, a large one having already fallen upon the King's Head, which he took no notice of, and every Body else was frightened but himself. They had not prevailed upon him to quit the House, if the *Drabant Rose* had not flatter'd his Courage, by telling him, that it was better to dye Sword-in-hand, like brave Men, in the midst of their Enemies, than with cold Blood in the Flames; adding, that the new *Chancery*, a Stone House but 50 Paces off, which not being Roofed, was not so subject to be burnt, would serve them for a new Fortrefs; and they might make a Sally upon the Besiegers with the Sword in one Hand and the Pistols in the other, forcing their Way thro' them and get into it. Whether the Idea of a fresh Battle tempted the King, and he really thought the Proposal feasible, or whether he saw no Possibility to keep his Company longer in that burning Place, by his Example and all his Promises, he consented to it; and having given them his Orders for the Sally, he march'd out at their Head Sword in Hand; but advancing too eagerly, and thereby separating himself from his Company, he unfortunately fell down; then the *Janizaries* being in great Numbers on the Watch, threw themselves upon him, and disarm'd him: Thus this fierce Hero fell into the Hands of his Enemies. They conducted him to the *Bashaw*, who received him with a great deal of Respect, desiring him to sit down (the first Compliment of the *Turks*) but his Majesty did not; the *Bashaw* said, "That he thanked *God* for his being thus saved from so great a Danger. The King answer'd, That if all his Men had defended themselves like him and those few who were in the House with him, he could not have taken him a long Time yet. The *Bashaw* said, He had defended himself but a great deal too well, for above 200 *Turks* and *Tartars* were kill'd. To which the King reply'd, That was nothing to what would have

have been. This extraordinary Conversation ended by the *Bashaw's* desiring his Majesty to mount a fine *Turkish* Horse, richly equipp'd, which he did, and went streight to the City, surrounded by a great many *Turkish* Officers and *Janizaries*, and alighted at one of the Apartments which the *Bashaw* had ordered for him. His Majesty flung himself upon the *Sopha*, where he was attended by the *Bashaw's* Interpreter and chief Domesticks, who brought before him a low Table with a *Turkish* Supper, some *Sherbet*; but his Majesty call'd for Water, drunk much of it, and having eat but little, bid them to withdraw, and then he fell asleep upon that *Sopha*, with his Boots and all his Cloaths on, tho' there was just by a Bed prepared for him in the same Room.

As to myself, upon the Information I had of the Prince's Life being so happily preserv'd, I pass'd the Night with much more Tranquility than I had done for a long Time; and I went the next Morning to the *Bashaw*, who immediately order'd me to be let in to the King; telling me, that he had sent him a few Minutes before, Messieurs *Grothusen* and *Ribbing*, whom he had redeem'd, to keep him Company, knowing them to be both his Favourites. His Majesty was dress'd as the Day before, after the Action, and looked as strangely, as you may guess; his Coat bloody and torn in Pieces, part of his Cap slit, his Eye-brows burnt, his Nose and Ear scratch'd; yet thro' all this, there appear'd such a Cheerfulness and Air of Satisfaction in his Face, as if he had the *Bashaw* and all the *Turks* in his Power. I approach'd him with my Hands joyn'd together, and saying, I thank'd God that I saw him in so good Health, a Happiness I scarce durst flatter myself with the Day before, when I considered all the Dangers he ran thro'. He reply'd smiling, That the Dangers were not so great as they seem'd at a distance. I said, Appearances must then be very deceitful; for it seem'd to me that 30 or 40 Persons, besieg'd by several Thousands, fighting against 300 in a House, upon which near 100 Cannon-shot had been fir'd, and was all in Flames of Fire, ran a terrible Risque. He still maintain'd it was nothing; and insensibly the Conversation turn'd upon the Action itself, of which he told me most of the Circumstances with a great deal of Vivacity, except what related to himself, which he omitted out of Modesty; and would not allow what a Report, I mention'd, of his having kill'd 15 *Janizaries* with his own Hands, saying, it was a Mistake, and one should never believe more than the half of what was reported. I said, that was enough; but he still excused himself, and said, he remembred only one, who shov'd him against the Wall, into whose Body he pass'd his Sword up to the Hilt, of which he believ'd he died; and Two others in his own Bed-chamber. After some other Circumstances on the same Subject, he began to ask me some Questions concerning the Prisoners; whose Delivery he recommended to me very earnestly, and I promised to use my utmost Care and Diligence for. I was taking leave of his Majesty when the *Bashaw* came in, to enquire how his Majesty had pass'd the Night; and after a short Compliment, he went back to his Apartment; I followed him, and told him, That 'twas a Shame to leave the King without a Sword, and that he ought to let him have his own back again. Whereupon, looking me full in the Face, he ask'd me, Whether I took him to be a Fool for proposing him such a Thing? And added, That it would be enabling and tempting that Prince to a new Combat; and that he might cut off their Beards, as he threat-

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ten'd the Deputies before the Action. Then I enquir'd what they would do with his Person? He answer'd, That his Orders were to send him towards *Adrianople*; and he knew not yet whether he was to be carry'd from thence to *Salonica*, and shut up in a Castle, as 'twas said at first; but he hoped for better Usage; adding, That his Interest with the *Porte* should not be wanting to obtain it. Having entreated him to continue in these favourable Dispositions, I went Home to write to the Courts of *Sweden*, *Hanover*, and *Holstein*, to give them the Account which I here send you by the same Courier who carry'd my Dispatches.

Third Letter.

1712-13. I Hope you received my last, wherein I gave you an Account of the Action of *Warnitza*, of my Discourse with the King the Day after; and according to his Desire, and my Inclination to serve him, I went about the Redemption of the Prisoners. Mr. *De la Motraye*, already mentioned in my former Letters, who has been very serviceable to his Majesty, and to me in particular, in several Negotiations of Importance, and knows very well the *Turkish* Humour, having been among them for above Fourteen Years, helped me pretty successfully in this Undertaking; and I redeemed several the very same Day I dispatch'd my Courier; and the next I waited on the King, to give him an Account of it. His Majesty thanked me for so good a Beginning; and having taken me aside, he told me, that in all likelihood he should be carried to *Adrianople*; and that by the *Bashaw's* Discourse, he judg'd it would be soon; so that he could expect to have but a few to accompany him, but he depended entirely on my Care for the others, and that I might give as much Money for their Redemption as I thought fit. I answer'd, That I was very willing to do all that lay in my Power to that Effect; that I had indeed a pretty good Stock in Gold by me, but could not be certain whether that would be sufficient, I begg'd his Majesty to consider, that I had already advanced for his Service 24000 Rix-Dollars, and his Bills for it were not yet discharged, (notwithstanding his repeated Orders;) that I should perhaps be oblig'd to pay a greater Interest and Exchange; that I had already paid to the *English* Treasurer, for about 50,000 Rix-Dollars I had of him, viz. Banco for Current, which amounted to about 25 *per* Exchange, besides 6 Interest *per Ann.* 'till the Term of Payment. He replied, "That I should not stand for Conditions, since he would make them good to me, whatsoever they might be; but that 'twas very just I should be secured: Therefore he was ready to grant me what I might require to that Intent." I said, 'twas impossible to guess how much I should be oblig'd to pay for the Redemption and Subsistence of all the Prisoners. After some Consideration upon the Matter, his Majesty resolv'd to give me a most pressing Order to the Senate in *Sweden*, That before any Thing else whatsoever, they should pay, not only my abovesaid Bills of Exchange for 24,000 Dollars, but also discharge punctually, and upon my bare Word, whatever Sum I should say I had advanced for his Service, without my being oblig'd to produce any Receipt or Voucher whatever; and this on Pain of his Displeasure.

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I mention this only to shew you how great Confidence the King reposed in me : Then Counsellor *Feif*, who had been set at Liberty two Hours before, being admitted, his Majesty caused the Order to be drawn out in Form, and gave it me. Presently after this I went to the *Bashaw*, and told him, that the King was very solicitous for the Liberty of his People ; and he desired I would have Patience for Two or Three Days, till his Majesty was gone, and that it would be sufficient to redeem Forty or Fifty Persons to accompany that Prince : To whom I return'd to acquaint him with it. His Majesty named some of those he would have go along with him. I went upon it immediately, and desiring Mr. *Jeffreys* and Mr. *De la Motte*'s Assistance, we had the good Fortune to ransom in about 24 Hour's Time, enough to make up near the same Number. The next Day arrived a Courier from *Germany*, who passing by *Tassy*, the Capital of *Moldavia*, heard that King *Stanislaus* was arrested there. This Prince who was in *Pomerania*, as you know, almost ever since the Battle of *Pultowa*, had for a great while done in vain all he could by Letters, to perswade the King of *Sweden* to abandon his Interest, and let him make his own Peace with King *Augustus* ; but his *Swedish* Majesty would never consent to it ; which thinking to obtain by Word of Mouth, he undertook this unhappy Journey, after having, in concert with the chief Commanders of the *Swedish* Army there, agreed with Count *Flemming* to a Cessation of Arms, and on the Preliminary Articles of a Treaty ; so that he being arriv'd at *Tassy* just at the Time of the Action of *Warnitza*, the *Hospodar* of the Country caused him, with an Officer and Two Servants, to be arrested as *Swedes* ; for such they declar'd themselves, not knowing what had pass'd there ; and how he was discover'd to be King *Stanislaus* I can't tell ; but 'tis certain, that the *Bashaw* received a Letter from the *Hospodar* before my Courier was come, advising him of another King's Arrival and Arrest, whom he named so.

As soon as I had read my Letters, I went to acquaint the King with this extraordinary Event, of which the *Bashaw* had inform'd him just before. I dare say his Majesty was more concerned at it, than at any Thing which had happen'd to himself ; and very angry especially with the *Swedish* Treaty-makers, to whom he ordered a terrible Reprimand to be written, for suffering themselves to be caught by Count *Flemming*'s fine Words ; adding, there was no other Way to repair this Fault but by a Battle. After which he told me, that as to King *Stanislaus*, the chief Thing to be done, was to send him a trusty Person ; and to advise him, by all Means, to conceal who he was ; fearing the *Turks* would take Advantage of his Arrival, and even sacrifice him to King *Augustus*, if they found their Account in it. I replied, That was indeed to be apprehended, but that Prince being already known, it was therefore too late for him to pretend to keep *Incognito*. We had a pretty long Dispute upon this Matter ; his Majesty insisting, That he might deny who he was, and absolutely refuse to be King *Stanislaus*. Without deciding who was in the right, I promised to write to him that same Day ; and that as soon as his Majesty was gone, I would ask the *Bashaw*'s Leave to go myself to *Tassy*, and speak with him about it. This somewhat satisfied him ; and he ordered me to tell him, above all Things, to insist on his speedy Return ; and not to enter on any Proposals the *Turks* might make him, in relation to a Peace with King *Augustus*. I promised

mised to do my best, and we parted well pleas'd ; he with the fresh Instance of my Zeal for his Service, and I with a secret Hope to serve his *Swedish* Majesty against his own Will, in my Interview with King *Stanislaus* ; by encouraging and promoting that Peace with King *Augustus*, which has been long recommended to me by Count *Flemming*, according to a Plan laid by him and Baron *Goertz*, on certain Conditions advantageous to all the Three Kings. I gave the rest of the Day to the Redemption of Prisoners, and with Mr. *De la Motraye's* Help, got free Chancellor *Mullern*, the Generals *Sparre*, *Daldorff*, *Horah*, and several other both civil and military Subalterns. The next Day being appointed for the King's setting out, I waited on him pretty early in the Morning, seeing in the *Bashaw's* Yard a *Turkish* Coach, or rather a Waggon, covered with red Cloth, (a Conveniency seldom used in *Turky*, but for Women, sick or old Men, and Prisoners of State) which was preparing for his Majesty. He recommended to me anew King *Stanislaus* and the Prisoners, desiring I would continue in *Bender* as long as my good Offices (which he would one Day or another acknowledge) could be necessary to them ; and then to come and meet him afterwards at *Adrianople*, where I should find Things in a much better Posture than they appear'd at present. In short, he talk'd of obtaining of the *Grand Seignior* no less than 100,000 Men, to reconduct him honourably into his *German* Dominions. It was in vain for me to make Objections, for he seem'd more bigotted to his own Opinion, than I could be to mine. I was promising him to do according to his Desire, when the *Bashaw* came in himself, to tell him that the Coach was ready at the Door ; and those of his People, who were to accompany him, on Horseback. To which his Majesty answer'd, I am ready too, and I'll go immediately. The *Bashaw* thinking we were upon some particular Affairs, retired ; and I having engaged my Word to do according to his Order, we parted, that Prince to get into the Coach, and I to set on Horseback, and accompany him to *Cauchan*, a little *Tartarian* Town, where he was to lay, about Three *German* Miles from *Bender*. Mr. *Grothusen* went into the same Coach with his Majesty, who lay almost at Length, pretending to be indisposed, the better to paliate this Manner of travelling, so contrary to his Humour and Custom. Messrs. *Mullern* and *Feif* were together in another Coach, following his Majesty's, and others on Horseback, all without Swords. They were surrounded by about 200 *Spahis* ; and the *Bashaw* and his Court, with the *Turkish* Musick, preceded this March, which was dismal enough, with respect to the Condition this great *Hero* had been in ; who a few Years before, at the Head of 40000 Men, might have given Laws to, or at least held the Ballance of *Europe*. I rode near enough to be seen by him ; and his Majesty no sooner perceiv'd me, but he made me a Sign to draw nearer, which I did. That Prince kept me by the Door of his Coach all along ; we were all along talking of many Things past, present and future ; when an Express from *Tassy*, whom King *Stanislaus* had found Means to dispatch with a Letter to his Majesty, came up to us. In this Letter his *Polish* Majesty express'd his Concern for what had happen'd, and begg'd among other Things of his *Swedish* Majesty, to let him resign the Crown of *Poland* to King *Augustus*, on the Conditions agreed upon ; rather than prejudice his own Affairs, and expose both *Poland* and *Sweden* to farther Calamities, by insisting on the contrary. His Majesty having

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seen the Contents, told me of this Circumstance, and said with a little Emotion, "Tell him as soon as you see him, that if he won't be King, I'll make another, rather than let King *Augustus* remain so." I did not think fit to make any Objection thereto, but promised to do for the best; and being arrived at *Cauchan*, the King alighted at a House fitted for him, to eat and pass the Night; where I waited on him, and having recommanded me afresh, what he had already told me concerning that Prince and the Prisoners, I took my leave of his Majesty, and return'd to *Bender*. The next Day I wrote to King *Stanislaus*, according to the Orders I had receiv'd, and sent my Letter by a *Fanizary* Post to *Tassy*, who promised to deliver it into his own Hands. Then I went to the *Bashaw*, and presented him with a fine Gold Snuff-box, weighing above 50 Ducats, with divers Figures of Animals curiously engraven thereon in *Relievo*; bought by Mr. *De la Motraye* for the Value of the Gold, from a *Fanizary*, who had taken it from a *Swedish* Secretary, his Prisoner. The Value of the Metal prevailing over the Aversion which the *Alcoran* prescribes against the Figures of any living Creatures, such as were those, made him receive it very graciously and smiling: I likewise added to it a Silver Watch and two *German* Horses, which General *Sparre* had saved from the Pillage, by sending them to my Stables. Having by this Means secured him to my Interest, I put him in Mind of his Promise, to release all the *Swedish* Prisoners. He was so generous as to offer me his Purse, if I had not Money enough by me; for he added, That to induce the *Fanizaries* to attack the King, he had given them Hopes the *Swedes* they took should be their Slaves, and it was dangerous to break that Promise all at once. I reply'd, I was content to pay them something for their Ransom; and I advis'd him to issue a Proclamation, to be publish'd in *Bender*, *Cauchan*, and their Neighbourhoods, that whoever had any *Swedish* Prisoners hid in their Houses, should, under great Penalties, produce them within two Days, or let him know where to send for them; which doing, they should be rewarded. I promised to go in his Name, to the Houses and Places where they were, and give every *Turk* or *Tartar*, who deliver'd me a *Swede*, Money proportionable to his Dignity. He agreed speedily to my Proposals, and the Proclamation was made accordingly; ordering the Owners of Prisoners to bring them to a Plain, between the Town and our Hamlet, where was, by his Order, a Tent erected. The Day after the Publication, I, with two *Turkish* Commissaries, went there, about Nine in the Morning; and saw the Plain almost covered with *Turks* and *Tartars*, conducting their *Swedish* Prisoners from all Quarters. Having placed myself at the Table with the said Commissaries, attended by an Interpreter, I laid thereon a large Purse, with about 2000 Ducats; and Orders was given for each *Turk* and *Tartar* to approach with his Prisoner; and to prevent a Crowd, two of the *Bashaw's* Officers were placed at the Entrance of the Tent, who suffer'd them to enter One by One; and to each of them, who brought me a *Swedish* Prisoner, I gave either 10, 20, 30, Ducats, or more, according to the Quality of the said Prisoner; and a Discharge to the Owner, in *Turkish*, which one of the Commissaries drew up in Writing, and signed with my Name: For Example, that such'a one, *Ibrahim*, had deliver'd me Mr. *N. N.* We continued this Method for two Days together, from Nine in the Morning 'till Four

in the Afternoon, and had releas'd above Three-fourths of the Prisoners.

In the mean while Mr. *De la Motraye* went to *Cauchan*, to seek for others, whom the Possessors would not bring up to us, but hid them in the Country. He redeem'd on the spot, Secretary *Ereenpreus*, Barons *Ribbing* and *Falstrom*, and some others, who were in very bad Hands; and having given out, "That there was an *Aga* coming from *Adrianople* with an Order of the *Sultan*, to set all the *Swedish* Prisoners at Liberty without Ransom, and that those who had any, might receive from me at *Bender* a Reward, if they would carry them there before his Arrival," they brought me, among others, the Generals *Hiertha*, *Klingsted*, and Mr. *Adlerfel*, whose Cloaths the *Tartars* had taken away, giving them Sheep's Skins in exchange. These Prisoners complain'd of the Hardships they had been put to, as to look after Horses, and being chain'd; but I thought fit to give the Reward promised, for fear some others should suffer by the contrary. Mr. *Jeffreys* redeem'd several of his Friends; and in a few Day's Time there were wanting only Fifteen Persons, of which we knew Twelve or Thirteen were kill'd in the Attack of the King's House. I was well pleas'd with what we had done; but my Joy was not yet compleat, seeing such a Number of Persons, many of them Officers of Distinction, and Persons of the first Quality, almost naked, and without a Farthing to subsist. My Cash was greatly exhausted by the Payments for their Ransom, tho' the *Bashaw* lent me 1000 Ducats; therefore I apply'd myself again to him, and returning him many Thanks for his Assistance, I made him sensible of the Difficulty I lay under to subsist them; upon which he order'd each Man Three *Paras*, or 3 Pence, a Day, for their Bread and Meat. Some of the Officers were dissatisfied to be treated no better than the common Soldiers; but as Game is exceeding plenty, and free for every Body, most of them killed more than they could eat, and bought Bread and Wine with the Money intended for Meat. And to render the Condition of these Officers and other Persons of Distinction more easy, Mr. *Jeffreys* and I kept an open Table every Day, with Fifteen or Sixteen Covers, and they all came by Turns to us, without any Ceremony. All I had now to do was to cloath them, for they were almost all naked, except General *Sparre* and a few others, who had the Precaution to send, before the Action, most of their Cloaths to our Houses. To assist them as much as I could, I caused to be publish'd all over the Town, and in the Neighbourhood, That whosoever had got any Cloaths and Linnen, taken in the Action of *Warnitza*, and would bring them to me, they should be paid the Value of them; and in about Two Day's Time one of my Rooms was, by this Means, filled with Coats, Waste-coats, Whigs, Linnen, Boots, Swords, Hats, &c. and look'd like a Sale-shop; where the Naked were cloathed again. In short, I made so equal a Distribution of these Cloaths, that every one seem'd contented, and I had reason to be so too.

Things being so far brought to a good End, in respect of the Prisoners, I thought of performing the King's Commission in respect of King *Stanislaus*. I waited on the *Bashaw* with this Intent; and told him, That having, with his Assistance, so well succeeded in the Redemption and Relief of Prisoners, I wanted only, before my going away, to execute a Commission the King of *Sweden* had given me to King *Stanislaus*; and being desirous to

go to *Tassy* for that Purpose, I hoped he would grant me the necessary Passports. He said, I need not take that Trouble, since he had already sent a Guard to bring him to *Bender*. Then I ask'd him leave to go and meet him on the Road; and speak to him before he came thither. He made a little Difficulty of complying with my Request; but consented at last, on condition it should be altogether *Incognito*, lest the *Polish* Noblemen should ask the same Favour if they knew of it. The second Day after, hearing that Prince was on the Road, I disguised myself in a *Janizary's* Habit, taking Mr. *De la Motraye*, disguised in the same Habit, with me, and two *Janizaries* of my Acquaintance, I got on Horseback; and with Greyhounds, as if I were going to Hunt, went on the great Road to *Tassy*, for Two or Three *German* Leagues from *Bender*; and perceiving at a Distance a Company of *Lipkas*, I galloped up to them; and seeing among them Three or Four Persons dressed like *Swedish* Officers, I asked the nearest to me after the King; it happen'd to be himself, but I did not know him in his Disguise, having always seen him before in the *Polish* Habit; but he knew me, tho' my Dress was at least as extraordinary as his own; and said, "What, my dear *Fabrice*, do not you know me?" I would have dismounted to pay my Respects to him, but he would not suffer it; saying, as we were both *Incognito*, there was no need of Ceremonies; and going at a little distance from the Company, we had a long Discourse about his Design in coming to *Turky*, and the King of *Sweden's* continuing to be contrary to the Preliminary Treaty agreed upon in *Pomerania*; witness what he had said after having receiv'd his Letter; and notwithstanding the present Condition of his Affairs. However, he desired me to concur with him with my best Credit towards endeavouring again to get his Majesty's Consent to that Treaty. Which I promis'd; and being come within a Quarter of a *German* Mile from the Town, I left him and the Highway too, that I might not be seen, or known by the *Polish* Noblemen, who were coming to meet him. The *Bashaw* sent him his *Kiaia*, or Secretary, with others of his Officers, to make him a Compliment in his Name, and a *Turkish* Horse richly equip'd, to mount in the room of that which he had. His *Polish* Majesty was saluted with a Discharge of 24 Cannon at his Entrance into *Bender*; where he alighted at one of the best Houses prepared for him; and a Guard like the King of *Sweden's*, tho' not so numerous, was appointed for him. The next Day the *Bashaw* visited him; and as this Prince is naturally very Polite, as is likewise the *Bashaw* for a *Turk*, there were abundance of Compliments and Protestations of Friendship passed between them. In the mean Time, there were several Conferences between his Majesty, the *Polish* Nobles, and the *Bashaw*; at which I was always present; and often became Mediator, when the *Polish* Troops committed any Disorders. And seeing a good Harmony between this Prince and the *Bashaw*, to which I did not a little contribute, and having done the *Swedes* all the Services that lay in my Power, I thought of going to meet the King of *Sweden*; and was much encourag'd to it by the Advices we had, that the Scene of his Affairs was pretty happily chang'd; viz. "That the *Grand Seignior* had indeed intended at first to send him to *Salonica*, but had alter'd his Mind, on Mr. *Desallures*, the *French* Ambassador's, and other

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" Friends

“ Friends Remonstrances to the *Porte*; the former proffering some Men
 “ of War from *Marseilles*, (in case the *Porte* was weary of him, and
 “ would not be at the Trouble and Expence of sending him Home) to
 “ transport that Prince to his own Country; the latter saying, that his
 “ having been attack’d, and put in such Danger of his Life, and Plun-
 “ der’d, was sufficient Punishment for this Prince’s Refusal to depart
 “ according to his Word and the *Sultan’s* Orders; that his Majesty
 “ thereupon was civilly treated and maintain’d with his People near *A-*
 “ *drianople*.” Which Usage having much rais’d again his Hopes, he
 would have King *Stanislaus* send a Memorial to the *Grand Seignior*,
 concerning his Affairs, desiring his Protection and Help, and offer his
 Alliance, &c. Wherein his *Polish* Majesty comply’d with his *Swedish*
 Majesty’s Will; but it prov’d to no Purpose.

I was ready to depart, and had Letters from Messieurs *Mullern*
 and *Grothusen*, by the King’s Orders, to go and met his Majesty,
 when an Affair of Count *Sapiehad* detain’d me for some Days. This
 Nobleman had formerly quitted the *Swedish* Party, because King
Stanislaus, in concert with his *Swedish* Majesty, had taken from him
 the Post of Great-General of *Lithuania*, which he pretended to be
 Hereditary in his Family; and given it to Prince *Wisnowiesky*. He
 came to *Bender*, upon the Hopes given him, of an Equivalent for his
 Generalship; but he began insensibly to be suspected for a Spy of
 King *Augustus’s*, to observe the King of *Sweden’s* Proceedings. How-
 ever that be, he decamp’d one Morning privately, out of a panick
 Fear, as if Prince *Wisnowiesky* had a Design against his Life; and
 some *Swedes* being sent after him by General *Sparre*, he was taken
 and brought back. For his greater Misfortune, there was found a-
 mong his Papers, the Copy of a Letter he had written to King *Aug-*
ustus, assuring him of an inviolable Fidelity, and having cast some
 hard Reflections on the *Bashaw* in that Letter; with which the *Pol-*
ish Nobility acquainted him; and he was so much exasperated
 by it, that he would not have spared his Life, if the *Han* had not
 interposed his Authority to set him at Liberty, and let him go where
 he pleas’d; for the former, to whom I was desir’d by the said Count
 to speak in his Favour, would have had his Head cut off; where-
 upon I told him, That such Executions could not be done among
 Christians without a formal Process.

About the same Time came the News from *Adrianople*, that the
Han and *Bashaw* should be infallibly depos’d, for having deliver’d the
 Money before the Time order’d by the *Sultan*, to the King; and
 consequently occasion’d his new Demands and Fighting. I went
 thereupon to the first, and happening to mention something of it in
 respect of the *Han*: He reply’d with a great Tranquility, that he
 expected nothing better for himself; that besides their Religion
 taught them to resign to Providence, and submit to the *Sultan’s*
 Will in all such Cases, he was not a Stranger to them, since he had
 been already once displac’d, and strip’d of all his Money, Jewels, &c.
 and banish’d by the late *Sultan’s* Order, and restor’d again by this.
 As for the *Han*, he told me, that he was already invited to *Adria-*
nople, by a Letter from the *Porte*, the *Grand Seignior’s* Favourite,
 under Pretence of consulting with his Highness about the *Muscovite’s*
 Affairs; and that he was sure he would be banish’d to *Rhodes*, be-
 fore he was got half Way. I have had some new Conferences with
 King *Stanislaus*, concerning the Peace with King *Augustus*; which this
 Prince

Prince continues to be so inclin'd to, that he has desir'd me again to endeavour to induce the King of Sweden to consent to it.

As I am to depart the Day after To-morrow, this will be the last Letter I shall write you from hence.

NUMB. XXI.

Two other Letters from Mr. Fabrice, concerning the King of Sweden's Affairs at Demotica. The First dated from * Caragatz, the 27th of February, 1713-14. * Caragatz, a small Village half a Mile from Adrianople.

I Have receiv'd all yours from Vienna, Berlin, Lunenburg, Zell, 1713-14. and London; and if I have not before answer'd them, 'tis because Pag. 127. you have always left me in an Uncertainty where my Answers should meet you, and the Time of your staying in England, and your Return hither. However, your last of January, wherein you inform me, that you may chance to pass the Remainder of the Winter in London, made me determine to write this (after another sent some few Days before it) at all Hazards. I am oblig'd to you for all these Letters; and yet more, for your having perform'd what I gave you in Commission, especially to Baron Goertz. I read to the King yours from Lunenburg; and he was pretty much diverted at the Pains you took to bring him to Life, and to *un-turk* Mr. Poniatowski and me, in the Opinion of the Publick; he thought your *Debauche de Langue* with my Sisters in the Convent singular enough; and was pleas'd to put a merry Construction upon it. His Majesty, whom you left at *Demirtash* on Foot or sitting on a *Sopha*, contrary to his natural Temper and Inclination, which he has so long conquer'd, is now every Day on Horseback, and in good Health, at *Demotica*; so much Repose succeeding immediately a great and continual Exercise, (as that of *Bender*) was in all probability the Cause of his Ague. I made use of all the Credit I had still at *Constantinople*, to remount him and his principal Officers, (the *Porte*, who furnishes them all manner of Provisions to live upon, giving no Money at all.) The *Favourite* has in vain left no Stone unturn'd, and offer'd the *Charte Blanche* to the Jews, Greeks, and other Merchants, for the Conditions; but could hardly procure a few Hundred Crowns in lieu of so many Thousands he did when at *Bender*. Mr. Funk (whose *Thaim* and Character of Envoy were taken from him; it being signify'd to him, that his Majesty had no need of a Minister where he was in Person) dy'd soon after of a malignant Fever at *Caragatz*, as have divers other Officers at *Demirtash*; which you may have been inform'd of by the publick News. The Air at *Demotica* seems better, or at least more favourable to the Swedes, for they all enjoy there their Healths. The French Ambassador, in the mean while, takes care of the King's Affairs at the *Porte*, but very little is transacted there on his Account; not a Word as yet mention'd on both sides concerning his Departure; but contrary to the Wishes and Hopes of his People, *Ali Bashaw*, whom you left *Solictar Aga*, being made *Visier*, ask'd the Ambassador, who complimented him upon it in his Majesty's Name, how that Prince lik'd *Demotica*? To which having answer'd, "Well as he thought. I am glad of it, reply'd the *Visier*; pray send
" my

“ my Services to his Majesty, with my Assurances, That I’ll take as much Care as my Predecessor did, to render him his Stay there agreeable.” There all the *Swedes* are uneasy at such a Silence, both from the King and the *Porte*, in respect of his Majesty’s Departure; however, we have Advice from *Sweden* and *Germany*, that the Generals *Leven* and *Rank* are upon the Road, to invite his Majesty on behalf of the Princess, his Sister, of the Senate in *Sweden*, and his People, to return into his Dominions; thereupon the *Chancery* thinks to second the Invitation in the strongest Manner; and I am desired to use my best Arguments to the same Purpose; and we flatter ourselves with Hopes of Success; the rather, that his Majesty does seem much cur’d of his Prepossession, in regard to the *Grand Seignior’s* Intentions in his Favour.

The Second Letter dated July 30. 1714. from † Tartarkoi.

1714.
Pag. 167. I Have receiv’d your Letters from *Constantinople*, of the 10th and 26th of the last Month. I congratulate you on your safe Return, and having got rid of your bad Companion, the Ague; but I won’t yet forgive your not having passed our Way; tho’ I will, on Condition you’ll come to me as soon as your Affairs will allow. I live here in the most pleasantest *Chifflick* * about *Adrianople*, where I have 6 Saddle, and as many Coach-horses; with the latter I go now to *Adrianople*, then to *Demotica*; and with the former I hunt the Hare, in Company with some Friends. I don’t want excellent Dogs, with which I scower the Country, for 14 Villages or more round about, the most distant of which is not above three Leagues from my *Chifflick*. You may imagine from hence, that I don’t want for Game of all sorts, no more than for good Company, who help me to eat as well as to catch it.

* A Country House.

Having mention’d to the King what you writ to me, about Baron *Grothusen’s* magnificent Entry, Gravity, and splendid Retinue of the Gold and Silver-laced Coats-men; his Majesty oblig’d me to read him your Letter, and was pleas’d with your Account; pray go on with it for his Diversion as long as you remain where you are. I don’t doubt but his Excellency will use his best Rhethorick with the *sublime Porte* and the Merchants to get Money, and if they have half so much Mind to give as his Excellency has to receive, it will require more Camels or Mules than are at *Constantinople*, to transport it to *Demotica*; but I’m very much afraid, that with all his Desire, generous Complaisance, Proposals and Offers to them, he will return more laden with Debts than *Purses*. As to the Article which regards the Ambassadors of *Great Britain* and *Holland*; to whom you say he has not notify’d his Arrival, as he did to the other Ministers; I pass’d it over in silence, to avoid declaring my Sentiments thereupon; and knowing very well how tender his Majesty is, with regard to his Orders, if he gave any upon that Head; as ’tis probable he did. For the rest, this Policy is so fine, that it’s past my Comprehension.

† Tartarkoi, a little Turkish Hamlet so call’d, about 8 Miles from *Adrianople*.

NUMB. XXII.

The King of Sweden's Letter to the Han of Tartary, Carplan Gherai, from Demotica, dated the 27th of September. 1714.

MOST serene Prince, of the *Akerman, Budgiak, Crim, Noghaian Tartars, &c.*

The Fame of your consummate Wisdom and Bravery, makes us desirous to entertain and cultivate with you, a good Understanding, and a sincere Friendship. Tho' this Empire which we are now on leaving, and our Kingdom are at a vast Distance one from another, yet their Situation, in respect of that of the *Czar*, (an ambitious and restless Neighbour) ought to unite always our Interest and Arms for our reciprocal Safety. After our arrival on the *Ottoman* Dominions, your Predecessor joining with us in that Consideration, and about a Year after, we had the Advantage to make the most powerful Emperor, *Sultan Alkmet*, sensible of the Necessity of setting Bounds to that troublesome Neighbour's ill Designs; and accordingly, the *Ottoman* Army, commanded by the *Vizier, Baltagi Mahemet*, march'd against him, reduced him, with all his People, to his Discretion; but that *Vizier* contented himself with *Asoph* and a few Places, and so dismiss'd him, rather like a Conquerer than a conquer'd Enemy, whom he might have carry'd in Triumph to the *Porte*, as a Vassal. The several Breaches of the Treaty, which this unjust Prince so happily obtain'd on the *Pruth*, and which was confirm'd so graciously to him at the *Porte*, shews too plainly, that he does still ungratefully persist in his ill Designs: Therefore we do desire you to remonstrate to his Imperial Highness, how important it is to prevent the Execution of them; and we on our side shall be always disposed, by our Gratitude, for the many Favours his Benificence and Generosity have bestowed on us, during our stay in this Empire, as well as for our own Safety, to act in conjunction of Interests with his Imperial Highness, and spare no Courage or Force to second his against the common Enemy; wishing you good Success and Prosperity in all your Undertakings, we do recommend to you King *Stanislaus* our worthy Ally's Interest, whose is also that of the *sublime Porte*, by Inclination; and will prove so actively and effectually, as soon as we have recovered the Throne, which the ill Fortune of our Arms at *Pultowa* made him leave.

1714.

NUMB. XXIII.

A Plan of Baron Goertz for State-Obligations, Money-notes and Marks stamp'd on Paper and Copper, laid before the King of Sweden at Yestadt, in the beginning of January. 1715-16.

YOUR Majesty's whole Kingdom is already reduced to such an Extremity for want of Money to pay your Land and Sea Armies, that if immediate and right Measures are not taken, the most important Enterprizes will fall in the utmost Confusion, and

1715-16.

come to nothing but a general Destruction. The Cause of this fatal Extremity is, That the Money arising from the Contributions, is no sooner come into your *Exchequer*, but is taken out again to pay those who have advanc'd some on them; whereas it should be apply'd to the Defence of your Provinces. Wherefore there remains only these two Ways for a Peace, 1. Either by a cowardly and rash Despair, to sacrifice to a barbarous Enemy all the former Happiness of *Sweden*, and the Reputation so dearly purchased, abandoning it to his Discretion; 2. Or taking fresh Courage, to use our utmost Endeavours, some by a Part of their Estates, others by Arms or Money: For this latter, which is the only one for a good Peace, Credit and other Succours, as well within as out of the Kingdom, are required most indispensably. As to the first, even all the Money in the Kingdom would not be sufficient, if it were all at once in your Majesty's Chests; for there are not above Two Millions, according to the best Computations; whence it may be certainly concluded, that if your Majesty should double the Contributions, it would signify little to the Affair in Hand. Besides that, such Impositions could never be levied, not so much for the Inability of the People already exhausted, as because 'tis impossible to find so much Money all at once; and if there were enough, good Part of it must be left to circulate among the People. In short, since we cannot be saved this Way, there remains only those of Credit; which are Three in all. The first is acquir'd by a punctual Performance of Promises and Contracts; for one naturally makes no Scruple to trust those, whose Honesty and Sincerity have been try'd. 'Tis but too well known at *Stockholm*, how little we can depend on this sort of Credit; since many have buried their Money, choosing to let, some 30, some 40, nay, some 50,000 Rix-Dollars, in good *Carolins*, lye dead, rather than assist your Majesty and their Country with a Part of it, for the publick Good; therefore it is evident, the *State Obligations* newly introduced, notwithstanding all their Advantages and their Security, will be of no other Service to the Government, but to pay those who having some Pretensions upon it, will accept them rather than nothing. In the mean time, your Majesty will be oblig'd thereby to seek for Credit in foreign Countries, and give them that Advantage which the Distrust of your own Subjects deprives them of. I presume to say, that I could myself certainly negotiate as far as Two Millions of Rix-Dollars out of the Kingdom for the publick Occasions; but this cannot be done 'till the Confidence and Correspondence, in relation to Trade with *Sweden*, are put on a better footing, and I am impower'd, by your Majesty's prudent Orders, to set about this Affair. It may be ask'd, how I will lay a good Foundation for this Project, within as well as out of the Kingdom? I distinguish between *voluntary and forced Credit*; the latter cannot properly be called Credit, since it has not a regular and natural Foundation; we must however give it that Name, in Imitation of our *Casuists*, whose Authority and Example will not allow us to call Violence, but Perswasion, the Method they use to make People come, one Way or other, into their Notions, or bring them to their Ends. And this Method seems to have a better Ground, a more lively Operation in *Politicks* than *Divinity*, as daily Experience shews us. It is therefore absolutely necessary to keep to that, as well in respect to the Name as the Reality, since no better Expedient can be thought of. The Use or Experience shews already the

the Advantage of the abovesaid Obligations ; but some will object, that they being only for large Sums, will be very inconvenient, if not useless, in the ordinary and daily domestick Trade, because they can't be divided into lesser Sums for Payment of the Soldiers or Sailors, and will no way answer the End proposed. My Answer is, that therefore little Notes or Pieces of Copper must be stamp'd, to pass, by your Authority, for Money here in the small popular Trade ; such as some few already stamp'd. Every one knows how useful this sort of imaginary Species had been in Places besieg'd, where there was no real Money. But it is not necessary to go so far, but only enquire what has been already practis'd in your *Copper Mines* in want of Money ; with what Success and Security they paid the Workmen on certain Occasions, with a small Piece of stamp'd Copper. Thus it is evident, that the Marks themselves are a sort of *State Obligations*, that have the publick Credit for their Security, and may consequently be useful ; at least they are not pernicious if they have a real and certain Foundation. Here may be objected the former Example of *Spain*, and the late one of *France*, and from thence formed this specious Argument, That these Nations teach us, that they, especially *France*, who governed by so wise a King as *Lewis* the XIV. with so prudent and experienced a *Council*, and what is more, so great a plenty of Money at Home, have brought themselves into an almost inextricable Labyrinth, and that their Example advise us not to have too great a Presumption, and pretend to succeed better with our small Abilities. But here I must insist, that the Example of *France* doth not affect the Matter itself, but the Application, with its Circumstances ; others Faults may teach us to avoid the like ones. The Abuses to be fear'd, consist chiefly in Two Things. 1. In not well proportioning these Marks to the Fund whence they are hereafter to be paid, or to the Species in the Kingdom ; a Fault which draws after it the Ruin of the State, and consequently all the Species out of the Kingdom. 2. In not taking all prudent and necessary Precautions to hinder their being counterfeited : *France* committed the first Fault, and *Spain* the last. We will avoid the Error of the *French*, by finding out the Funds to pay off the imaginary Species ; and keep so just a Proportion between them and the real ones, that these shall always exceed the others, and be sufficient to pay for foreign Commodities ; by allowing some Advantage to those who will change the *Myntetokens*, and other such Species for *State Obligations* ; and shewing at the same Time how to employ them without Loss, every one will be induced to look upon them as good, and as secure as ready Money. As to prevent the counterfeiting of them, some Coiners told me, that we must mill them with a Machine, which will cost above Six Hundred Dollars, and 'tis not probable any Counterfeiter will be at that Charge. Besides a new Coin may be made every Three or Four Months, and the old one cried down and exchanged for a new one with those who have the old ones and bring them to the Mint ; which will prevent also their being counterfeited Abroad and imported into the Kingdom ; there being not Time enough left between the Course of one sort and that of the other for it, besides the Difficulty and Charge above-mention'd, and the danger of Confiscation for the Ships on which they shall be found. There remains then only this third Question, How the Credit procured to these Marks, by the abovesaid due Precautions, can be actually made use of? I say, by

Two

Two Ways, 1. By taking them in Payment of your Revenues, both ordinary and extraordinary, and even allow a Discount of one *per Cent.* on Payment of the Contributions. 2. By ordering them to be taken in again and new Stamp'd, converting the large Sums into Obligations, and giving an Interest of 5 *per Cent.* to such as are any Time out of their Money; having a special Care to preserve the Credit of the *Bank* and of the Obligations, that they be not brought in there; and that in Payment of the Capitation, nothing but good Money be received, because this Money must necessarily be employed for the Preservation of the Capital of the Obligations, as also for the Debts. For this reason an Officer should be appointed to receive these *Marks*, that the *Bank*, where a very great Part of the Contributions enters, may be entirely exempted from it. As for the 5 *per Cent.* Interest, it may be thought a needless Expence; but it should be consider'd, That the State has already effectively got a Capital by it, and no Body will any longer scruple to take a Species, with which he cannot only pay for any Thing he buys, but get a solid Advantage by keeping it; which will contribute very much to the Usefulness and Success of this Affair.

NUMB. XXIV.

Three Letters from a Friend at Constantinople, concerning the War declared against the Venetians by the Porte, and against the Porte by the Emperor, and the Peace of Passarowitz.

The first Letter, dated the 26th of January. 1716.

1716. **I** Receiv'd your last, dated from *Hamburgh* the 20th of *Sept.* last, wherein you acquaint me with the Death of *Lewis XIV.* and the most remarkable Passages in *Pomerania*. I admire, as well as yourself, the Courage and Intrepidity of the King of *Sweden*, but I much fear his Politicks will be as fatal to him at Home as they were in *Turky*. The King of *France's* Death is rather a seeming Loss to him, than a real one; because that his most *Christian* Majesty being old and weary of the War, therefore desiring nothing more than to die in Peace, and having made one beyond Expectation, would never have ventur'd to assist him with his Troops, but rather with his Mediation, as we hear he was doing already when Death took him away; now the *Regent* finding the Kingdom exhausted of Money, is too wise to involve it in new Expences, by quarrelling with other Potentates for his sake.

For your News from *Christendom*, will return you some from these Parts. You have, without doubt, heard long since by common Report, that the *sublime Porte* has found it just and conformable to the Law, to declare War against the *Venetians*; "For several Injuries received, and thereby to deliver its antient, ever faithful, and well affected *Rayas*, the *Greeks* in *Morea*, from the heavy Yoke they had groan'd under and complain'd of a long while; and re-establish the *Musselman* Part of its Inhabitants in their Estates and Houses there; which they had been constrain'd to abandon by

" the

“ the last War.” Our most *sublime Porte* has shew’d as good Manners as the most civiliz’d Christian Court, in sending gently Home the *Ambassador* and *Consuls* residing in the *Ottoman Empire*, with their People, instead of imprisoning them as formerly. The venerable *Muphti* having given his *Fetfa*; the Horse-tails were set up and expos’d as usual; and the *Emperor of Three Empires*, the greatest and most powerful of the *Emperors in the Universe*, the *Distributor of Kingdoms and Principalities*, *Sultan Alkmet*, ever *Victorious*, order’d his invincible, and as numerous Legions, as those you have seen in *Moldavia*, on the Banks of the *Pruth*, to march in the Spring into the *Morea*, under the Conduct of his most valiant Generalissimo, *Cumurgi Ali Bashaw*; and at the same Time he sent upon the Coasts his great and invincible *Armado*, of 50 Men of War of the Line, 36 Gallies, and 30 Brigantines, with a 100 Transport-ships, under the Command of the great and magnanimous Admiral *Gianum Cogia*. Nothing can be more rapid than the Success or good Fortune of *Ali Bashaw*, and *Gianum Cogia*; and his Highness might say, “ I sat upon my Throne, and “ order’d my Visier and my Admiral to march against the Enemy; “ they went, saw, and vanquish’d.” The Admiral had hardly appear’d before *Tino*, e’er the City, Castle, and the whole Island submitted; and the Wind being blowing, *Mussulman* no sooner carried him before *Cerigo*, than it did the same, whilst *Corinth* as easily receiv’d Laws from the *Visier*; and the Fleet having join’d the Army before *Napoli*, brought it, with the Castle, in less than Two Days, under Subjection to the *Sultan*. It’s true, that City made a little more Resistance than the Places beforemention’d, having in it a good *Venetian* Garrison; but the *Turkish* Artillery, both from the Sea and the Land, thundered upon the Houses so effectually and dreadfully, that the *Greeks*, who were the most numerous, and less affected to the *Venetians*, went to the Governor, threatening to open the City Gates to the Enemy, if they did not capitulate; which he did, as if frighten’d with their Menaces, and deliver’d up the Place with 172 Cannon and 14 Mortar-pieces. From so happy a Beginning, *Gianum Cogia* judging that a Squadron would suffice for the Reduction of *Suda* and *Spina Longa*, he sent thither 15 Vessels, under the Command of *Fususph Bashaw*, one of the bravest Champions in the Fleet; and those Places hardly fir’d as many Cannon against him, as it would have done to salute the *Venetian* Admiral, if he had come to anchor under them, before they surrendered to the Will and Clemency of the *sublime Porte*, their ancient Mistress. In the mean while the Captain *Bashaw* and the *Visier* reunited their Forces. 1. Under *Coron*. 2. *Modon*. 3. The Castle of *Tornese*, and took them all with the like Rapidity; and so the Islands of *Sapienza* and *Santa Maura* humbly submitted to the Conquerors; in a Word, the whole *Morea* was reconquer’d in less than 40 Days. ’Tis true, that they who are jealous of the *Ottoman* Bravery and Glory, maliciously give out, that the *Porte* is chiefly beholden for it to the unquiet Temper, not to say the Rebellion, of the *Greeks*, who were weary of the *Venetian* Government. Your Friend and Country-man, Mr. *Brue*, who followed the Army, with a magnificent Retinue, furnish’d (as they say) *Ali Bashaw* with the Plan of that Conquest; not out of any Grudge or Resentment against the *Venetians*, nor so much by any Orders from the *French Court*, as by the Directions of *Spain*, to cut out Work for

the Emperor ; by engaging him, insensibly, in the *Republic's* Quarrel ; and to pick, in the mean while, another with his Imperial Majesty, and bring back *Naples*, &c. to the *Spanish* Obedience : Therefore King *Philip* does actually sollicite an Alliance with the *Grand Seignior* ; however the *sublime Porte*, laying aside all her Pride and Glory, has hitherto caressed the Emperor, almost like a Coquet when she designs to Jilt, sending him Letters full of the most solemn Protestations of a constant Friendship ; and begging him the most civilly in the World, by an *Aga*, who has already been dispatch'd for that Purpose, not to take any Umbrage at her Proceedings ; assuring him that she has no other Design, than to humble and chastise the Pride and Insolence of the *Republic*, which exercised and protected (as she says) abominable and unjust Piracy upon her Subjects at *Negropont*. The Emperor answers all these Caresses with Threatenings to declare War against her, if she does not restore, generously and amicably, *Morea* : The *Porte* being not willing (with all her Complaisances and Caresses) to deliver up *Morea*, nor to stop thither her Conquests, his *Imperial* Majesty does arm powerfully, and seems resolv'd to add the Effects to Words. Mr. *Brue*, on the other Hand, is continually representing to the *Visier*, that such Menaces ought not so much as to be heard with Impunity ; and advises him, to carry the *Ottoman* Horse-Tails to *Peterwaradin*, pointing him out from thence a Way, cover'd with Lawrels, as far as *Vienna*, through *Hungary* ; which would open her Arms to receive him. But whether that Hero has a better Opinion of the *Germans* than of the *Venetians*, in respect of Bravery, he seems to have no greater Mind to shew them those Tails, than to see their Eagles.

He has been complimented at his Triumphant Return here, by all the foreign Ministers, except the *Imperial* Resident one, Mr. *Fleishman*, whom he sent for, and ask'd him, " Why the Emperor, his Master, did arm, the *sublime Porte* being resolved to live in Peace with him, according to the Treaty of *Carlowitz* ? " Mr. *Fleishman* answer'd, " That he knew not, having receiv'd no Letters from *Vienna* for above Three Months ; but thought that his Imperial Majesty look'd upon the War declar'd to the *Venetians*, as a Violation of the Treaty." To which the *Visier* reply'd, " That they were the first Breakers of it, as it had been already fully represented to this Court." Then he told him, that he might write and have *Femans*, or Passports, for as many Couriers as he would send, proffering him at the same Time a Letter to Prince *Eugene*, to confirm to him the sincere Intentions of the most *sublime Porte* towards his Imperial Majesty ; and to assure his Highness, that in the next Campaign, which he was to make in *Dalmatia*, his principal Care should be, to hinder the *Grand Seignior's* Subjects from giving any Ground of Complaint or Dissatisfaction to those of the Emperor. Mr. *Fleishman* said, he would write, and thank'd him for his Offers ; and did accordingly. But all the Appearances are for a Rupture. Your former *French* Scholar, *Mavro Cordato*, whom you left Hospodar of *Moldavia*, is become such of *Walachia*. *Navoni*, heretofore Interpreter of the *Venetian* Nation, saw no sooner the War determin'd against *Venice*, but he demand'd the *sublime Porte's* Protection, offering to pay Tribute, as a Subject, to her, and got it. But being accused of serving his old Masters,

stress, the *Republick*, as a Spy, he was taken up in the Streets of *Pero*, some Time before the *Visier's* Return, and hang'd on the Spot. About the same Time Mr. *Angelo*, the *Genoese* Minister at the *Porte*, was sent for by the *Caimacan*. His Excellency at first excused himself, as being indispos'd with the Gout, either really or thro' Policy, but promised to wait on him, as soon as his Distemper would permit him. The *Caimacan*, not being satisfy'd with this, order'd back the Messenger, to tell him, that if he did not come immediately of his own accord, he would fetch him by Force. And his Excellency having answer'd to the second Message, that he would infallibly either come, or cause himself to be carried thither the next Morning, the *Caimacan* sent 30 Men arm'd, who laying hold on him, as he sat at Table, in his Night-Cap, Gown and Slippers, carry'd him in this Equipage, (Two of them haling him under each Arm, something rudely) before the Governor; who told him, with more Civility than he durst have hoped for, That the *sublime Porte* being inform'd, the *Republick* of *Genoa* furnish'd the *Venetians* with maritime Supplies, was resolv'd to drive him from *Constantinople* as an Enemy; being so mercifully disposed, as not to detain him Prisoner; and without giving him Time to answer, he was conducted, in the same Manner as he was taken, to the Harbour, and put with all his Servants of his own Nation, on board a *French* Ship that was readiest to sail, as it did the next Morning; and the *Turkish* Guard saw him beyond the *Dardanelles* with a good Wind, before they left him. The *Cady* of *Smyrna* has also sent away the Consul, with those of the same Nation.

The second Letter, dated the 5th of Sept. 1717.

I Receiv'd your last from *Gottenburg*, informing me that you had join'd, in *Norway*, your *Hero*, on his Return from *Christiania* towards his Frontiers; and some Weeks before his unfortunate Expedition at *Fredericksball*. I see that the Proverb, *Nulla Calamitas sola*, A Disaster never comes alone, is too much verify'd in that Prince; he seems quite dead here in the Memory of the *Turks*, however they may feel too soon their Error, in letting the *Czar* go so cheap out of their Hands, against the *Swedish* Counsels. I hear that *England* and *Holland* do now repent too late, of having contributed so much to this Prince's Sea-forces, by training up Seamen of his Nation, and furnishing him with some of their own, with Shipwrights to build him Vessels, and even sending him others quite fitted out; by which Means they have so open'd his Eyes, and shown him the Advantage which a State derives from Commerce, that he is now become not only their Rival in this Respect; but being an absolute Prince, has made himself the chief Merchant of his Country. What do I say the Chief, the only Merchant, since all the others are properly but his Deputies or Agents. He has done more, he has not only declared himself Head of the Church, like the Kings of *England* since *Henry VIII.* but has seiz'd the Ecclesiastical Revenues, and pays his Clergy like the *Hollanders*. He is certainly a very great Prince, and has made wonderful Progress in his Travels; most are of Opinion nevertheless, that he wants a very commendable Quality, which is that Lenity of Temper and Inclination to Pardon, with which other Christian Princes win their Subjects Hearts; that he by his Severity in having given, even himself, the

1717.

* Knutt

* *Knutt*, &c. to some of the most considerable *Boyars*, who fell under his Displeasure; and is feared, and most generally hated. But I know so much of the *Muscovites* and *Cossacks* Nature, that I can say no Prince had ever more reason to say the *Oderint dum metuant*, than his *Czarian* Majesty. You may have taken Notice yourself, that those of his Subjects, who are *Slaves* in *Turkey*, won't serve you well without the Help of the *Falack*; and he would not have been perhaps *Czar* of *Muscovy* a great while ago, if he had used always Clemency towards them. Tho' I must confess, that chastising them with his own Hands, is a Thing beneath, and derogating from the Majesty of a Sovereign. As to his Power by Land, he seems to be obliged to the King of *Sweden* for it, tho' in a different Sense; his *Swedish* Majesty (contrary to the good Counsel of a wise Northern Prince, who said that the *Muscovites* should never be waged War with above Two Years) having fought them successively Eight or Nine, 'till he had taught them to beat him, as they had been beaten by him. His *Swedish* Majesty, instead of attempting to force Fortune to become again favourable to him, and imitating those Gamesters, who the more they loose, the more they are animated to play; ought, in the midst of his rapid Success, to have follow'd the Example of our good *Turks*, who if they are Victorious, even without Fighting, don't shut their Ears against advantageous Proposals of Peace; and if they are Unfortunate, they seek it, or at least don't refuse it. I don't deny, but that this Prince has been the first attack'd, and that with some Injustice: Nay, I will even grant, that it was as great, as he himself believes it. But he refusing the *Charte Blanche*, which the *Czar* in a manner offer'd him on his entering *Muscovy*; and to send Plenipotentiaries to *Brunswick*, where so many Potentates, even his Enemies, have sent theirs, to finish this ruinous War; all this renders his Proceedings unaccountable in my Mind. However, my politick Reflections upon his Conduct are but superfluous, and perhaps not agreeable to you, who, as you write me Word, will avoid making any in your Work; wherefore I leave them, to fall upon another Topick. I had represented to you in my last, a Rupture as inevitable between the Two Empires. The *sublime Porte* having carested in vain the Court of *Vienna*, resolv'd to send a powerful, or at least a very numerous Army, which was call'd *Invincible*, upon the Frontiers; and the Conqueror of *Morea* had Orders from the *Sultan* to command it. He march'd and saw the Enemy, but was vanquish'd with as much or greater Rapidity, and greater than he subdued the *Morea*; as you may have heard already. He was hardly arriv'd at *Nissa*, when the *Sieur Bergovir* (whom you knew at *Constantinople*) *Valet de Chambre* to Sir *Robert Sutton*, arriv'd at *Belgrade*, with Letters from *Vienna*, for the *Seraskier* of that Place, and the *Visier* himself. I will make here a little Digression on this Account, *viz.* That when his Excellency dispatch'd from hence his said Servant to go, 'twas by the Way of *Germany* for *England*, with the *Visier's* Passport; who requir'd at the same Time, that he should not be intrusted with any Letters, especially in Cyphers, for the Court of *Vienna*, and consequent-

* *Knutt*, a kind of Discipline, with Lead or Iron-bullets wrapt and ty'd up in Leather, like Beeds, in Form of a Whip.

ly that he should bring none back but for the *Porte*, if offer'd. However the *Aulick* Council, who detain'd him at *Vienna* 15 Days on his Return from *London*, not only prevail'd with him to take Two in *Turkish*, one from Prince *Eugene* to the *Visier* himself, and the other to the *Seraskier* of *Belgrade*, but also two more in *Cyphers*, viz. One for the Ambassador, his Master, and another for the Imperial Resident; which Letters he thought proper to give in Charge to a *Janizary*, and dispatch him before-hand to *Constantinople*. But as ill Luck would have it, the *Janizary* was search'd, and these Letters found out; whereupon he was immediately strangled, and the *Sieur Bergouin* thrown into a Dungeon, and in Danger perhaps of meeting with the same Fate, if the *Seraskier* of *Belgrade*, now *Great Visier*, had not been so much his Excellency's Friend as he is. However, the *Seraskier* sent to the *Visier* Prince *Eugene*'s Letter, and at the same Time, by Mistake, that which was directed to Sir *Robert Sutton*, thinking it to be for Mr. *Fleishman*, without mentioning the other, which he thought to be for Sir *Robert Sutton*, and sent it him accordingly. That of Prince *Eugene* was almost a downright Declaration of War, or like a Challenge from his Highness to meet him at the Head of his Forces in the Field; for which he had taken the Post, in order to join the Imperial Army near *Peterwaradin*. Upon this he fell in such a Passion, that without staying for some *Asiatick* Troops, which were filing off to make up our *Invincible* Army, he march'd with a Precipitation contrary to the *Turkish* Gravity; and looking perhaps in the mean while on Mr. *Brue*, as the first Occasion of the Danger he was running into, he order'd him to be assassinated as he was: Then passing the *Save* at *Belgrade*, he advanc'd as far as *Peterwaradin*, gave or receiv'd the Battle, lost it, and was kill'd. Thereupon the *Seraskier* of *Belgrade* rallied what Troops were sav'd, to cover this City, and sent Orders to the *Bashaw* of *Temeswar* to take care of that Place; and the *Sultan* no sooner heard of it, but he sent him the Imperial Seal to succeed that *Visier*. Sir *Robert Sutton*'s *Valet de Chambre* is releas'd, and his Excellency is preparing to leave this Country, where Mr. *Wortley Mountague* is every Day expected to succeed him.

Third Letter, dated July 30. 1718.

SINCE my last abundance of Things have happened on this side the World, which you may have heard in general; as the taking of *Temeswar*; that the new *Visier* has lost a more considerable Battle than the former, in that it was accompanied with the Surrender of *Belgrade*; and they began to be in fear for *Nissa* and *Sophia*; what do I say, for *Nissa* and *Sophia*, for *Adrianople* and *Constantinople*, *Demir Capi* being, as you know, but a slight Hindrance to the March of a victorious Army, so that they look for their Safety in a Peace; for which to obtain, they address their old Friends, the Redressers of Wrongs and Composers of Differences, the *English* and *Dutch*. The Merchants of all Nations would not have seen this with Pleasure, it not being possible (as they say) but Trade must have suffer'd by such a Change. The Customs might have risen from 2 and an half or 3 *per Cent.* to 10, upon the same Foot as at *Vienna*; as well as the Price of Cotton, Silk, Goat's-hair, &c. which might have become dearer by the Taxes several *Christian* Princes lay, even upon Provision, a Consideration which alienates

nates above all, the Minds of the *Greeks, Armenians* and *Jews*, from their Government. Mr. *Mountague* entering into the Sentiments or Interests of the Merchants, or being sensible of the Misfortunes or Fears of the *Turks* on this Account, and being willing perhaps to ingratiate himself with our *sublime Porte* as well as with the Merchants, endeavour'd to comfort them; and either thought himself, or was made believe by some body, that it was for the Interest of the *English* Company, or serving the *politick Ballance* of *Europe*, to procure them the Restitution of *Belgrade*, as the Key of their Empire on that side, he gave some Hopes of it to the *Porte*, with Offers of his good Offices at *Vienna* for that Purpose, but this before he was assur'd whether that Court would be dispos'd to part with that important Place. Our good Friend, Dr. *Timone*, of whose tragical End you may have already heard, and the Circumstances whereof I shall acquaint you with hereafter, was then actually at *Philippoli*, with the* *Retkiap Caimacan*, as his Physician or even Favourite; he delivered him his Excellency's Message or Offers, which were heard with all the Satisfaction that may be well imagin'd. The Dr. was desir'd the next Day to return Thanks to his Excellency for them, and to inform him, that his Presence would be very agreeable to the *Porte*, who in the mean while dispatch'd Orders to the *Caimacan* of *Constantinople*, to furnish him with all Things necessary for his Journey, allowing him a considerable *Thaim*. In effect, we saw all on a sudden a number of Camels, Mules, Horses, Waggon, some loaden with Tents, and others empty go to the *English* Palace; and his Excellency having join'd his to it, and had his Trunks and Baggage put into the empty Waggon sent him for that use, set out, accompany'd by an extraordinary Number of *Chiaouz* and other Officers of the *Porte*. Being arriv'd at *Philippoli*, where the *Porte* was, she caressed him, as she uses to do those from whom she expects something of Moment, and desir'd him to proceed to the Camp near *Sophia*, that he might be nearer at hand to perform good Offices between Her and the Court of *Vienna*; there he met a very honourable Reception, as you'll imagine, and dispatch'd the Secretary *Hefferman* with the Proposal, as a Preliminary Article insisted upon by the *Porte*. Mr. *Thellys*, more Ambassador than his Master, (if one would believe him) saw, with a jealous Chagrine, the Preference in Honours, whereby the *Porte* seem'd to distinguish Mr. *Montague* from Mr. *Colye*, tho' the latter was also invited to the Camp, and conducted with as numerous a *Turkish* Cortage, if not the like Promises of Reward, in case of Success, and had a good *Thaim* according to Custom. Mr. *Hefferman*, having declared himself the Bearer of a Proposal so conformable to the Desires of the *Porte*, and at the same Time so contrary to the Intentions of the Court of *Vienna*, was stop'd or detain'd, under divers Pretences, by Mr. *Talman*, Commissary of War at *Belgrade*, who either sent his Letters, or gave notice of the Subject of his Commission to the Court of *Vienna*; which (as 'tis supposed) sent some Complaints to that of *Great Britain*, on the apparent Preference wherewith her Minister espoused the Interest of the *Turks*, and de-

* *Retkiap Caimacan*, is a sort of Vice Caimacan, as that of Constantinople, who follows always abroad the Grand Seignior, and attends his Imperial Highness, as does the other govern the City in the Great Visier's Absence.

manded, as we hear, Sir *Robert Sutton* as Plenipotentiary and Mediator, and the fittest Person to manage the *Turks*, and obtained him. Mr. *Stagnan* was thereupon named Ambassador, you may have heard, and sent also to supply Mr. *Montague's* Place; nay, some who pretend to know what is transacted at both the Courts of *Vienna* and *London*, say, that the former would not stop her Conquests at *Belgrade*, if the latter had not declar'd, that her Fleet should not sail for that of *Sicily*, but on that Condition. In the mean while, Dr. *Timone*, a better Physician than Politician, who perhaps had exceeded his Commission, being teaz'd to Death with Questions about the Court of *Vienna's* Answers to Mr. *Montague's* Letters, and finding by the long Silence, that he had made too much haste in promising, fell into so great a Disquiet and Melancholly, especially on the Arrival of an Express from Prince *Eugene* to the *Visier*, with a Letter; which was so far from giving Hopes of *Belgrade*, that the *Uti possidetis* seem'd even more than they were resolv'd to grant. *Mehemet Effendi*, the second *Turkish* Plenipotentiary, said hereupon to this Doctor, "When will your Express come back? Where is *Belgrade* that you promis'd us?" He was for a while struck dumb; at last he said sighing, "That he hop'd the Ambassador's Intentions had been equally sincere and well dispos'd for the Advantage of the *Turks*, as well as were his own." He answer'd, he believ'd it, and talk'd to him of other Things; but the News of Mr. *Hefferman's* continuing to be detain'd, so far increased his Disquiet, that the first Time he was call'd for, he said to the *Sieur Bergouin* (who since the Departure of Sir *Robert Sutton*, serv'd Mr. *Montague* in Quality of Steward) "They send for me to strangle me, for having given them Hopes of a Thing which his Excellency is not capable of performing." And at the same Time pulling out his Purse and Watch, he added, "Take these Things, and give them to my Wife on your return to *Constantinople*." The *Sieur Bergouin* refused them, saying, "That there was no danger of his Life; but that if Fear had so much gain'd upon his Spirits, to put them into the Ambassador's Hands;" to whom he offered them accordingly, and who not being able to compose his groundless Fear, receiv'd them. Then the Doctor went trembling to the *Turkish* Minister, who spoke to him about Things of a quite different Nature than what he apprehended. In the mean while the *Visier* being withdrawn with the Army into his *Winter Quarters*, as far as *Philippoli*, from whence, as to his Person, proceeded to *Adrianople*, and Mr. *Hefferman* arrived there, having been released upon his former Master, Sir *Robert Sutton's* Claim, with Advice, that the *Germans* talk'd even at a higher Rate than of keeping *Belgrade*; whereupon the Fear and Disquiet of the Doctor was or seem'd to be renew'd, tho' no body said any Thing to him, or gave him a worse Look than usual. In the mean Time, * *Fetiskan* was nam'd for the Place of Congress by the *Germans*, but afterwards *Passarowitz* was reciprocally agreed upon; and Mr. *Wortley Montague* being met by Mr. *Stagnan* his Successor, took his Leave from the *Visier*, to whom he presented him, according to Custom, and from other chief Ministers of the *Porte*; then proceeded to *Constantinople*,

* *Fetiskan*, an inconsiderable Place between *Semendria* and *Barovisca*, as noted in my Map (A).

there he embark'd on board of a Man of War. During these Transactions, Sir Robert Sutton came to *Belgrade* with the German Plenipotentiaries, and the *Visier* went back to the Camp near *Philippopoli*, where Mr. *Stagnan* followed him, attended by Dr. *Timone* (a). As the *Germans* talk'd very big, the Doctor hearing of it, shewed himself very uneasy, and gave way to Melancholly; so that one Day, which was the last of his Life, he did not eat or drink any Thing, but walk'd round his Tent bare-headed in deep Reserve. Some *Turydes* (b) and *Serdanguestys* (c) happening to pass through the Camp, Curiosity drew most of his Neighbours out of their Tents to see them, and he retired under his own, where he shot himself with Two Pistols; and he was found afterwards dead, and stretch'd out at his full Length on his Back on the Ground, with his Breast bare, (one Shot in the midst of his Forehead, the other upon his Heart) and between his Legs a Note, with these Words in *Italian*, *Io non ho voluto perire dalle mani dei Turchi, perisco dalle mie; I would not die by the Hands of the Turks, but by my own.* And in the same Language was added, *There is so much Money, &c. in such a Place, which I desire those who find it to give to my Family, which I recommend to the Protection of the English Ambassador.*

The *Turks* were much surpriz'd, as you may imagine, at this cruel Execution of the Doctor, on himself; they, among whom *Self-murthers* are as little heard of as *Duels*, not reckoning them within their Predestination. The *Retkiap Caimacan* was truly more concern'd, than *Mahometans* used to be at their Friend's ordinary Death, thinking perhaps, besides his Love for him, that this Way of shortning one's Days, is disturbing the Order of Providence (as to cry out desperately, like the *Greeks* and other *Christians* do) on the natural Death of their Relations and Friends, is thought by the *Mahometans* murmuring against that Divine Order. The *Visier* sent Mr. *John Mauro Cordato*, then Interpreter of the *Porte*, to inquire into the Circumstances and Reasons of the Matter, and having heard all from him, expressed himself very sorry for it, and said, "I don't know of any body who did intend any Harm to so good and ingenious a Man; if I had I would have him punish'd. You'll remember perhaps the Doctor's Sentiments, and our Conversation with him, on the News of that eminent *English* Merchant at *Smyrna*, who shot himself in the Mouth and in his left Ear, with two Pocket-pistols, after Dinner; and having drunk Prosperity to the King and Church, whilst the Company was gone to take a Nap, according to the Custom in hot Countries; that when every one wondred at such an extraordinary Accident, which is hardly heard of, but amongst the *English*, or People bred up among them, he said, that as to himself, "He rather wondred that it did not daily happen." Every where how he prais'd the Courage of that Nation on that Account: Adding, "That it shew'd they had preserv'd in their Veins the heroick Blood

(a) This Doctor was an Italian by Extraction, his Father and his eldest Brother were successively the chief Interpreters of the English Nation; he was a very ingenious and learned Man, of an agreeable Conversation, and well-belov'd. He enjoy'd a good Fortune, and being unwilling to be oblig'd to any Woman for a greater one, he bought a Slave, whom he marry'd, after having bred her up to his Humour.

(b) Asiatick Troops so call'd.

“ of the ancient *Romans*. ” That as to the Order of Providence being disturb’d by it (as ’tis generally objected) he said, “ That as “ on the contrary, (according to this very Order, which is a continu- “ al Vicissitude and Revolution of Forms and Modifications of the “ Matter of which the World is made of,) we must die one Day “ or another, either willing or unwilling; it could not suffer, or be “ disturb’d by our hastening thus our End, when under a great Mis- “ fortune or Perplexity of Mind, (which might render us weary of Life) “ or by our Bodies returning some Days, Months or Years, sooner “ in the Mass of the Matter which they are made of, and becom- “ ing Parts of Vegetables or of other Bodies. ” Whether he learn’d at *Oxford*, (where he took the Degree of Doctorship) that Contempt of Life, or in any other Part of *England* where, as I hear of, no Week passes but what furnishes us with Examples of Self-murderers; or he really was afraid of being put to Death by the *Turks*, (which was *ne moriari mori*, to perish for fear of perishing) or would leave this for a Pretence or Reason for his Cruelty to himself, I can’t tell; but you have not forgotten how he exclaim’d against the *French* and other Christian Laws, in respect of *Suicides*, whose Bodies are ignominiously and inhumanly drawn through the Streets, and deny’d even Sepulture, and their Estates, said he, unjustly confiscated to the Government; and how on the contrary he extoll’d those of the *English*, who bury them as honourably as others, and don’t rob their Heirs of their Right of Inheritance. As he was too positive in his Sentiments, that he did not like our contradicting him; as you may remember, when we told him, that the generous Indulgence of *English* Laws was not an Approbation of the Action, but deeming *Lunatick* those who had committed it, if they had been *compotes mentis* during the whole Course of their Life, the very committing of it was a Sign of the contrary; and that we found more Courage in supporting a great Misfortune, than sinking thus under it; and that he reproach’d us thereupon of being not *Philosophers*. When I recollect all this, it seems to me a Design already form’d in his Heart, of which we see the accomplishing, to immortalize his Courage in the Mind of some *English Philosophers* of his Principles; his recommending his Family to the *English* Ambassador, seem’d a prudent Confidence he preserved, that his Family should not suffer by it; as to the *Turks* having no Examples of Self-murderers among themselves, they have no Laws for, and he was perswaded that therefore they would not suffer his Body to be exposed to any Indignities in their own Country by those of any other Nation, and he was not deceiv’d in this; the *Latin* Bishop of *Philippopoli*, had it accompany’d decently to the Grave with a Couple of Priests, but for the rest you know his Answer, as that of * Dr. *le Duc*, to the *Quæris quo post mortem jaceas loco*; but *requiescat in pace*. I return to our Congress.

R

The

* Dr. *le Duc* was born in Normandy, a Man of many good Parts, a great Admirer and Follower of Epicurus. He went first to settle at Smyrna as a Doctor, where he told me, that happening to have a hot Fever with a Delirium, the very Night this City was almost totally destroy’d by a terrible Earthquake; about 32 Years ago, every body being in great Confusion, and his Nurse having left him for some Minutes, he rose from his Bed, stole away, and went to throw himself in a Pan of Water which was in his Garden, and had been drowned, if she with a Servant had not come to look for him and relieve him; but that he was cured thereby, both of his Fever and Delirium, and never was Sick since. He was at Constantinople in my Time, and a great Promoter of Inoculation. He was, like Dr. Timone, a better Physician than Roman Catholick. A Jesuit Director of Conscience to his Wife (a very
virtuous

The *Plenipotentiaries* being all met at *Passarowitz*, have concluded the Peace on the Foot of *uti possidetis*, or thereabouts, as you'll see by a Copy of the Treaty that I'll send you by the next Opportunity; by which the *Venetians* are the greatest Sufferers, and the *Germans* the greatest Gainers, for they keep *Belgrade* and *Temeswar*, with their Dependences, &c. Sir *Robert Sutton* has done Miracles on this Occasion, having made our good *Musselmans* give up *Belgrade*, with a good Air, or as the *French* say, *de bonne grace*; and to look on themselves as happy, that the *German* Progresses are thus stop'd. Pray write me of the chief Circumstances which you hear of Admiral *Bing's* Expedition. If what I have heard be true, he may also say with *Cæsar*, *I came, saw, and overcame*. 'Twere to be wish'd, that all the *European* Wars had been ended with so much Rapidity, it would have saved her abundance of Blood and Treasure.

NUMB. XXV.

Extract of the Indictment of Baron Goertz, upon which he was
Beheaded the 19th of March. 1719.

IN the Year 1714. the second of *January*, when Counsellor *Bas-
sewitz* was sent Envoy Extraordinary from *Holstein* to the Czar's Court, Baron *Goertz* gave him in his Instructions, among other Things, to insinuate to the Czar, that he might expect whatsoever Service that Court was capable of, both in respect to the Succession to the Crown of *Sweden*, and to his Designs in the present War; and to make that Prince sensible, that it was offer'd and agreed on the Part of *Holstein* (when the *Swedes* march'd into *Toninghen*) to manage Matters so, that their whole Army be therein imprison'd, and oblig'd to surrender with General *Steinbock*, to the Discretion of the Northern Allies, which happen'd accordingly—— to inform him, that if he would make Peace with *Sweden* in the King's Absence, the States of the Kingdom would authorize the Senate to treat with him——

vertuous and pious Woman who died some Years before him of the Plague) reproaching him with frequenting too seldom the Church; He answer'd, Husband and Wife are but one; my Wife goes there every Sunday and Holidays, and oftener, and consequently I. She happening one Day to make his Son (a pretty ingenious Youth, who died lately here in London) to repeat his Latin Prayers, and among them the Litany, which he performed without omitting one Word, she applauded him for it; but the Doctor being present, said very gravely, My dear Son, you have forgotten the Saint who works more Miracles than all the rest. And the Son asking who she was? He answer'd, Sancta Diæta. The Child believing it so, and repeating one Saturday his Litany, with other Prayers, before his Master, at the Jesuit's School in Galata, put her at the Head of all Saints, naming her even before Sancta Maria, (the Virgin Mary) thus, Sancta Diæta ora pro nobis. Whereupon the Master asked him, Who taught him so? He answer'd, My Father, who says, she works more Miracles than all the rest. The Master looking upon that as a prophane Bantring, pardoned it to the Child's Ignorance, but went to reprimand the Doctor, who confirm'd what he had said, and even explain'd it thus; Father, daily Experience shews, "That Diet saves a World of People from Death, which cannot be said of all our Saints." The Master getting no other Satisfaction of him, forbid the Son to mention for the future such a false Saint. He died about the 75th Year of his Age. Whilst he was drawing near to the last Moment, the aforesaid Jesuit came to hear his Confession, and make him sensible of Eternity, but he refus'd to Confess, Saying, "I liv'd always an honest Man, I have no other Sin on my Conscience, but permitting my Wife to comply with a Vow, which she did (I believe by your Perswasion during one Sicknes) to Saint Ignatius, and gave 100 Ducats to your Church thereby, which was robbing my Son and Daughter of so much from their Inheritance." Then turning his Head to the Inside of his Bed, spoke no more, but expir'd a few Minutes afterwards.

him— He writes him on the 24th of *February*, to let the *Czar* know that the *Swedes* were for dethroning the absent King, and offering the Crown to the Princess his Sister, and that in *Holstein* they intended to separate their Interests from those of *Sweden*—— In one Letter to the same, dated the 10th of *March*, that there were great Jealousies and Divisions about the Succession in *Sweden*, where the Affairs of the Duke did not go to their Wish ; therefore he thought an Alliance between his Highness and his *Czarean* Majesty, was the surest Way to be taken—— That he, the said Envoy, would propose it on these Conditions, among others, that the *Czar* would assist the Duke to ascend that Throne, and give him the Princess of *Muscovy* in Marriage, according to the Proposals already made to his *Czarian* Majesty thereupon (which were to the Disadvantage of *Sweden*)— that he Baron *Goertz*, inspired the King with a Mistrust of his Subjects, rendring them odious to his Majesty, as appears by a Scheme of his in 1716. relating to the Marks of Money, call'd *Myntetekens*, *State-Obligations*, &c. wherein he accuses them of Disaffection, so far as choosing rather to bury 30, 40, nay, even 50,000 Rix-Dollars, and thus be deprived of their Interest, than to advance and lend any Money to his Majesty—— One Letter of Mr. *Ravensclau* from *Vienna*, the second of *October*, 1717. confirms the Opinion which foreign Powers had of him, in respect of a Peace, so necessary and so much wish'd for, viz. That he dissuaded his *Swedish* Majesty from sending Ministers to the Congress of *Brunswick* ; First, in one of his own Letters to the King (which he desires that Prince to burn) he promises to contrive or make such the Treaty of *Aland*, that his Majesty might, when he pleas'd, break it and renew the War—— In another under the 28th *February*, 1718. to that Prince, he accuses the Governors of Provinces of being slow and backwards in the Execution of his Orders, so that every Thing goes worse and worse by their Management, advises him ther efore to associate them Assistants of his (Baron *Goertz*) Choice, who shall be no way so speculative, but always readily active, and have a watchful Eye on them, and perform Orders as soon as receiv'd—— In another to his Majesty under the 19th of *April*, that a true Zeal is not to be depended upon from the *Swedish* Merchants, but that, to the Discouragement of *Myntetekens*, they will rather keep their Iron than sell it for that Species ; therefore he advises him to seize upon all, both good Money and Effects, in that Country—— One to Secretary *Vankoken*, shews that he was principally concerned in the new coining of Money, and the chief Gainer by it—— In one of the 4th of *May*, he tells the King, that the Provinces where the Regulation is on the worst Footing, are *Calmar*, *Sudermeland*, *Upland*, with *Stockholm*, *Karaborg*, *Wermeland*, therefore he desires the Liberty of choosing Assistants to the Governors—— Under the 16th of *June*, he advises to buy all the Iron from the Forges for *Myntetekens*—— Under the 11th of *July*, to change *Bank Notes* for *Bank Actions*—— He writes to C. *Van Dernath* in 28 *August*, that the King neither designs, nor is able to pay what he owes to the *Bank*. To which C. *Van Dernath* answers, that then he foresees nothing by all his (Baron *Goertz*) Projects and Schemes but a total Ruin of the publick Credit ; desires him to consider it, and moderate the Expences and Oppressions of the People, &c.—— He (Baron *Goertz*) writes him, on the 23d of *September*,

tember, That this depended on the King, who was the Master, &c.
 —He (Baron Goertz) in a Memorial to the King, dated the 18th of *October*, accuses the Magistrates of *Stockholm*, of misapplying the Poors Money—— He sends to Secretary *Cederstrom* on the 27th, a Scheme of a new Tax, with a Letter to the King, in which he desires his Majesty, instead of Two *per Cent.* which he had propos'd in that Scheme, may be pleas'd to impose one of his own sole Will and Authority, of Six *per Cent.* Accordingly a most pernicious Edict or *Placaert* was made, ordering that every *Swedish* Subject should pay towards erecting Magazines of Corn, and all other Necessaries for the Army, the Sixth Penny of his whole Estate within or without the Kingdom, whether consisting in Land, Mortgages, ready Money, Government-Funds, or Effects; in short, the 6th Part of whatever he had in the World. And to the End that no one might conceal his Effects; he should be oblig'd to take an Oath upon it, &c.—— Which *Placaert* or Edict was to remain in full force during the War; but the Effect of which was prevented by his Majesty's Death, as was, by the Honesty of our Nation, that of another *Placaert* no less pernicious, giving in Pawn and for Security, the six Estates, as Houses and Lands of them who would not lend Money to the King at 6 *per Cent.* to those who would; and besides that Interest, a Right to purchase the said Estates—— On the 28th, he (Baron Goertz) sends to the King an account of his Merits, as being the only Person on whom his Majesty might depend, and giving to that Prince all the ill Impressions imaginable of all his other most faithful Servants; adding, That in respect to the *Deputation* Affairs, he would not acknowledge any but his Majesty's immediate Orders—— He writes to Count *Van Dernath*, his Colleague, that his Majesty approv'd of all his Transactions—— The Count answers, “ That he sees Things so far overturn'd, and near
 “ brought to ruin by his Projects; That against his Scheme and Promise
 “ to the Publick, the *Myntetekens* are encreas'd so much, that they
 “ never will be paid; That the *State Obligations* are look'd upon as
 “ so many Cheats; That he complains that he orders him Things
 “ not possible to be executed; That there are in his Order to the
 “ *Deputation* such mental Reservations, and so many Contradicti-
 “ ons, that they knew not how to act; That it seems that he (Baron
 “ Goertz) will go on with his Projects as long as there is a Piece
 “ of good Money in the Country; That the Funds are not suffi-
 “ cient to maintain so many Troops as he would have kept on Foot,
 “ no more than to ever discharge the *State-Obligations* and the
 “ *Myntetekens*, by reason of the *Norway* Campaign; That every Bo-
 “ dy look'd on all the Troops being carry'd out of the Kingdom,
 “ and kept there in *Winter*, to besiege a Place hardly worth the
 “ loss of one Man, as an Invitation of the *Czar* to enter on the side
 “ of *Helsingland*, or a Design to ruin them there both by Cold and
 “ Famine. That he (Count *Van Dernath*) cannot himself judge it
 “ otherwise, by the Measures he sees him taking, and that his last
 “ Project for the new *Imposition* seem'd to be forg'd in Hell.

It is evident, That Baron Goertz by all these, and too many other such Projects and Counsels to the King, encouraged and enabled his Majesty to continue a War, which brought the utmost Misery on his People (with the Destruction of his Forces) and at last, our great Monarch to his fatal End: For which the whole Nation does now mourn.

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Chap. XIII. From p. 339. to p. 369. Of the Congress at Loffo. The King of Sweden's Campaign in Norway, his Death and Character. Baron Goertz, Count Van Der-nath and other Strangers arrested. The Princess Ulrica Eleonora declar'd Queen by the Army, the Clergy, and Senate, but elected for such afterwards by the States, who declares the Swedish Crown to be Elective as formerly; their different Acts of Election, Assurance, &c. Abolition of the despotick Power, Form of Government, &c. Baron Goertz try'd, makes his own Epitaph in Prison, when condemn'd to Death. His Behaviour both in Prison and at the Place of Execution, his Character, &c. the King's Funeral and the Queen's Coronation, &c.

Chap. XIV. From p. 369. to p. 380. A Treaty of Alliance renewed between Sweden and England; a Peace concluded between the Queen of that Country, and the King of England as Elector, and with the King of Prussia. A Voyage to the Isles of Aland. The Congress dissolved at Loffo. The Peace with the King of Poland; Suspension of Arms agreed upon between Sweden and Denmark. Prince of Hesse Cassel's Accession to the Throne by her Swedish Majesty, his Royal Consort's generous Resignation, and by the Consent of the States; His Coronation; the Peace publish'd with Denmark; and his Progress to Upsala and Westeras.

Chap. XV. From p. 380. to p. 390. A Voyage to Denmark on board Sir John Norris; A Storm in our Passage; Description of Copenhagen, its Harbour, publick Edifices, Chamber of Curiosities. A Trip from thence to Hamburgh; Remarks by the Way on Roschild, Odenfee, Rensburgh, &c. Sleswick, Gottorp, &c. Departure from Hamburgh for England. Few Remarks on Bremen by the Way.

Ch. XVI. p. 390, to p. 432. Of London; Remarks on the South Sea; On the Inoculation of the Small Pox there. Hell Fire Club and publick Vices. Duke of Buckingham's Death, and Epitaph made by himself.

A Conspiracy discover'd and prevented. D. of Marlborough's Death and magnificent Funeral. The Bishop of Rochester and some Temporal Peers, and other Persons, arrested on Account of the Conspiracy. The Pretender's Manifesto burnt by the Hangman. Party Divisions. Christopher Layer executed. Penalties inflicted on the said Bishop, Mr. Kelly, and other Prisoners by Act of Parliament, with their Defence. The D. of Buckingham's posthumous Works suppress'd, and why. French Refugees divided among themselves; Their Directors of the Royal Bounty complain'd of. Some Remarks on the Turkish Law, and the Way of buying Slaves, on occasion of a Cossack Maid seduced clandestinely away from my Family, and the Usage I met in London thereupon. Characters of the late Duke of Orleans, a short Account of Meriwesys. The K. of England's Return from his Ger. Dominions. Appendix, Numb. I. Pag. 1. The Porte's Declaration of War against the Czar. P. 2. N. II. Treaty for a Neutrality in Germany. P. 5. N. III. K. of Sweden's Protest against it. P. 6. N. IV. Mr. Poniatousky's Letter to K. Stanislaus, upon the Peace of Pruth, &c. P. 10. N. V. The Treaty. P. 11. N. VI. A new Declaration of War against the Czar. P. 12. N. VII. The G. Seignior's Letter to the K. of Sweden.

P. 13. N. VIII. The King's Answer. Ibid. N. IX. Dr. Timone's historical Dissertation on the Inoculation of the Small Pox. P. 16. 17 & 18. N. X. & XI. C. Welling's Letters on the Swedish Affairs. P. 19. N. XII. Account of Whigs and Tories. P. 20. N. XIII. A Letter to myself on the Porte's Conduct, concerning the K. of Sweden and the Czar. P. 21. & 22. N. XIV & XV. The G. Seignior's Letters to the Bashaw and Han at Bender, for the K. of Sweden's Departure. P. 23, 24. N. XVI & XVII. The Han's Letters to his Majesty thereupon. Ibid. N. XVIII. The King's Answer. P. 25. N. XIX. Other Letters of C. Welling's. P. 26, &c. N. XX. Three Letters of Mr. Fabrice's, upon the King's Difference with the Porte about his Departure. P. 51, 52. N. XXI. Two Letters to myself, one received in London, the other afterwards at Constantinople, on his Majesty's Affairs at Demotica. P. 53. N. XXII. The King's Letter to the new Han. Ibid. N. XXIII. Bar. Goert's Plan, presented to the K. of S. at Ystad, for coining Copper Species, &c. and redressing the State of the Finances in Sweden, &c. P. 56. N. XXIV. Three Letters from a Friend at Constantinople, concerning the War between the Venetians, the Emperor, and the Porte; and the Peace of Passarowitz, &c. P. 66. N. XXV. B. Goertz's Indictment.

E R R A T A, omitted in the First Volume.

Page 38. l. 46. a Wall, r. a Well. p. 42. l. 17. *Geustimani*, r. *Giustimiani*. p. 44. after Piazza, dele de. ib. l. 18. *Verospi*, r. *Vorospi*. p. 65. 2d. N. B. I had the *Turcoise vase*, Print VII. N. 1, engraved without the Dedication. p. 67. for 3. r. III. N. 3. p. 120. for SCALDI. N. 1. r. SCALDIM. p. 404. N. XIX. There is omitted the following Secret of *Galanterie* or *Amour*, used among the *Turks*, to make known what they please, without Speaking, or Writing, or Seeing one another; by sending Tokens by some Endswoman. As N. 3. print XXI. relating to p. 244. of the first Volume.

Marvi (any Thing blew) *Mahell oldumy*, I am charmed with thee. *Hinggy* (a Pearl) *ghienfsering ghenchgi* O thou young and fairest Eyes. *Sackizz* (Mastick) *Seni severem dikhber Kezz*, I love thee, O beautiful Maid.---*Zenzefill* (Ginger) *senden dostum iok gkeairy sendeh bil*, be assured that I love none but thee.---*Oodagatzey Lignum* (Aloes) *Kielhün hilhaddgzy*, sweet Medicine of my Heart.---*usum* (Grape) *ikky ghicufum*, My both Eyes;---*carfum* (Lead) *uscum sende durfum*, my Love is fixed in thee.---*Merfin* (Myrtle) may Heaven deliver thee to my Desires. *Selvi* (Cypress) *Yetter ettinghem dgeuri*, thou has made me suffer enough. *Aruzz* (Carrot) *Serien seningle Sevenmick Ghuizz*, thy Heart does cruelly resist.---*Tszemin* (Jesamin) *Szaktina Ekmyfin*, have thou sworn to be insensible.---*Ingir* (Fig) *benhim kim aghir*, from whom shall I get Comfort? *Eksir* (Nail) *sesin yessir*, thy Slave; *Pelim* (Wormwood) *Selim Ain Sefa* (Sun flower Seed) *Mistapha*. *Nusmella* (Medlar) *Optula*; *Sou* (Water) * *Dgiusu*, &c.

Amont (a Pear) *all benden bir Omout*, thou may Hope.---*Calem* (a Pen) *Taparem ghiogluni Tchekmeklem*, don't tear, thou shalt be comforted. *Toprack* (Earth) *esky doslek brack*, only leave off any old Love.---*Ball* (Honey) *guel bahna call Tchiatiremi et heal*, come then and take Possession of my Heart.---*Sohan* (Onion) *sesen belleren baghna collan*, that thy Hands may be my Girdle.---*Satchi* (Hair) *Batchimin hiladgi*, thou Crown of my Head.---*Ainnap* (*jujubs*) *sen ne ysteding iap*, do with me what thou wilt. *Clapidan* (Gold Thread) *seni ghiurmedim Tchiocktan*, I have not seen thee long while. *Nar* (Pomegranate) *Iki dostum var*, you have two Loves. *Ach* (Chal) *alcimis odunack*, thou has taken away my Reason.---*hall* (Aurora color) *dgianum dahi all*, take away also my Soul.---*Fustuck* (Pistacho) *ben sakna Kustuk*, I am angry with thee.---*Sesen Odalick*, Thy Mifs. *Ciche* (Glass) *Aighe*---*Metche* (Oak) *Cadidge Szuirmam*, (Black to paint Eye-brows with) * *Mareham*, i. e. Mary. Page 414. l. 21. before Nine dele (,) after *onrras* p. 430. l. 28. for 1 r. 4. ib. l. 29. after Deity (15) (18), were Vows or Offerings to the same. l. 31. for (19) r. (9.)

* *Mareham* signifies Mary, which Turkish Women often bear, as do Men that of *Dgiusu*, i. e. Jesus whom they believe to be the Son of the Virgin Mary.

E R R A T A, to the Second Volume.

Page 7. Line 1. for to, r. with. p. 10. l. 1. for havin geven, r. having even. p. 16. l. 11. for N. XXV. r. XXVI. l. 41. dele as. l. 48. f. *Saphis* r. *Spahis*. ibid. l. 12. after the, add *Visier*. l. 7. as tho' dele as. p. 20. in the Margin, for *Balta* r. *Baltagi*. p. 26. l. 16. for *Muttons*, r. *Sheep*. l. 29. (9.) r. (9.) ibid. (B) r. C. p. 33. l. 1. B. r. (b.) p. 35. Marg. for NV. r. NV. p. 39. l. 12. (B.) r. (c.) p. 47. l. 28. p. 50. l. 7. p. 53. l. 14. r. XXVI. r. XXVII. ibid. Art. p. 53. after one, add (f.) p. 73. l. 2. (6) r. VI. p. 78. l. 3. for (b) r. two like (g). p. 92. for B. *Imraour*, r. *Mehemet*, formerly *Ghiaous Bashaw*. p. 97. in the Margin for 22. r. 12-13. p. 100. l. 34. after seized, add the same Day Mr. *Fabrice* sent the first Letter in the Appendix to *Hamburg*. Ibid. for 24. r. 29. dele l. 49. and the 50th, as far as on. p. 101. l. 16. after him, add he. l. 17. after Purpose and, r. for. p. 129. l. 39. for *Lippe*, r. *Platen*. p. 165. last l. but one, for which r. these. p. 175. l. 6. after King, what follows is left out: Went to give a Visit in *Dresden*, where he was received with all those noble, polite, and civil Manners, whereby as well as so many other Royal Qualifications his *Polish* Majesty distinguishes himself in the World. This Prince shewed him the Citadel, all the Fortifications of the Place, the Arsenal, &c. in a Word, entertained him to his utmost Satisfaction. P. 181. l. 7. for left, r. least. p. 192. l. 31. for *Arctoris*, r. *Astois*, for que r. quæ. p. 217. l. 35. for *Chistiana*, r. *Christinham*. p. 25. l. 21. after IV add A, B. ibid. l. 23. and 24. after (q) (r) add &c. p. 28. l. 15. *Bothnick* r. *Bothnia*. p. 29. l. 32. discuss r. disk. p. 295. l. 43. for of r. or. p. 380. l. 35. Xber r. yber. p. 409. l. 8. dele not, and after infallible, add or can do no Wrong. p. 427. l. 54. after assisted, add but. p. 430. l. 47. after rich, add and polite. p. 431. l. 40. for strong r. strange. Append. p. 31. l. 24. f. age r. again.



TH

KALMUCHI

MARE

MARE

STRALSCOE

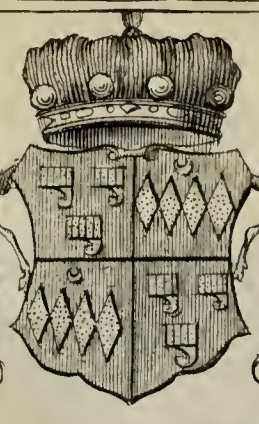
CASPIAN

Clarissimo Dno
Johanni Norris
Equit. aurat. Mag.
no Britanice Tha-
læsiæ Rarum uni-
versitatis Tabul. III
A. D. la. Motaye

Vagabundi Caracol-
= vakehzi

Vadasktchari





LOYAL DEVOIR

Excellentissimo
Johanni Carteret
Baroni de Stan'nat in Comit-
Bedford Mag. Brit. Regia consilia-
intimioribus & Primariorum Sta-
tus Secretarij uni &c. hanc tabe-
lam humillime inscribit
A. De La Motraye

MARE
ALBUM

MUSCOVITICUM

ONEGA
LACUS

PARS

SINUS FINNICUS

RE

M

Petersburgi Portus

BOHEMIA

PRUSSIA

Wilna

Soderham

Hudrickswall

Sundswall

Hernsfand

Umea

Pithua

Lulea

Rono

Tornea

Uleaburg

Uleaburg

Uleaburg

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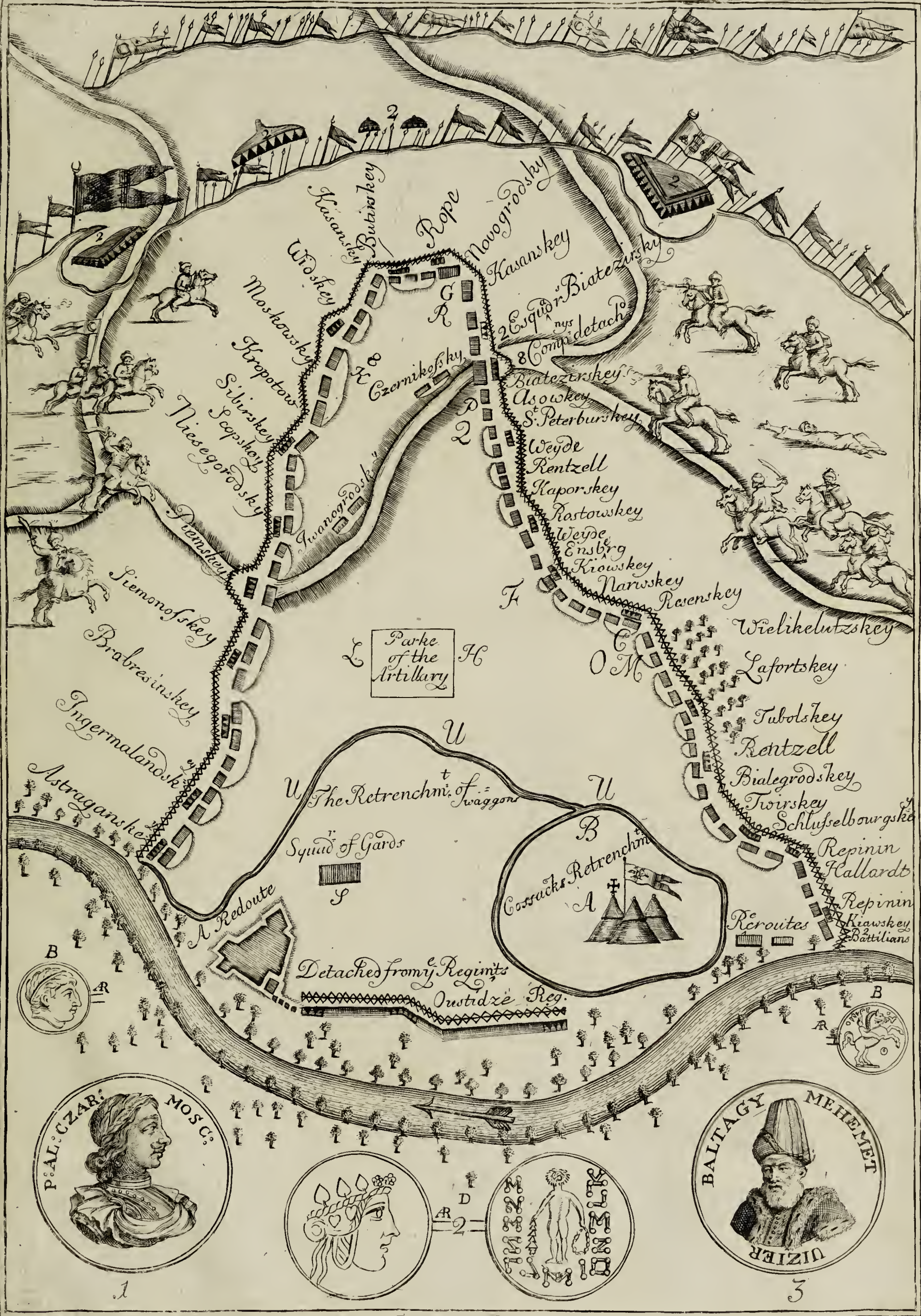
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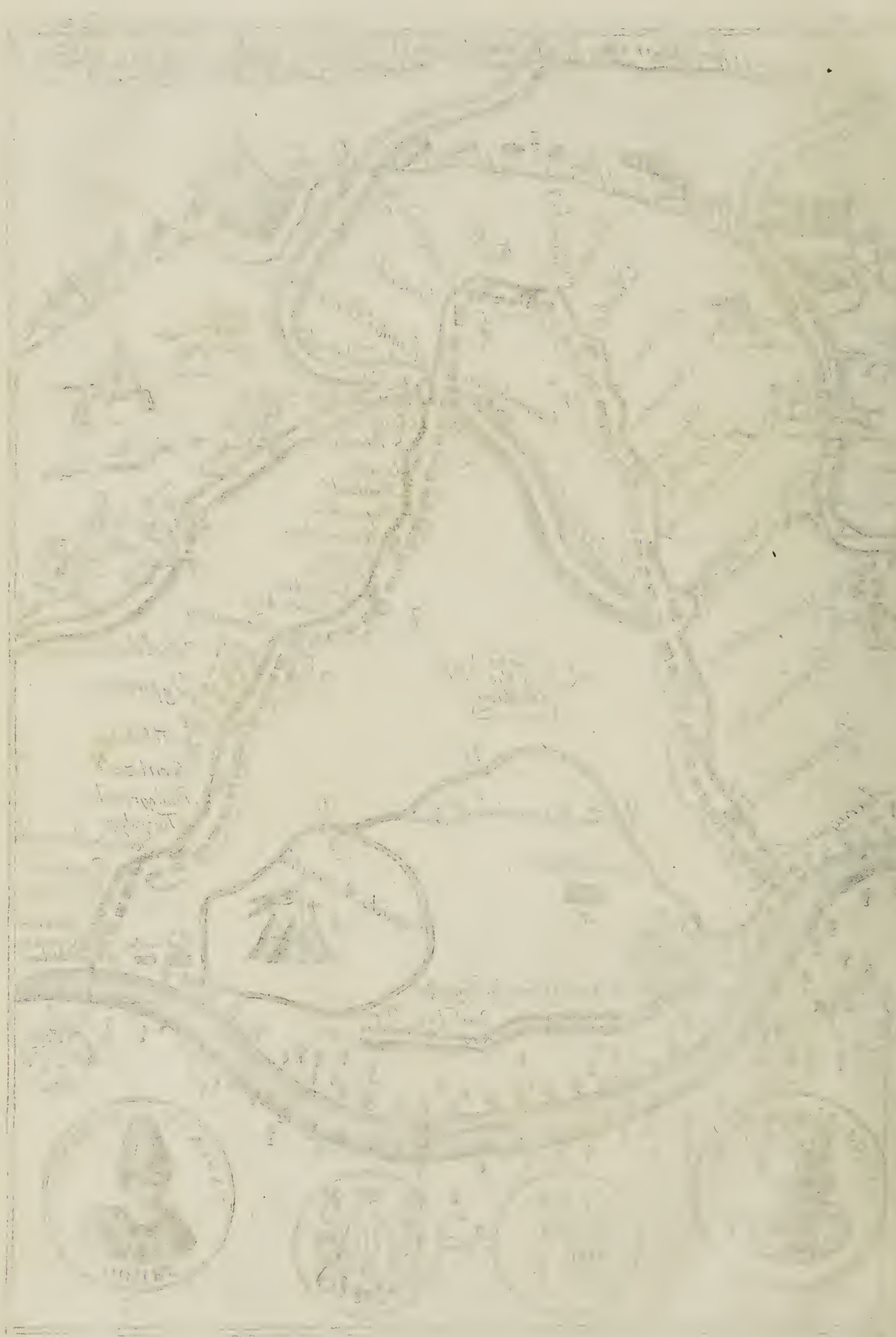
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ΘΕ ΑΓΑΤΟΡΟ ΜΑΤ ΑΡΜΕΔΙ



VI

HOA Y KAIR ΣΑΔΙΟΝΙΣΤ





1

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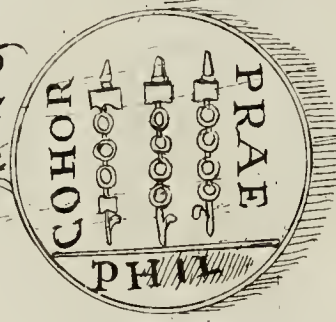
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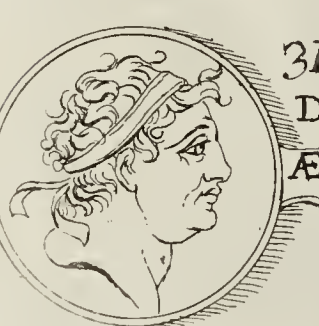
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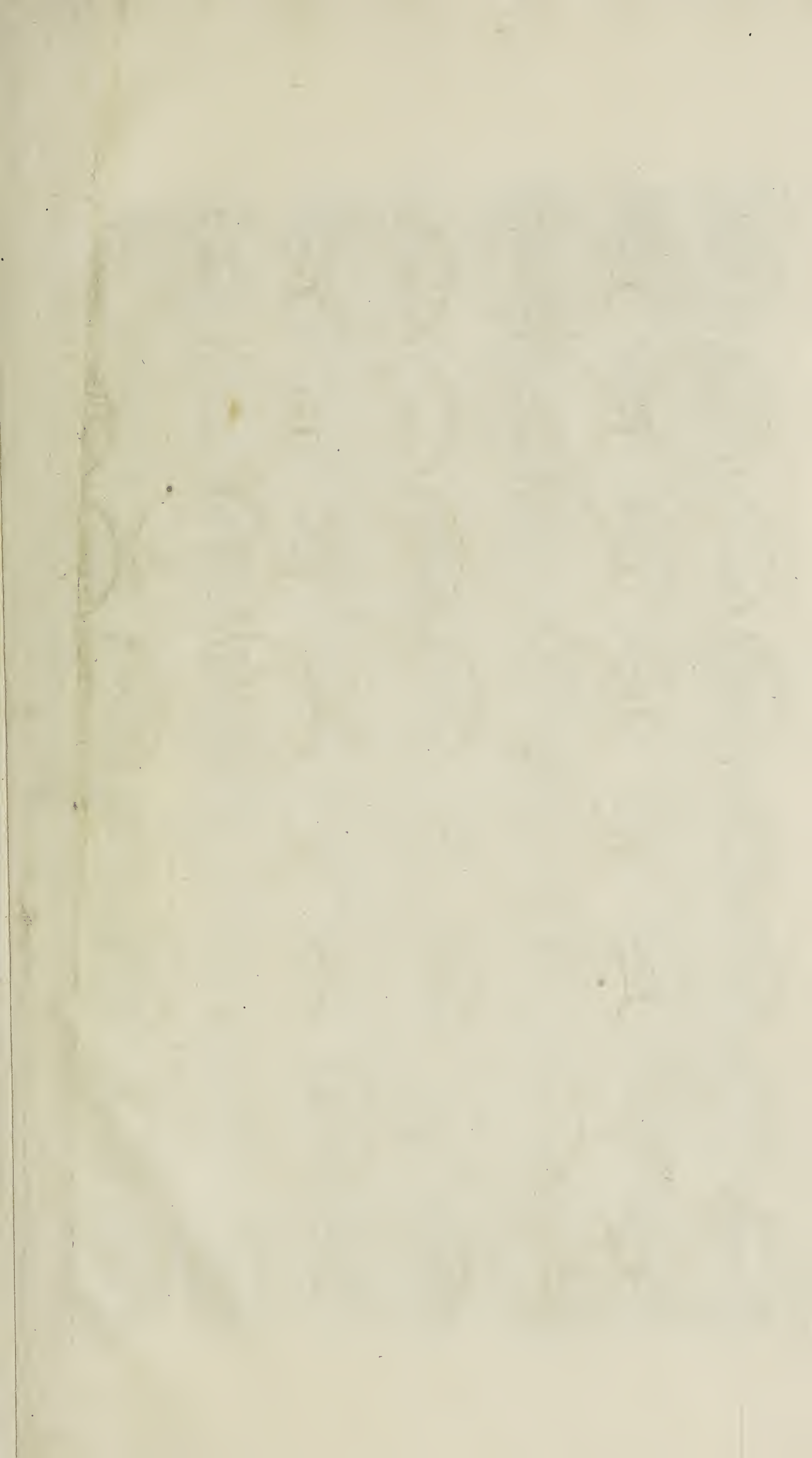


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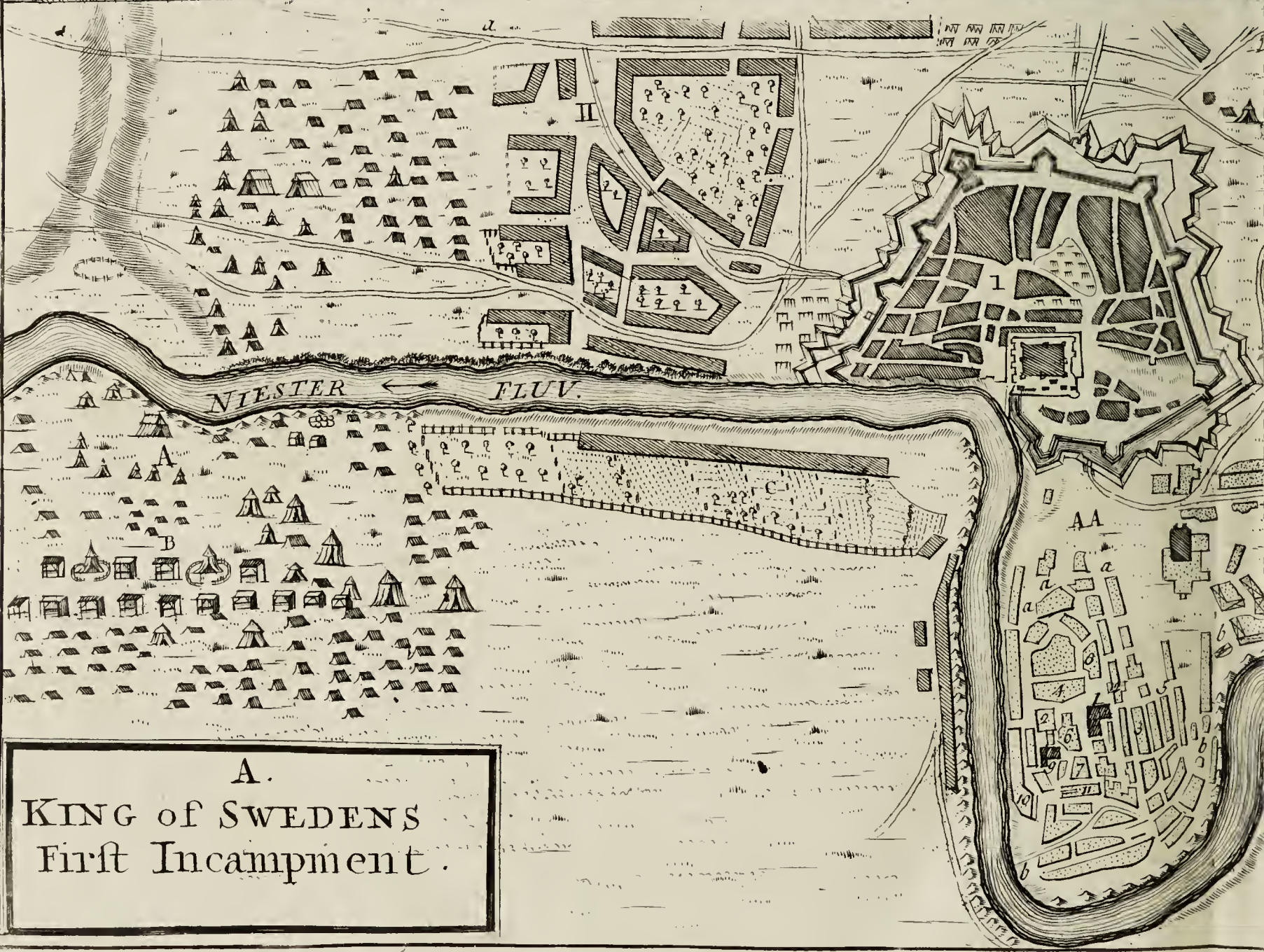








A.
Premier campement
du ROY de SUEDE.



A.
KING of SWEDENS
First Incampment.

N D E R

AA.

Second Campement du ROY de
SUEDE

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Sa Majesty. | 9. M. Le Col. Grothusen. |
| 2. M. Le. Gen. Sparre | 10. M. L'Envoÿ Fabrice. |
| 3. M. Le. Gen. Dahldorff. | 11. M. Le. Col. Funk. |
| 4. M. Le. Gen. Hohle | 12. M. Le. Col. Mentzer. |
| 5. M. Le. Gen. Poniatowsky | aa. Drabants ou |
| 6. M. Le. Chan Mullern. | gardes du Roy. |
| 7. Le. Cons. Fief. | bb. garde Turque. |
| 8. M. Le. March. Dubens. | |



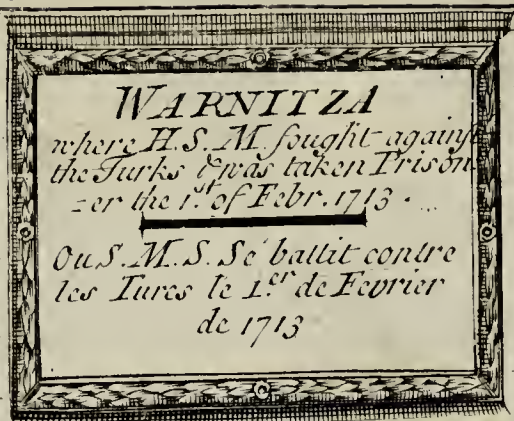
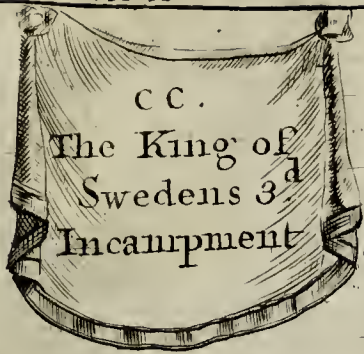
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AA

KING of SWEDENS Second
Incampment.

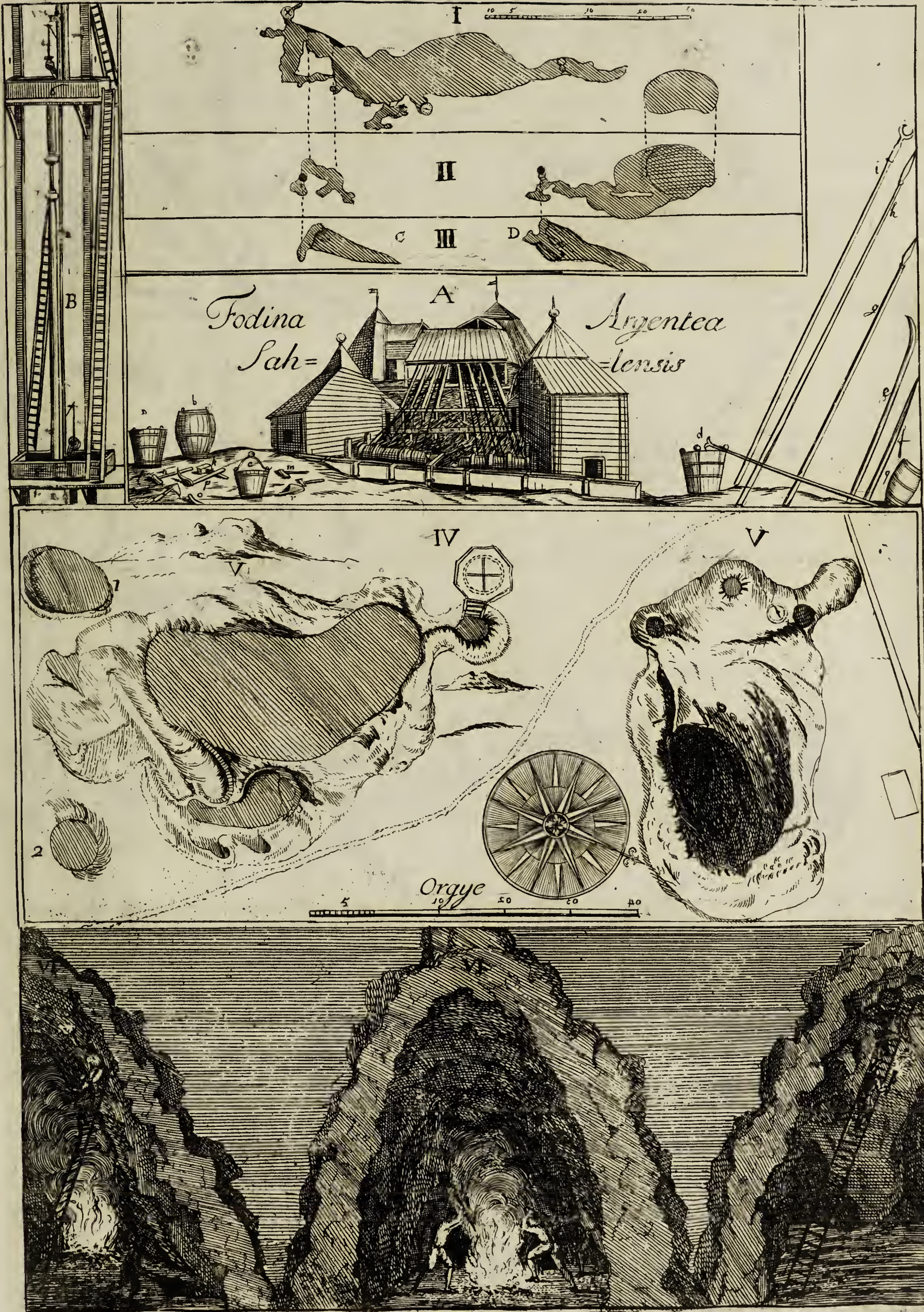
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|----------------------|--------------------|
| 1. His Majesty. | 8. March. Dubens |
| 2. Gen. Sparre. | 9. Col. Grothusen |
| 3. Gen. Dahldorff. | 10. Envoÿ Fabrice |
| 4. Gen. Hohle. | 11. Col. Funk |
| 5. Gen. Poniatowsky. | 12. Col. Mentzer |
| 6. Chan Mullern. | aa. Drabants |
| 7. Count. Fief. | bb. Turkish guards |

Scala. Pas.
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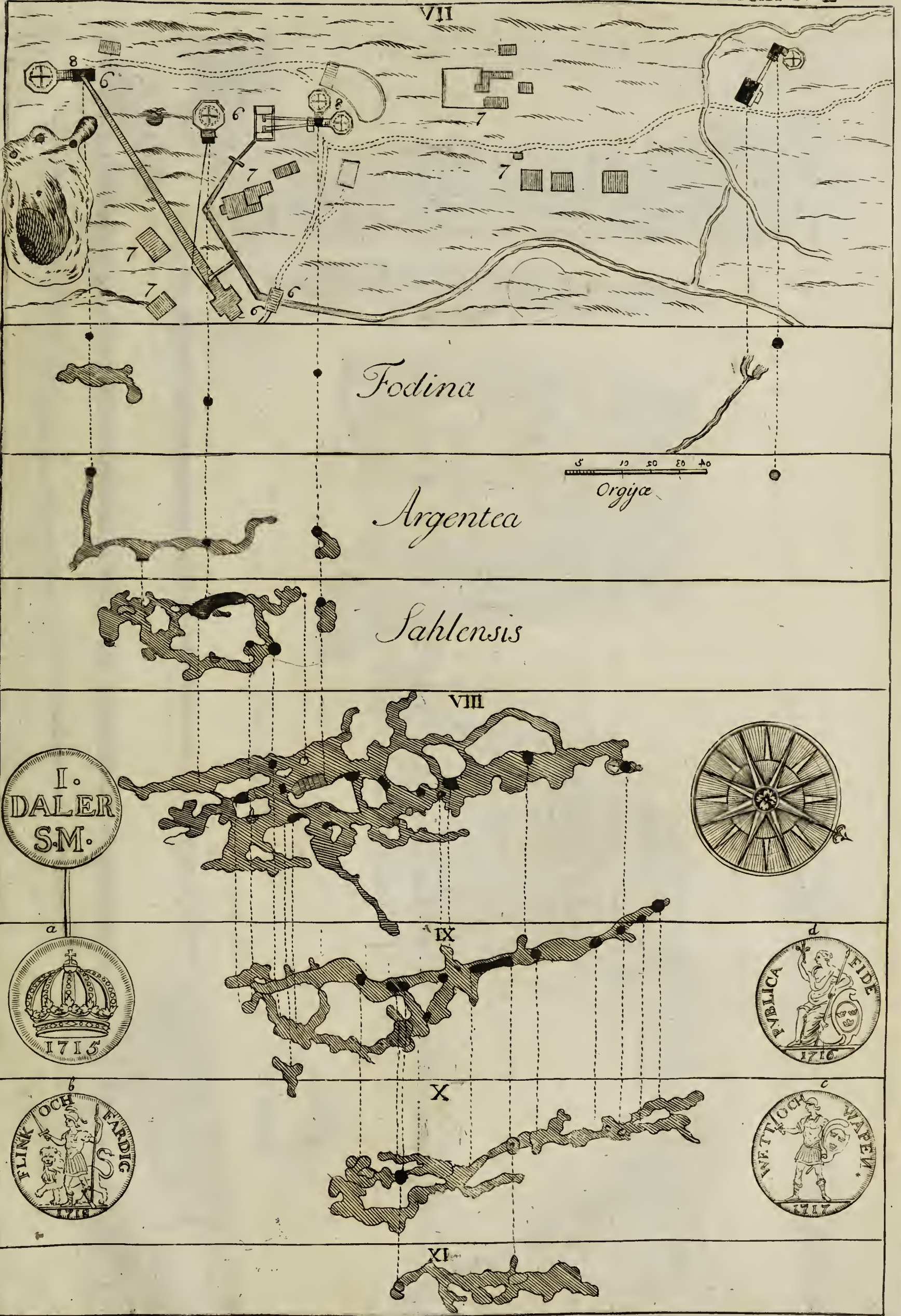






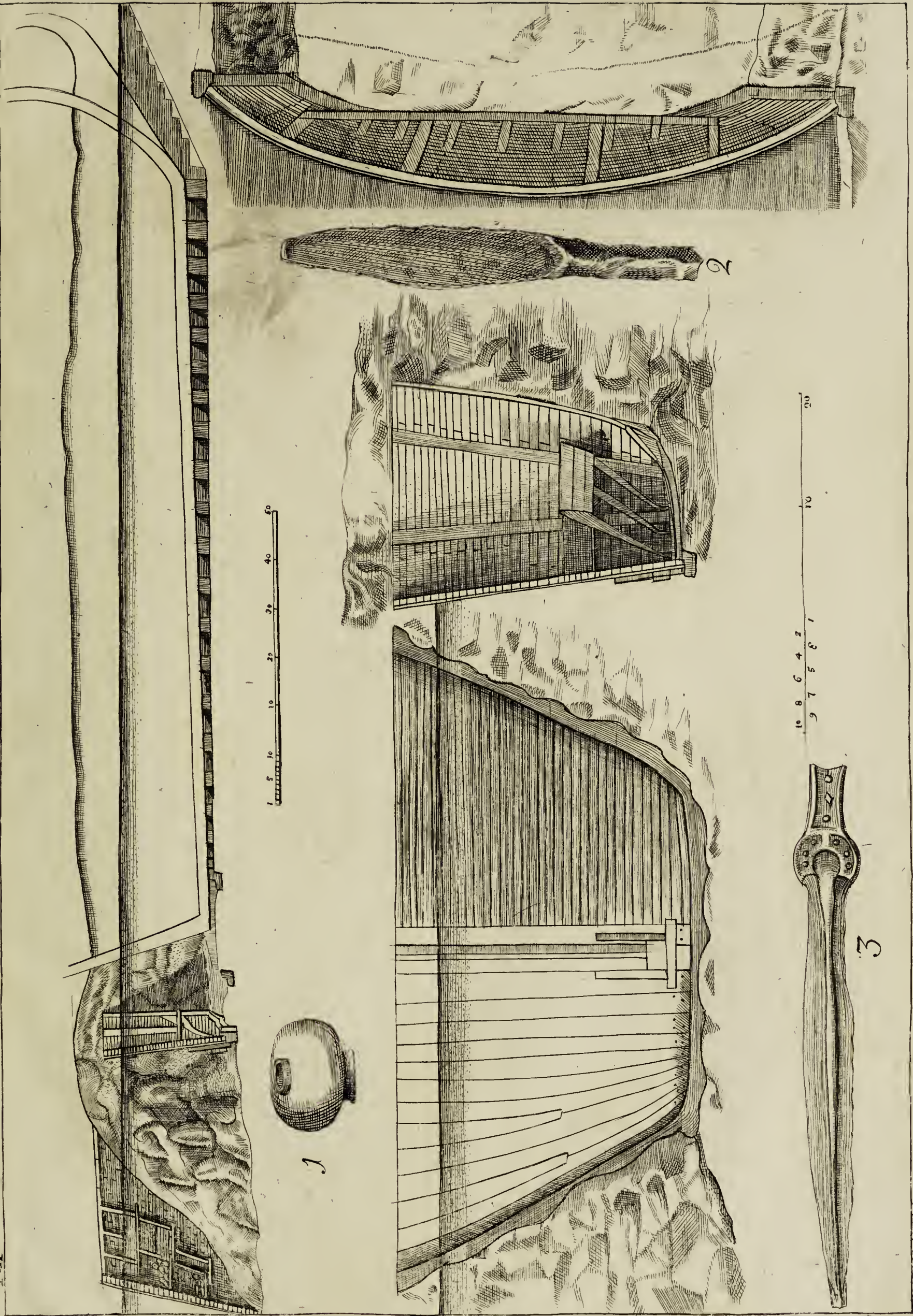




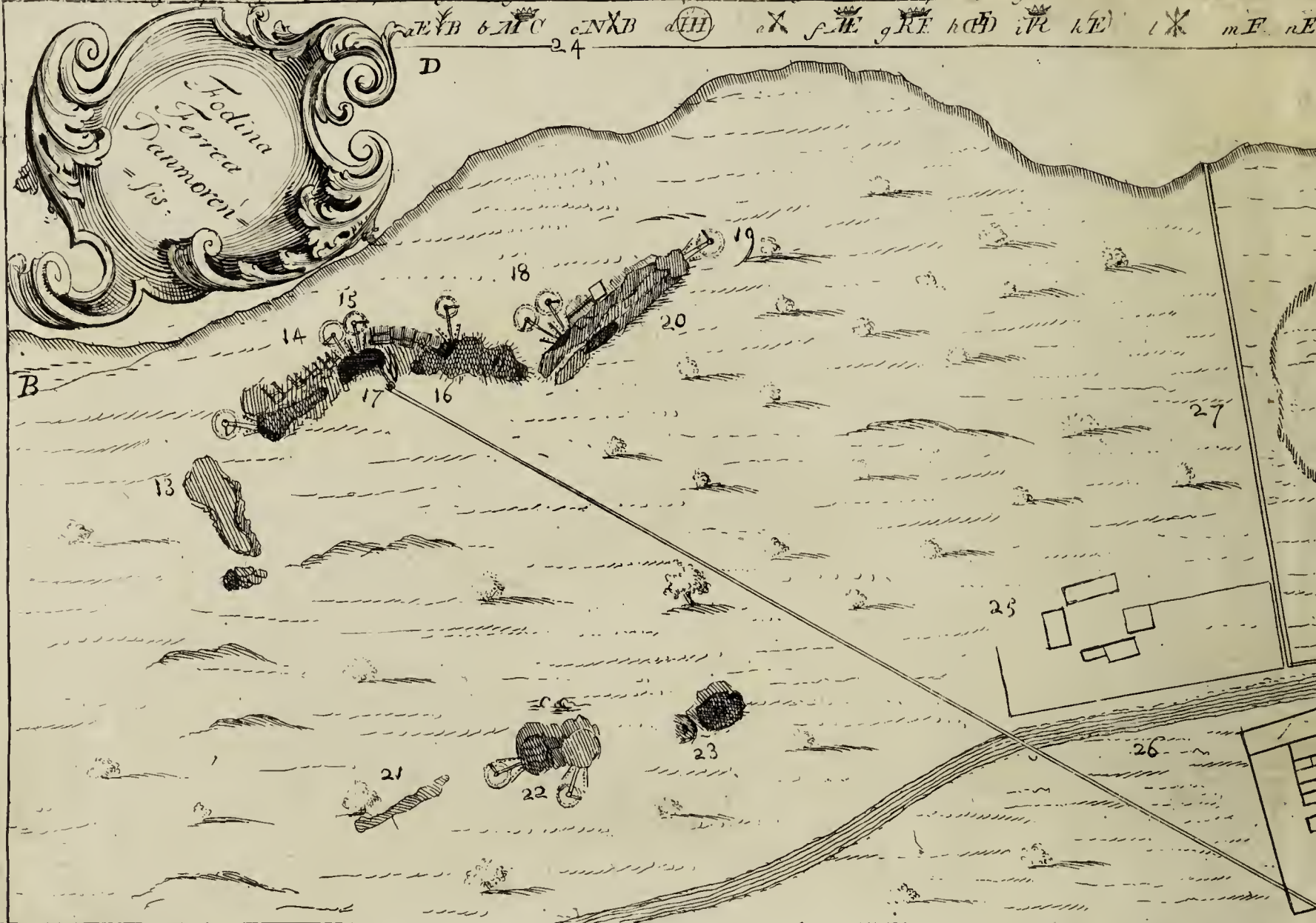




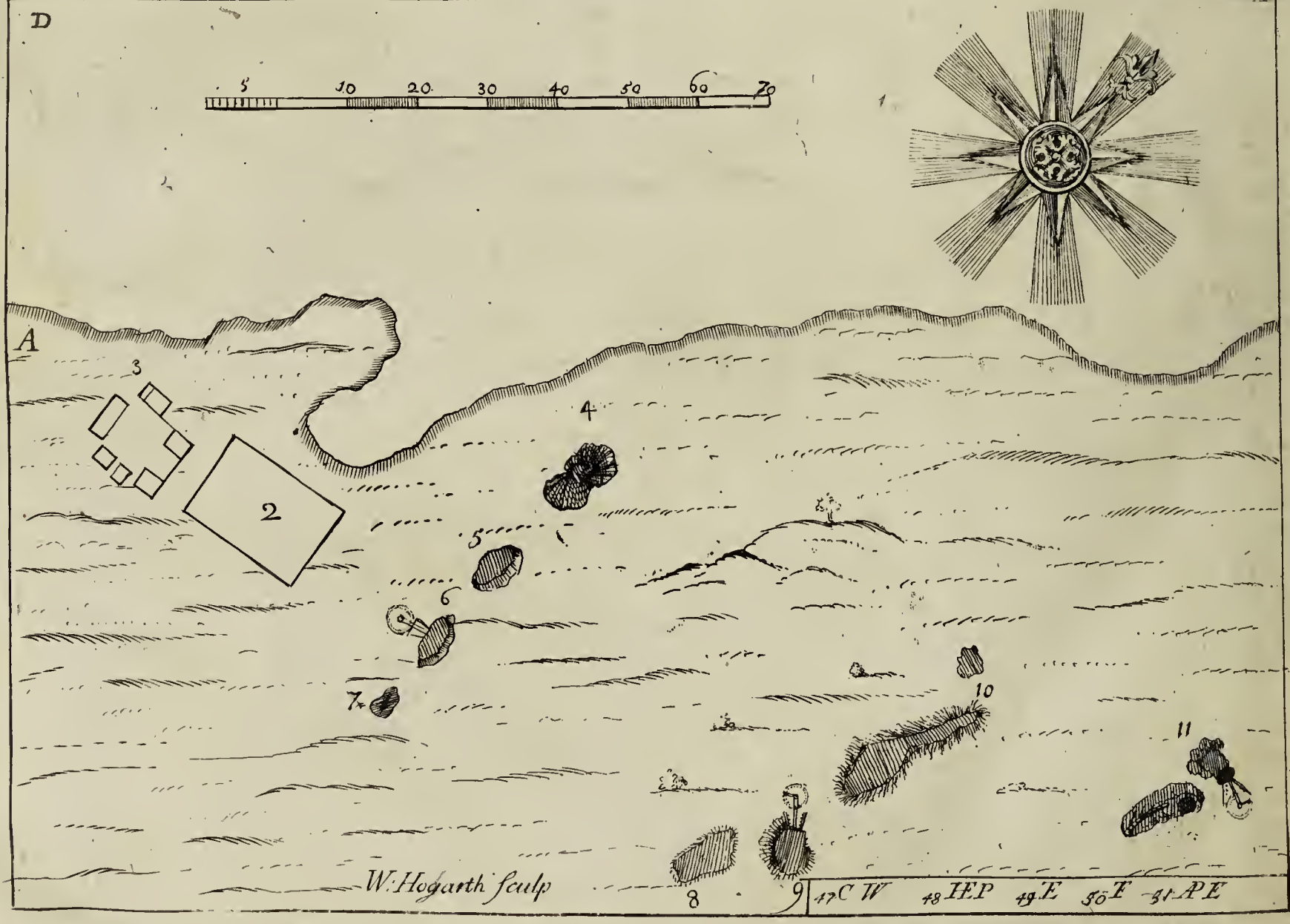
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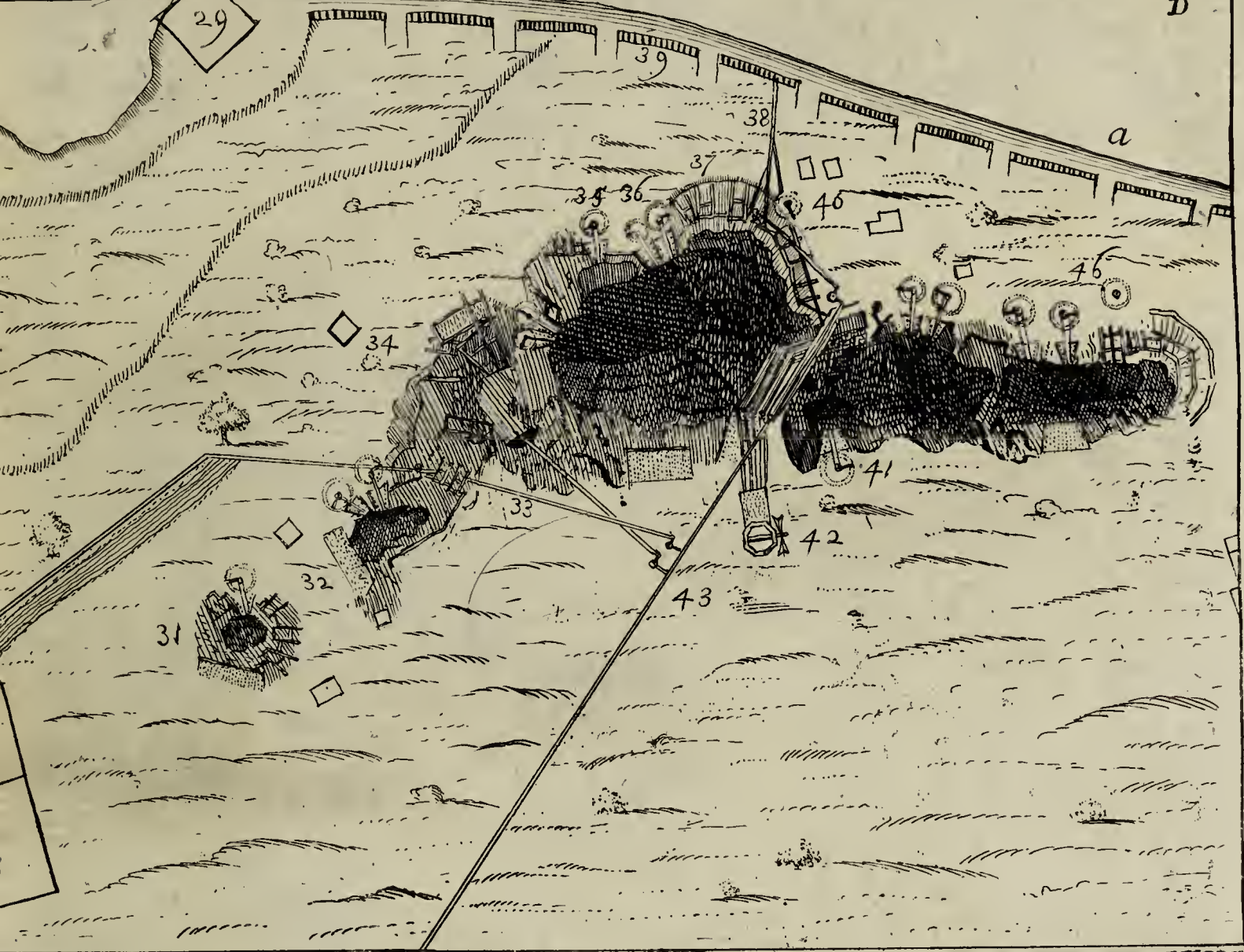
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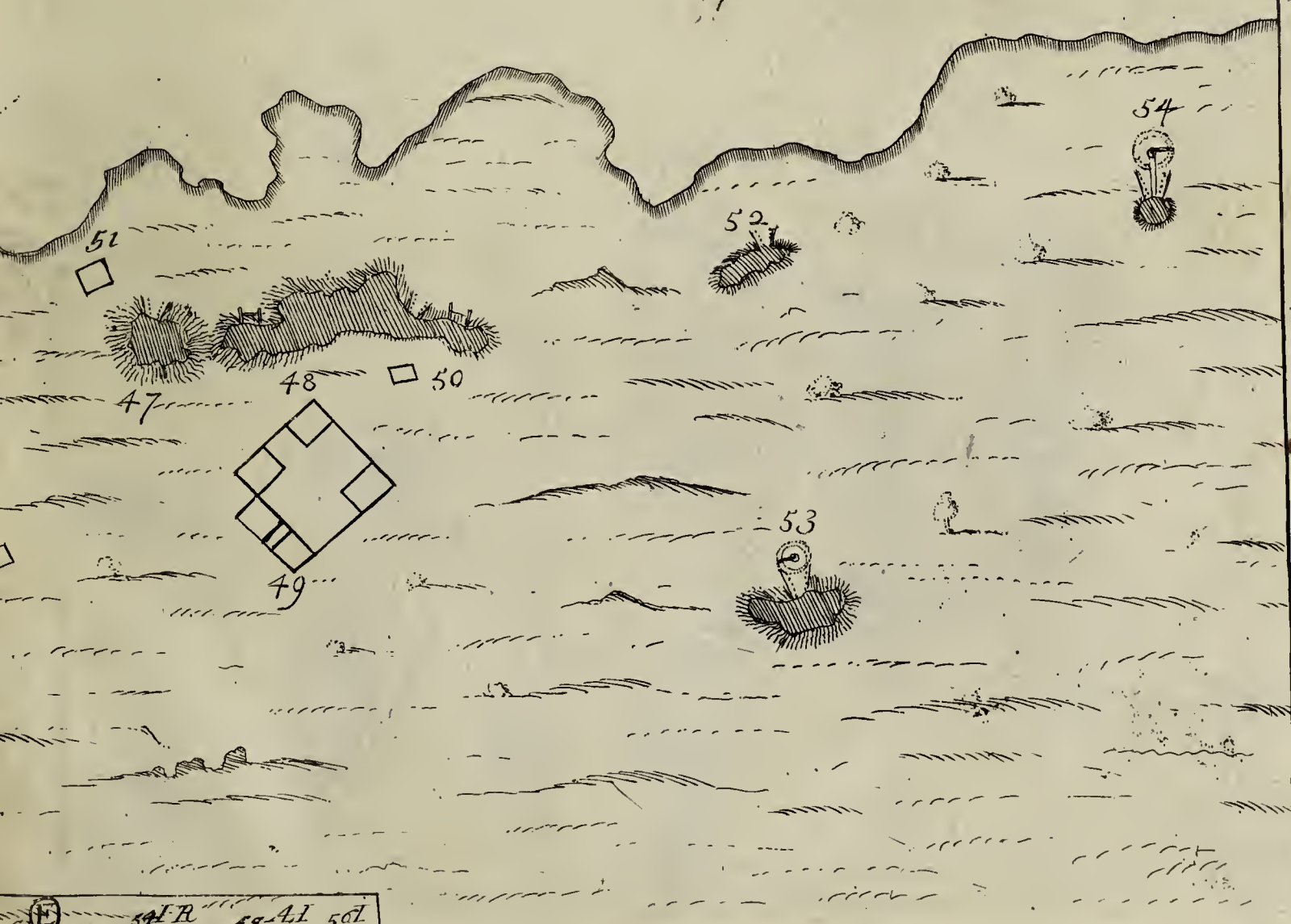
W. Hogarth sculp

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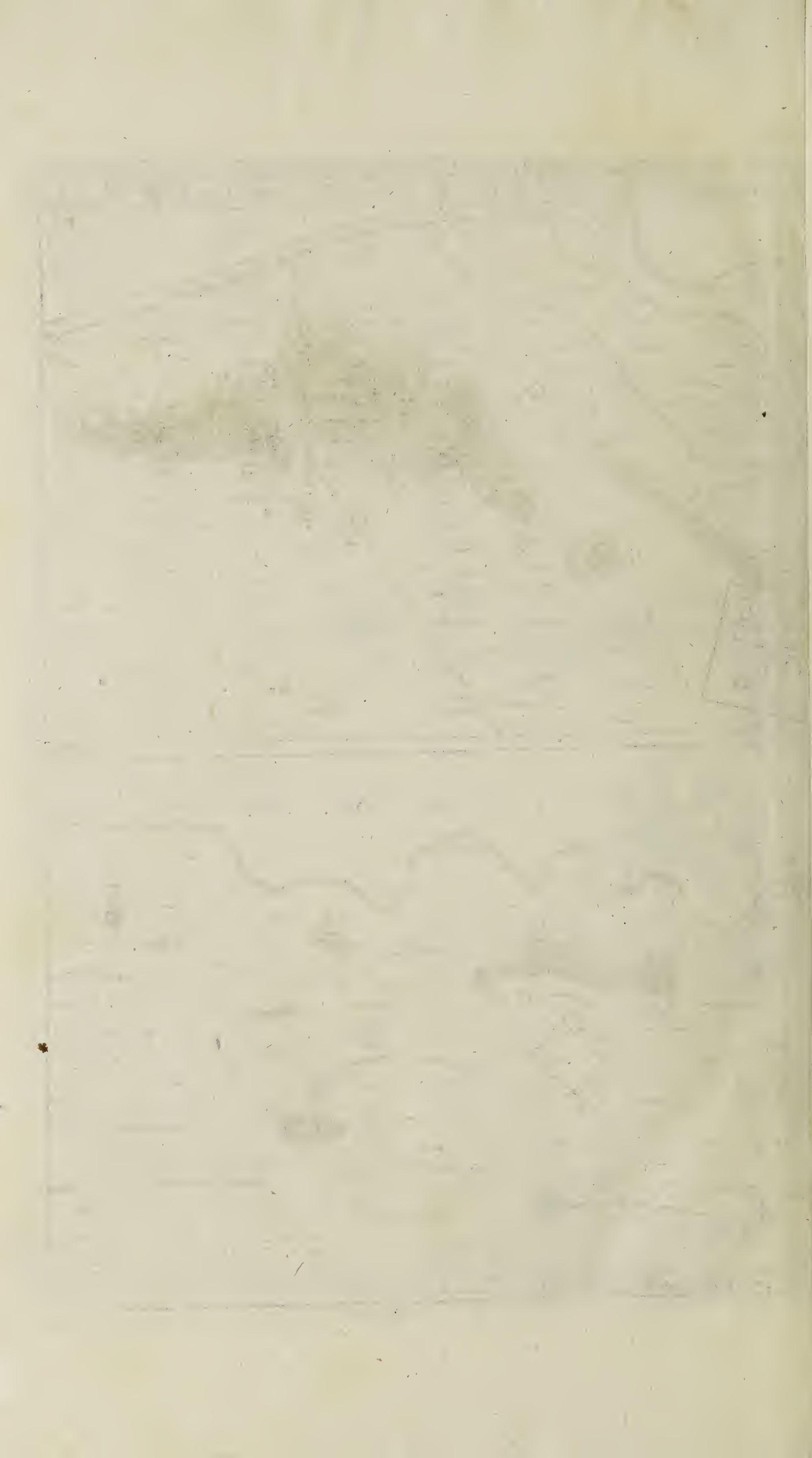
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XXXV
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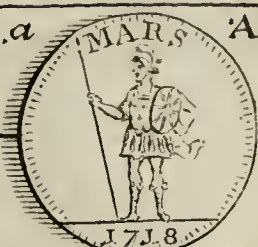


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XXXVI



T. II. a

FODINA

CVPREA

FALUNENSIS

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Orgya













Orgya toise de

20 40 60 80 100

D. Lockley Sculp.

